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Lincoln, Abraham, 1809-1865.
The Lincoln-Douglas debates
of 1858; edited, with
introduction and notes, by
Edwin Erle Sparks.

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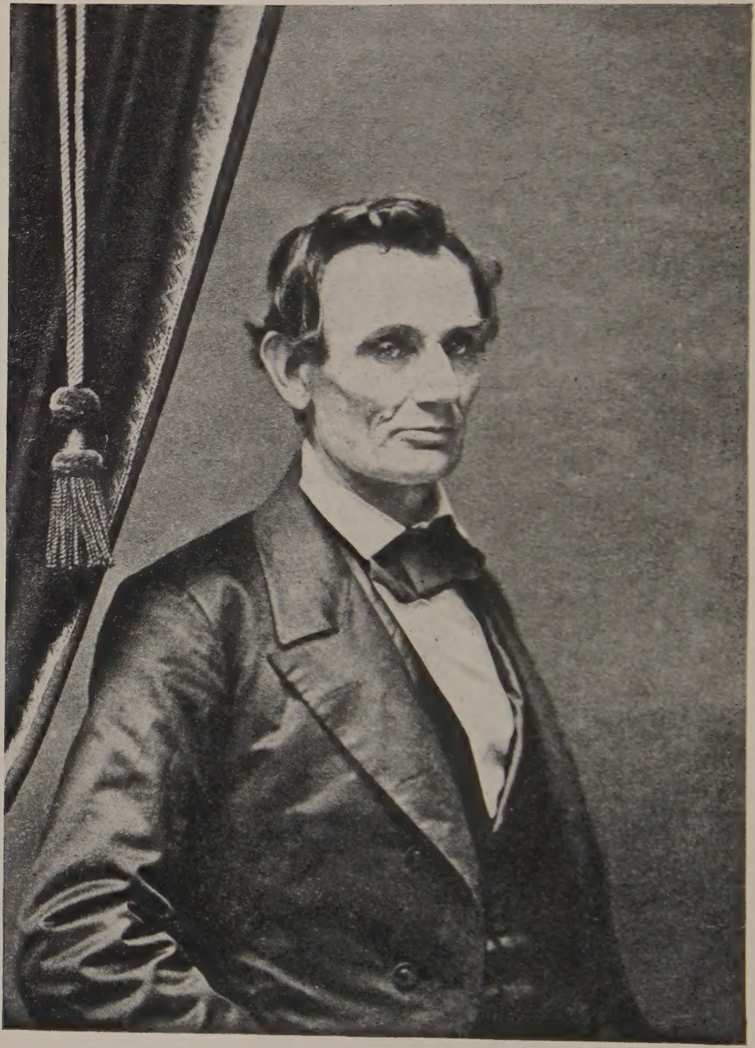

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a photograph in the collection of the Illinois Historical Library. Evidence seems to show that the negative was made at Charleston, Illinois, during the Campaign of 1858.

THE LINCOLN SERIES, VOL. I]

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VOLUME III

LINCOLN SERIES, VOL. I

Abraham Stephen Arnold

THE LINCOLN—DOUGLAS DEBATES
OF 1858

1809-1865 1813-1861

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, PH.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE COLLEGE; SOMETIME
PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Published by the Trustees of the
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PREFACE

A new edition of the speeches made by Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in the set debate during the Illinois senatorial canvass of 1858 would seem a worthy and appropriate part of the general commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of that event. While the campaign was local in its inception, it became national in its significance and in its results. The issues as brought out in the debate, especially in the speech of Douglas at Freeport, widened, if they did not open, the breach between him and the southern Democrats, made a split in the convention of 1860 a foregone conclusion, and thereby paved the way for Republican success and the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency. The debate also marked the high-tide of the "stump" method of campaigning; it furnishes, through the unusual space given to it in newspaper reports, an opportunity to study this unique phenomenon of frontier life; while the increasing number of printing presses, the extension of the mail routes, and consequent change in campaign methods, lend to this canvass the melancholy interest of a passing show. The speeches themselves are of a high order of debate, and of unusual import; those of Douglas set forth his untenable position and his impossible theory in the clearest terms; those of Lincoln state the arguments of the new Republican party as they had not been outlined before; and the combined effect of the whole is a survey of the political aspect of the day not to be found elsewhere.

Many editions of the debates have been printed, beginning with that of 1860; a few have included speeches made by each participant, both before and after the set debates;

some have added explanatory footnotes; but none have attempted to reproduce the local color from the press of the day. In this edition an effort is made by newspaper extracts and by reminiscences to give a picture of the crude though virile setting in this contest of two men so evenly matched in polemical power, yet so unlike in temperament and in physical appearance. Only those speeches are here reprinted which were delivered at the seven set meetings constituting in reality the Great Debate. The gist of the prior speeches is woven into the introduction.

The Columbus, Ohio, edition of 1860 is followed in this text, but the speeches as there reprinted have been compared with the originals—those of Lincoln with the files of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, and those of Douglas with the *Chicago Times*—and the changes which the Columbus edition made in the official reports are here shown in the footnotes; and there has been also incorporated in the text the numerous interruptions of the speeches by the audiences. In the present edition, the largest type indicates the editor's explanatory comments; the next largest shows quotations, the source being indicated at the head; and the smallest size of type denotes quoted matter within a quotation.

The descriptions and comments reprinted from the newspapers of the day are by no means exhaustive; fully one-half the matter originally collected was rejected for lack of space; but much of it was immaterial, being made up of denunciation and attempts to belittle the other side, predictions of victory, and general comment, which threw no light on the events of the debate. The amount of reminiscential matter was reduced by the same test. Such illustrations were selected as lent themselves to illuminating the subject-matter. In collecting the extracts and the illustrations, the editor has visited many places, has searched through scores of newspaper files, and has levied upon the courtesy of librarians and friends, to mention whose names would involve a list of impossible proportions. That the edition may be of service to the student as well as to the general reader; that it may aid in bringing to their true proportions these two great citizens of Illinois; and that it may reflect some credit upon the General Assembly of Illinois through whose beneficence it is made possible, is the hope that sustains a labor of love.

EDWIN ERLE SPARKS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
March 11, 1908

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CHAPTER I

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

STUMP SPEAKING

The pioneers, who migrated with their families during the first half of the nineteenth century from the Atlantic Coast Plain to the Mississippi Valley found themselves cut off from the conveniences of life to which they had been accustomed, and cast into a compelling environment, where makeshifts and substitutes must answer for well-known utilities and contrivances. This was noticeable even in political campaigns. Lacking printing presses to disseminate party doctrines and public halls of sufficient size to accommodate the crowds at a party rally, the people of the frontier were wont to gather in some public square or in a grove of trees, where a temporary stand, or perhaps in very early days, the stump of a felled tree, answered the purpose of a rostrum from which the issues of the day were discussed by "stump" speakers. In the same way, the lack of churches on the frontier caused the substitution of groves as a place for holding "camp-meetings." Through campaign after campaign, both national and state, "stump" speaking continued until improved facilities for making longer journeys began to remedy western isolation and to remove western provincialism. At the same time, the increasing political activity of the printing press and the demands of modern business life gradually turned the people away from these picturesque gatherings of earlier times.

Beginning with the campaign of 1824, in which a favorite son of Kentucky and a war-hero of Tennessee were championed in song and speech by their supporters in the Middle West, the political "stump" became the favorite hustings. The news that a leader was to "take the stump" in a certain district was sufficient promise of enlightenment on the political issues of the day in a region where newspapers and campaign literature were meager; and also the occasion was likely to afford a diversion in the way of rival processions and to furnish an opportunity of meeting one's friends and neighbors. The community which was favored as the scene of a political debate immediately awoke to unwonted activity. Banners were painted, flags flung from staff and building, and lithographs of rival candidates displayed in windows. Great barges or wagons, especially decorated for the occasion, were filled with "first voters," or with young women dressed to symbolize the political aspects of the campaign. Local merchants hurriedly stocked up on novelties likely to be in demand, while itinerant venders altered their schedules and hurried to the promising center of trade.

Upon the public square each party erected a "pole" with a banner bearing the name of its candidates flying from the lofty top. The rural male voter did not appropriate to himself all the joys of the occasion, but the entire family "went to town," to enjoy the unusual day of diversion in the round of a monotonous and isolated life. A reporter connected with a New York newspaper was sent to Illinois to write up one of these "stump" campaigns, and both vividly and appreciatively he described the gathering of the people for the chief event of the summer:

> "It is astonishing how deep an interest in politics this people take. Over long weary miles of hot and dusty prairie the processions of eager partisans come—on foot, on horseback, in wagons drawn by horses or mules; men, women, and children, old and young; the half sick, just out of the last 'shake;' children in arms, infants at the maternal

fount, pushing on in clouds of dust and beneath the blazing sun; settling down at the town where the meeting is, with hardly a chance for sitting, and even less opportunity for eating, waiting in anxious groups for hours at the places of speaking, talking, discussing, litigious, vociferous, while the war artillery, the music of the bands, the waving of banners, the huzzahs of the crowds, as delegation after delegation appears; the cry of the peddlers vending all sorts of ware, from an infallible cure of 'agur' to a monster watermelon in slices to suit purchasers—combine to render the occasion one scene of confusion and commotion. The hour of one arrives and a perfect rush is made for the grounds; a column of dust is rising to the heavens and fairly deluging those who are hurrying on through it. Then the speakers come with flags, and banners, and music, surrounded by cheering partisans. Their arrival at the ground and immediate approach to the stand is the signal for shouts that rend the heavens. They are introduced to the audience amidst prolonged and enthusiastic cheers; they are interrupted by frequent applause; and they sit down finally amid the same uproarious demonstration. The audience sit or stand patiently throughout, and, as the last word is spoken, make a break for their homes, first hunting up lost members of their families, getting their scattered wagon-loads together, and, as the daylight fades away, entering again upon the broad prairies and slowly picking their way back to the place of beginning."—Special correspondence from Charleston, Illinois, to the *New York Post*, September 24, 1858.

The patience of the crowd in listening to lengthy speeches, as noted by this correspondent, finds many illustrations elsewhere. Three hours was the usual time allotted to a speaker. Sometimes after listening to a discussion of this length during the afternoon, the crowd would disperse for supper and then return to hear another speaker for an equal length of time during the evening. The spirit of fairness to both sides prompted the people to furnish one speaker with as large an audience as the other enjoyed. This spirit was manifested at Peoria in 1854 as the following extract from a contemporary newspaper shows:

"On Monday, October 16, Senator Douglas, by appointment, addressed a large audience at Peoria. When he closed he was greeted with six hearty cheers; and the band in attendance played a stirring air. The crowd then began to call for Lincoln, who, as Judge Douglas had announced, was, by agreement, to answer him. Mr. Lincoln then took the stand, and said—

"'I do not arise to speak now, if I can stipulate with the audience to meet me here at half past six or at seven o'clock. It is now several minutes past five, and Judge Douglas has spoken over three hours. If you hear me at all, I wish you to hear me thro'. It will take me as long as it has taken him. That will carry us beyond eight o'clock at night. Now every one of you who can remain that long, can just as well get his supper, meet me at seven, and remain one hour or two later. The judge has already informed you that he is to have an hour to reply to me. I doubt not but you have been a little surprised to learn that I have consented to give one of his high reputation and known ability this advantage of me. Indeed, my consenting to it, though reluctant, was not wholly unselfish; for I suspected if it were understood, that the Judge was entirely done, you democrats would leave, and not hear me; but by giving him the close, I felt confident that you would stay for the fun of hearing him skin me.'

"The audience signified their assent to the arrangement, and adjourned to 7 o'clock P. M., at which time they re-assembled, and Mr. Lincoln spoke."—Correspondence of the *Illinois Journal*, Springfield, October 21, 1854.

SENATOR DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS

The storm center of political agitation, carried to the west of the Alleghany Mountains in the campaign of 1824, gradually advanced with the spread of the people, until the decade between 1850 and 1860 saw it centered in Illinois, mainly through the prominence of Senator Stephen A. Douglas and the Kansas-Nebraska question. As chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, Douglas fathered and pushed to enactment the famous law of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise so far at it related to the unorganized portion of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of 36° 30′, and threw it open to slavery or freedom as the

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

From a photograph in the collection of the Illinois Historical Library, supposed to have been made in 1858.

future inhabitants might determine under the principle of home rule or "popular sovereignty." By this course he brought upon himself the denunciation and abuse of all northern people who opposed the further extension of slave territory.

Immediately upon the adjournment of Congress in August, 1854, Douglas started for Illinois to defend himself before his constituents. Before leaving Washington, he said: "I shall be assailed by demagogues and fanatics there, without stint or moderation. Every opprobrious epithet will be applied to me. I shall probably be hung in effigy in many places. This proceeding may end my political career. But, acting under the sense of duty which animates me, I am prepared to make the sacrifice." He reached Chicago September 2d, and took the rostrum in his own defense at a meeting which he caused to be announced for the following evening. The result may be learned from the newspapers of the day, by reading extracts from writers both favorable and hostile to him.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, September 8, 1854]

The *Chicago Tribune* mentions the following among the occurrences of Friday afternoon:

> The Flags of all the shipping in port were displayed at half-mast, shortly after noon and remained there during the remainder of the day. At a quarter past six the bells of the city commenced to toll, and commenced to fill the air with their mournful tones for more than an hour. The city wore an air of mourning for the disgrace which her senator was seeking to impose upon her, and which her citizens have determined to resent at any cost.

[*Chicago Times*, September 4, 1854]

THE MEETING LAST NIGHT

During the whole of yesterday, the expected meeting of last night was the universal topic of conversation. Crowds of visitors arrived by the special trains from the surrounding cities and towns, even from as far as Detroit and St. Louis, attracted by the announcement that Judge Douglas was to address his constituents.

In consequence of the extreme heat of the weather, it was deemed advisable to hold the meeting on the outside of the hall instead of the inside as had been announced.

At early candle light, a throng of 8,000 persons had assembled at the south part of the North Market Hall.

At the time announced, the Mayor of Chicago called the assemblage to order and Judge Douglas then addressed the meeting. . . . . He was frequently interrupted by the gang of abolition rowdies. . . . . Whenever he approached the subject of the Nebraska bill, an evidently well organized and drilled body of men, comprising about one-twentieth of the meeting, collected and formed into a compact body, refused to allow him to proceed. They kept up this disgraceful proceeding until after ten o'clock.

In vain did the mayor of the city appeal to their sense of order. *They refused to let him be heard.* Judge Douglas, notwithstanding the uproars of these hirelings, proceeded at intervals.

He told them he was not unprepared for their conduct. He had a day or two since received a letter written by the secretary of an organization framed since his arrival in the city for the purpose of preventing him from speaking. This organization required that he should leave the city or keep silent; and if he disregarded this notice, the organization was pledged at the sacrifice of his life to prevent his being heard. He presented himself, he said, and challenged the armed gang to execute on him their murderous pledge. The letter having been but imperfectly heard, its reading was asked by some of the orderly citizens present, but the mob refused to let it be heard, when Judge Douglas at the earnest request of some of his friends, left the stand.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, September 4, 1854]

"THE DOUGLAS SPEECH"

This grand affair came off Friday night.—The *St. Louis Republican* had made one grand flourish in favor of the immortal Douglas by means of its correspondent, that Douglas would achieve wonders at Chicago and be sustained by the State. Office-holders far and near appeared at Chicago to enjoy his triumph. The evening came, and—we will let the *Democratic Press* speak—

> Mr. Douglas had a stormy meeting last evening at the North Market Hall. There was a great amount of groans and cheers. But there was nothing like a riot or any approach to it

> He said some bitter things against the press of Chicago, and did not compliment the intelligence of citizens in very pleasant terms. They refused to hear him on these subjects. Towards the close of his speech they became so uproarious that he was obliged to desist.
>
> The plain truth is there were a great many there who were unwilling to hear him and manifested their disapprobation in a very noisy and disrespectful manner. We regret exceedingly that he was not permitted to make his speech unmolested. That would have been far better than the course that was pursued.
>
> We are glad, however, that when he decided to make no further efforts the people retired peaceably to their homes and all was quiet.

The *Chicago Democrat* disposes of the matter even in fewer words:

> SENATOR DOUGLAS.—Last evening a large number of citizens assembled in front of the North Market Hall, some to listen to Senator Douglas' remarks on the act known as the Nebraska Act, and some with the express purpose of preventing his making any remarks. The meeting was called to order, and Senator Douglas was introduced to the audience by Mayor Milliken. The noise and disturbance of the audience was such, however, that he was unable to pursue his argument in a manner satisfactory to those who wished to learn what he would say in vindication of his course.

We have heard from private sources that there were ten thousand people present; and that evidently they did not come there to get up a disturbance but simply to demonstrate to Sen. Douglas their opinion of his treachery to his constituents. This they did effectually; and Mr. Douglas now fully understands the estimate in which his conduct is held by his townsmen at Chicago.

It is said that Mr. Douglas felt, intensely, the rebuke he had received.

The office-holders who went to Chicago from here and elsewhere are very quiet on their return, and have learnt something of public opinion in the north part of this state.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, September 5, 1854]

SPEECH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS

At the North Market Hall on Friday Evening, September 1st, 1854

. . . .

You have been told that the bill legislated slavery into territory now free. It does no such thing. [Groans and hisses—with abortive efforts to cheer.] As most of you have never read that bill [Groans], I will read to you the fourteenth section. [Here he read the section referred to, long since published and commented on in this paper.]

It will be seen that the bill leaves the people perfectly free. [Groans and some cheers.] It is perfectly natural for those who have misrepresented and slandered me, to be unwilling to hear me. I am here in my own home. [Tremendous groans—a voice, that is in North Carolina—in Alabama, &c.,—go there and talk, &c.—]

I am in my own home, and have lived in Illinois long before you thought of the State. I know my rights, and, though personal violence has been threatened me, I am determined to maintain them. ["Much noise and confusion."] The principle of the Nebraska bill grants to the people of the territories the right to govern themselves. Who dares deny that right [a voice, It grants the right to take slavery there that's all]. What is the Missouri Compromise line? It was simply a line, recognizing slavery on one side of it and forbidding it on the other. Now would any of you permit the establishment of slavery on either side of any line? [No! No!!]

Mr. Douglas said he would show that all of his audience were in 1848 in favor of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and he alone was opposed to it. [Three cheers were given for the Compromise.]

. . . .

The compromise measures of 1850 were endorsed by our own City Council. They were also endorsed by our legislature almost unanimously. The resolution passed by our Legislature in 1851, approved of the principles of non-intervention—[it was published in the Press, with comments a few days since], in the most direct and strongest terms. All the Representatives except four whigs voted for the resolution.—Every representative from Cook county voted for them.

These were the instructions under which he acted. Till then he was the fast friend of the Compromise. [A voice—then why did you repeal it?] Simply because another principle had been adopted and I acted upon that principle.—[Some one asked that if he lived in Kansas whether he would vote for its being a free State.—But the Senator could not find it convenient to answer it, though repeated several times.]

The questions now became more frequent and the people more noisy. Judge Douglas became excited, and said many things not very creditable to his position and character. The people as a consequence refused to hear him further, and although he kept the stand for a considerable time he was obliged at last to give way and retire to his lodgings at the Tremont House. The people then separated quietly and all except the office-holders, in the greatest of good humor.—

A large number and we certainly were among them, felt deeply mortified that Mr. Douglas had not been permitted to say what he pleased. We must say, however, that the matter terminated much more peacefully than most of our citizens feared, and all have reason, considering the excited state of public mind, to be thankful that matters are no worse.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN OF ILLINOIS

Among those who opposed the action of Douglas was his long-time friend and rival, Abraham Lincoln, who had served several terms in the Illinois State Legislature and one term in Congress (1847–49) and then retired from public life to look after his law practice. After six years of retirement, he confessed himself drawn again into the arena of politics by the passing of the Kansas-Nebraska act. In the dissatisfaction with Douglas and the Democratic dissension likely to follow, Lincoln saw an opportunity for the Whigs of Illinois and an opening for his long-suppressed political ambitions. During the autumn of 1854, after Douglas had been refused a hearing in Chicago, Lincoln wrote to an influential friend, "It has come around that a Whig may by possibility be elected to the United States Senate, and I want the chance of being that man."[1]

At this time, Lincoln was among the most prominent of the old line Whigs of Illinois; but the dissensions in the Democratic party which promised him a hearing also brought an obstacle in the many prominent Democrats who were deserting the pro-slavery Douglas and who might properly be called new line Whigs, although known as anti-Nebraska men. The Whigs, never able to carry the state, welcomed an alliance with these seceders on the common basis of opposition to slavery extension; naturally a greater public interest would attach to them than to a regular Whig like Lincoln; and the latter was in danger of being relegated to second place during the important Springfield Fair week of 1854.

---

[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, I, 209.

[*Alton, Illinois, Courier*, October 27, 1854]

Heretofore the Democracy of Central and Southern Illinois, who disagree with Judge Douglas on the Nebraskan measure, have been almost entirely silent in regard to it, and Judge Douglas and his supporters in the matter have had matters entirely their own way. . . . . This state of things, as every one must have foreseen, could not last long. The democracy have been aroused and Judge Douglas is to be met at Springfield by several of the first minds of the State, men who would honor any State or nation and no less giants than himself. We are informed that Judge Trumbull, Judge Breese, Col. McClernand, Judge Palmer, Col. E. D. Taylor, and others will be there and reply to Judge Douglas. He will find as foemen tried Democrats, lovers of the Baltimore platform and opposed to all slavery agitation—giants in intellect, worthy of his steel.

THE DEBATES OF 1854

The Illinois State Agricultural Fair held annually at Springfield was the culminating political event of the year—a characteristic which it bears to the present day. This gathering, devoted primarily to the interests of the farmer, became a rendezvous for state politicians, where plans were laid, candidates brought out, and the issues of the day discussed by the ablest speakers in each party. Douglas well knew that he must defend himself against the Whigs and also against many former supporters in his own party, as indicated in the quotation above. Leaving Chicago after failing to secure a hearing, Douglas went to Indianapolis and then returned to Illinois, addressing enthusiastic meetings at Ottawa, Joliet, Rock Island, and other places before the first week in October, which was the date of the State Fair.

Springfield at this time contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants and the visitors to the fair increased the population at least ten thousand. It was the day of stump speaking. The farmers held sessions daily during the week at which they discussed topics pertaining to agriculture and its allied interests; each evening a woman was lecturing in the court room on "Woman's Influence in the Great Progressive Movements of the Day;" and the politicians occupied the senate chamber from noon to midnight with a short intermission for supper. In a card given out through the press, the members of the Agricultural Society protested against the political speakers taking advantage of their "Annual Jubilee and School of Life" to occupy the time and distract the attention of the people by a public discussion of questions foreign to the objects of the society. "The politicians as well as the farmers are out in force," wrote a reporter.

On Wednesday of Fair week, Douglas spoke in the Hall of Representatives in the State House, making a masterly defense of himself and his theory of popular sovereignty. He was to be answered at the same place the following afternoon by Judge Trumbull, of Alton, the most prominent anti-Nebraska Democrat in the southern part of the state. Trumbull failed to arrive at the proper time and Abraham Lincoln, a Whig, arose to reply to Douglas. Lincoln was the recognized speaker for the Whigs in Springfield: a month before, he had replied to Calhoun, a pro-Nebraska Democrat.

[*Chicago Democratic Press*, October 6, 1854]

POLITICAL SPEAKING

Today we listened to a 3½ hour's speech from the Hon. Abram Lincoln, in reply to that of Judge Douglas of yesterday. He made a full and convincing reply and showed up squatter sovereignty in all its unblushing pretensions. We came away as Judge Douglas commenced to reply to Mr. Lincoln.

LINCOLN AT THE STATE FAIR

My acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln began in October, 1854.[1] I was then in the employ of the *Chicago Evening Journal.* I had been sent to Springfield to report the political doings of State Fair week for that newspaper. Thus it came about that I occupied a front seat in the Representatives' Hall, in the old State House when Mr. Lincoln delivered a speech already described in this volume. The impression made upon me by the orator was quite overpowering. I had not heard much political speaking up to that time. I have heard a great deal since. I have never heard anything since, either by Mr. Lincoln, or by anybody, that I would put on a higher plane of oratory. All the strings that play upon the human heart and understanding were touched with masterly skill and force, while beyond and above all skill was the overwhelming conviction pressed upon the audience that the speaker himself was charged with an irresistible and inspiring duty to his fellow-men. . . . .

Although I heard him many times afterward, I shall longest remember him as I then saw the tall, angular form with the long, angular arms, at times bent nearly double with excitement, like a large flail animating two smaller ones, the mobile face wet with perspiration which he discharged in drops as he threw his head this way and that like a projectile—not a graceful figure and yet not an ungraceful one.

Lincoln spoke until half-past five; Douglas replied for an hour and then announced that he would leave off to enable the listeners to have their suppers and would resume at early candle light. But when that time arrived, Douglas for some reason failed to resume, other speakers took the platform, and Douglas' "unfinished speech" was the cause of endless raillery on the part of the Whigs who claimed that he found Lincoln's arguments unanswerable. The style of argument of each was known to the other because they had debated public questions in Springfield as early as seventeen years before. Trumbull arrived in time to speak on Thursday evening and his speech was widely copied in the press of the state as representative anti-Nebraska doctrine. Lincoln, through the influence of his friend Herndon, was given extravagant praise in the *Journal* of Springfield, but his speech created no widespread comment throughout the state such as Herndon would have us believe.[1]

---

[1] Mr. Horace White in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, by permission of D. Appleton & Co.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, October 5, 1854]

HON. A. LINCOLN'S SPEECH

Agreeably to previous notice, circulated in the morning by hand bill, *Hon. A. Lincoln* delivered a speech yesterday, at the State House, in the Hall of Representatives in reply to the speech of Senator Douglas, of the preceding day. Mr. L. commenced at 2 o'clock, P. M., and spoke above three hours, to a very large, intelligent and attentive audience. Judge Douglas had been invited by Mr. Lincoln to be present and to reply to Mr. Lincoln's remarks, if he should think proper to do so. And Judge Douglas was present, and heard Mr. Lincoln throughout.

. . . .

Mr. Lincoln closed amid immense cheers. He had nobly and triumphantly sustained the cause of a free people, and won a place in their hearts as a bold and powerful champion of equal rights for American citizens, that will in all time be a monument to his honor. Mr. Douglas replied to Mr. Lincoln, in a speech of about two hours. It was adroit, and plausible, but had not the marble of logic in it.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, October 10, 1854]

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

The debate between these two men came off in the State House on the fifth of October. The Hall of the House of Representatives in which the speaking was heard, was crowded to overflowing. The number present was about two thousand. Mr. Lincoln commenced at 2 o'clock P. M., and spoke three hours and ten minutes.

We propose to give our views and those of many northerners and many southerners upon the debate. We intend to give it as fairly as we can. Those who know Mr. Lincoln, know him to be a conscientious and honest man, who makes no assertions that he does not know to be true.

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[1] "At this time I was zealously interested in the new movement, and not less so than in Lincoln. I frequently wrote the editorials in the *Springfield Journal* . . . . . Many of the editorials I wrote were intended directly or indirectly to promote the interests of Lincoln."—Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, II, 36, 38.

. . . .

It was a proud day for Lincoln. His friends will never forget it. The news had gone abroad that "Lincoln was afraid to meet Douglas;" but when he arose, his manly and fearless form shut up and crushed out the charge. We will not soon forget his appearance as he bowed to the audience, and looked over the vast sea of human heads.

. . . .

Douglas arose and commenced his answers to Mr. Lincoln—and his eloquence can only be compared to his person—false and brusque. He is haughty and imperative,—his voice somewhat shrill and his manner positive;—now flattering, now wild with excess of madness. That trembling fore-finger, like a lash, was his whip to drive the doubting into the ranks. He is a very tyrant.—

When he arose he most evidently was angry for being bearded in the Capitol, and if we judge not wrongly, we affirm that he is conscious of his ruin and doom. The marks and evidences of desolation are furrowed in his face,—written on his brow.

Lincoln next followed Douglas to Peoria and replied to him at that point, October 16, 1854.[1] A fortnight later elections were held for members of the state legislature who would choose in joint session a fellow-senator for Douglas from Illinois.

SENATORIAL ELECTION OF 1854

The legislative elections proved unfortunate for the indorsement of Douglas and brought a large number of anti-Nebraska men into the joint assembly. It seemed that Lincoln's senatorial aspirations were in a fair way to be realized; but at the last moment it was found necessary to elect Judge Trumbull, an anti-Nebraska Democrat, to prevent the choice falling upon Governor Matteson, who was not sound on opposition to the extension of slavery in Kansas.

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[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works*, I, 180.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, February 9, 1855]

SENATORIAL ELECTION

Trumbull Elected—The Anti-Nebraska Sentiment of Illinois Vindicated

The Senatorial election took place on yesterday. . . . . *Abraham Lincoln* had by far the largest number of votes on the first ballot: but it having become apparent that he could not be elected, his friends to a man, with his entire approbation, united on a candidate that could be, and was, elected. Every vote Judge Trumbull received came from anti-Nebraska and anti-Douglas men. Thus has the State of Illinois rebuked the authors of the repeal of the Missouri restriction.—They have done it in a manner that will be felt, not only in this State, but throughout the nation. The Douglas party would have greatly preferred the election of Lincoln, William Ogden, Kellogg, or Sweet, to that of Judge Trumbull. They were most anxious to crush him for daring to be honest.

Of Mr. Lincoln, we need scarcely say,—that though ambitious of the office himself,—when it was apparent that he could not be elected, he pressed his friends to vote for Mr. Trumbull.—Mr. Lincoln's friends can well say, that while with his advice they ultimately cast their votes for, and assisted in the election of Mr. Trumbull, it was not "because they loved Caesar less, but because they loved Rome more."

It has long been certain that there was an anti-Nebraska majority in the Legislature. The Douglas men were certain of this fact—and their anticipated "triumph," as announced by Mr. Moulton in the House, was based on the known popularity of Gov. Matteson personally, which would give their votes for him and which would ensure his election.

Although Herndon and Lincoln's other friends attempted in these complimentary terms to soften the blow of his defeat, he felt keenly the sacrifice he had been compelled to make for a man who had been until recently his political enemy, "I regret my defeat moderately," he wrote to a friend, "but am not nervous about it."[1] Quite naturally he would be given a chance when the next senatorial vacancy occurred and that would be four years hence.

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[1] Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, 215.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1856

As the presidential year of 1856 came on, the old line Whigs and anti-Nebraska men were fused into the new Republican party through spontaneous conventions held in the different northern states. In Illinois, "People's" conventions assembled in the counties and named delegates to a state convention which was held in Springfield in May, representing "those regardless of party who oppose the further extension of slave territory and who wish to curb the rising pretentions of the slave oligarchy." Among the prominent men present was Abraham Lincoln, who spoke at the close of the convention. Reporters afterward testified that the spell of his simple oratory was so entrancing that they forgot their tasks and the speech went unreported. In later years it was written out from memory by one of the hearers and became known as "Lincoln's lost speech," being the subject of no little controversy.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, June 3, 1856]

HON. A. LINCOLN

During the recent session of the State anti-Nebraska Convention, the Hon. A. Lincoln of this city made one of the most powerful and convincing speeches which we have ever heard. The editor of the *Chicago Press*, thus characterizes it:

> Abram Lincoln of Springfield was next called out, and made *the* speech of the occasion. Never has it been our fortune to listen to a more eloquent and masterly presentation of a subject. I shall not mar any of its fine proportions or brilliant passages by attempting even a synopsis of it. Mr. Lincoln must write it out and let it go before all the people. For an hour and a half he held the assemblage spell-bound by the power of his argument, the intense irony of his invective, and the deep earnestness and fervid brilliancy of his eloquence. When he concluded, the audience sprang to their feet, and cheer after cheer told how deeply their hearts had been touched, and their souls warmed up to a generous enthusiasm.

In the Democratic national convention which met at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, Douglas on one ballot received 121 votes, but the nomination eventually went to James

Buchanan. In the Republican national convention, which met at Philadelphia, two weeks later, Lincoln was given 110 votes on the informal vote for the vice-presidency, but Dayton was nominated. Lincoln headed the list of Illinois electors for Fremont and Dayton. During the campaign, Douglas took the stump for Buchanan and Lincoln for Fremont. After the defeat of Fremont, Lincoln said in a speech at a banquet in Chicago: "In the late contest we were divided between Fremont and Buchanan. Can we not come together in the future? Let bygones be bygones; let past differences be as nothing; and with steady eye on the real issue, let us re-inaugurate the good old 'central ideas' of the republic. We can do it. The human heart is with us; God is with us."

In June, of the following year, 1857, Douglas spoke in Springfield on current political topics and two weeks later Lincoln answered him at the same place.

CHAPTER II

THE SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1858

Douglas was chosen to the United States Senate from Illinois for the first time in 1847 and was re-elected in 1853; consequently his second term would expire in 1859 and he must at that time seek a new election at the hands of the Illinois legislature. To compass this end, he must control the legislative elections of 1858. The state was never lost to the Democratic column before 1860; but Douglas found himself obliged to enter the campaign of 1858 under peculiar and embarrassing circumstances. The plan by which he had hoped to establish home rule in Kansas had caused a situation in the territory which bade fair to test the principle of "popular sovereignty" and to create dissension in the Democratic party. Some of the residents of the territory late in 1857 framed and adopted a constitution at Lecompton; but the free-soil people of the territory refused to take part in the proceedings. The adoption by Congress of this "Lecompton constitution" was favored by President Buchanan, but was opposed by Senator Douglas on the ground that it was not a fair test of "popular sovereignty." If Douglas were successful in securing a re-election in Illinois, it could be interpreted in no other way than a defeat for the administration and an invitation to other ambitious statesmen to brook presidential disfavor. It was reported that Buchanan warned Douglas of his peril and that Douglas replied, "Mr. President, Andrew Jackson is dead," implying that the days of presidential dictation were past. Consequently the new Republican party of Illinois had an unexpected opportunity of aiding a Democratic president to defeat a Democratic senator for re-election.

If Douglas entered the canvass beset with difficulty, Lincoln was far from being able to place the contest purely on the basis of merit. The patronage of the state so long enjoyed by Senator Douglas under Democratic administration had dotted the state with Douglas postmasters, revenue collectors, and other federal officers. That Lincoln fully appreciated this handicap is evident from one of his Springfield speeches of 1858:

> "Senator Douglas is of world-wide renown. All the anxious politicians of his party, or who have been of his party for years past, have been looking upon him as certainly, at no distant day, to be the president of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshallships, and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to give up the charming hope: but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, and give him marches, triumphant entries, and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor.
>
> "On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be president. In my poor, lean, lank face, nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out. These are disadvantages all, taken together, that the Republicans labor under. We have to fight this battle upon principle, and upon principles alone."[1]

There was also a possibility that at the last moment it might become necessary to name as the Republican candidate for the senatorship a former Democrat, as had been done in the election of 1854. It was also rumored that John Wentworth of Chicago was the real candidate and

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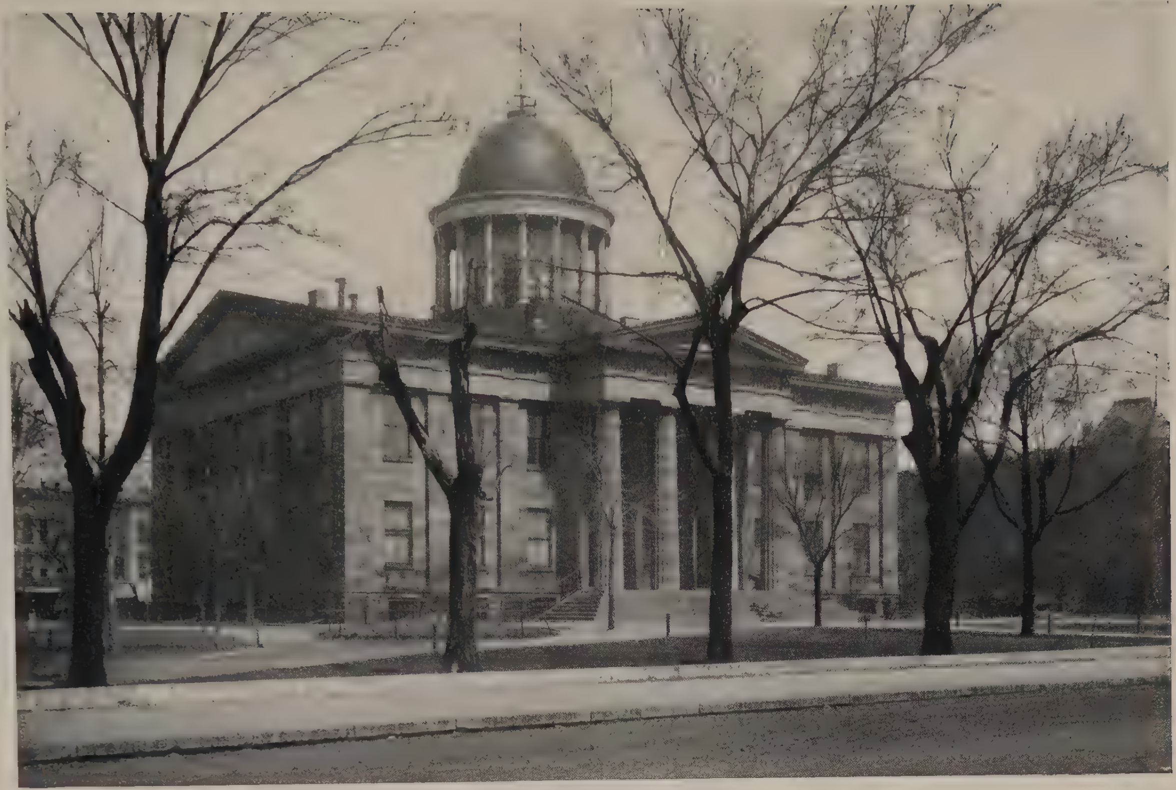
[1] Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, 261.



THE OLD STATE HOUSE, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

that Lincoln was to be used as a stalking-horse for the defeat of Douglas in the legislative campaign.

> Mr. A. Lincoln is the special object of admiration among the Black Republicans of Illinois at this time. How long it will last no one knows. Two years ago he occupied much the same position, but he was diddled out of the place of Senator by the friends of Trumbull, and the same thing may happen to him again.[1]

Lincoln's prospects for the senatorship were further menaced by the danger that the Republicans of the state might deem it wise to lend their support to Douglas, re-elect him to the Senate, and by his victory impair the chances of Buchanan securing a second term. Greeley suggested that the Illinois senatorship should be allowed to go to Douglas by default and thus by increasing the breach between Douglas and Buchanan prepare the way for the Republicans to carry the state in 1860. Lincoln himself expressed his fears lest Douglas should shift from his true Democratic principles, and "assume steep Free Soil ground and furiously assail the Administration on the stump." This very possible action would take away the support of the anti-Nebraska Democrats and of many Republicans from Lincoln and center it on the Little Giant. Against such a coalition Lincoln took the precaution of sending letters to prominent Republicans throughout the state, before the Republican convention met at Springfield in June, 1858, and they soon acknowledged the danger of indorsing so uncertain a man as Douglas upon no other recommendation to Republicanism than his quarrel with Buchanan. The situation might be foreguarded if the Republican convention would indorse Lincoln as its candidate, thereby pledging the legislators elected on its ticket in the November election to vote for Lincoln in the joint session to be held during the winter of 1859.

[1] *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 11, 1858.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, June 16, 1858]

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION OF ILLINOIS

Great Harmony and Enthusiasm

B. C. Cooke, of LaSalle, offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED: That the Hon. Lyman Trumbull in the Senate of the United States has illustrated and defined the principles of the Republican party with distinguished ability and fidelity, and we hereby express our emphatic approval of his course.

Chas. L. Wilson, of Cook, submitted the following resolution, which was greeted with shouts of applause and unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED: That Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate, as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas.

On motion, the Convention adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock.

8 o'clock P. M.

Convention met, pursuant to adjournment.

Resolutions complimentary to the officers of the State government, and also to the officers of the Convention were unanimously adopted.

Speeches were made by Hon. Abraham Lincoln, T. J. Turner, I. N. Arnold, J. J. Feree, C. B. Denio, Wyche, Hopkins and others, and the Convention adjourned with long and hearty cheers for the ticket and the cause.

(Signed) GUSTAVUS KOERNER, *Pres't.*

D. M. WHITNEY, etc., *Vice Pres'ts.*
W. H. BAILHACHE, etc., *Sec'ies.*

[*Daily Whig*, Quincy, Illinois, June 21, 1858]

REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET

For State Treasurer
JAMES MILLER
of McLean County

For Superintendent of Public Instruction
NEWTON BATEMAN
of Morgan County

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

. . . .

About seven o'clock, the Convention adjourned to meet in the evening; but previous to doing so, an incident occurred worthy of notice. The delegates from Cook county appeared with a banner upon which was inscribed, "Cook county for Abram Lincoln for United States Senator." Mr. Judd, of Cook, in a very appropriate address, referred to this fact, when a delegate in the crowd arose, and, waving a flag on which was printed the word "Illinois," moved that it be nailed over "Cook county" in the banner carried by the Cook delegation. The motion was received with rounds of applause, and carried by a unanimous vote. The inscription then read

ILLINOIS
FOR
ABRAM LINCOLN
FOR U. S. SENATOR

In the evening, the Hall was again crowded to excess to listen to the speeches from LINCOLN, JUDD, WYCHE, FEREE, DENIO, and others. It would take up more room and time than are at our disposal to comment upon the speeches delivered, and the unbounded enthusiasm which prevailed.

LINCOLN AT THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION

Returning to the campaign of 1858—I was sent by my employers to Springfield to attend the Republican State Convention of that year.[1] Again I sat at a short distance from Mr. Lincoln when he delivered the "House-divided-against-itself" speech on the 17th of June. This was delivered from manuscript and was the only one I ever heard him deliver in that way. When it was concluded he put the manuscript in my hands and asked me to go to the *State Journal* office and read the proof of it. I think it had already been set in type. Before I had finished this task, Mr. Lincoln himself came into the composing room of the *State Journal* and looked over the revised proofs. He said to me that he had taken a great deal of pains with this speech, and that he wanted it to go before the people just as he had prepared it. He added that some of his friends had scolded him a good deal about the opening paragraph and "the house divided against itself," and wanted him to change it or leave it out altogether, but that he believed he had studied this subject more deeply than they had, and that he was going to stick to that text whatever happened.

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[1] Mr. Horace White in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, by permission of D. Appleton & Co.

[*Daily Chicago Times*, June 22, 1858]

ALL FOR LINCOLN

During the progress of the Convention on yesterday, the Chicago delegation brought in a banner with the motto upon it "Cook County is for Abraham Lincoln." It was received with shouts and hurrahs of the most vociferous character. On motion of one of the Peoria delegates, the motto was amended to read—"Illinois Is for Abraham Lincoln," which brought down the House with three times three and three extra.—*Springfield Journal.*

The Republican enemies of Long John in Chicago thought they had put a nail in his coffin by preparing this banner, and the result is that they think they have effectually killed off his Senatorial aspirations by the above proceeding. Another move is to nominate E. Peck and Kriessman for the legislature from North Chicago, and Meech and Scripps from South Chicago. We'll see if Long John is to be beaten or not.

It was now less than two years until the Republicans would nominate a candidate for the presidency. That Lincoln was not regarded as a possibility even in Illinois is shown by the following:

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, June 24, 1858]

Vote on the Presidency.—The vote among the Republican Delegates to the Illinois State Convention and passengers on the morning train, indicating their preference for the Presidency, stood as follows:

William H. Seward	139	S. P. Chase	6
John C. Freemont	32	W. H. Bissell	2
John McLean	13	Scattering	26
Lyman Trumbull	7		

The speech in which Lincoln acknowledged the courtesy of the convention was thought out in advance and every sentence carefully weighed. It marked the new lines upon which Lincoln proposed to argue the situation and which ultimately won success. Boldly casting aside the long-prevalent idea that the Union could be saved by compromise and by repressing agitation, Lincoln voiced the new opinion in a slightly altered Scriptural quotation, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."[1] He declared that the government could not endure permanently half slave and half free; it must become all one thing or all the other. Whether Lincoln foresaw that the astute Douglas would construe this statement into a desire to dissolve the Union is a matter of doubt, as is also the question whether he appreciated the danger that his criticism of the Dred Scott decision would be twisted by Douglas into a revolutionary attack on the Supreme Court.

Since the campaign was to be waged against Senator Douglas, Lincoln devoted a large part of his speech to showing the unfitness of the Illinois senator to lead Republicans in their attempt to check the growing territorial power of the slaveholding dynasty, and to ridiculing the pretended greatness of the senator. "They remind us," said he, "that he is a great man and that the largest of us are very small ones. Let that be granted. But 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.' Judge Douglas, if not a dead lion, for this work, is at least a caged and toothless one. How can he oppose the advances of slavery? He don't care about it. . . . . But clearly, he is not now with us—he does not pretend to be—he does not promise ever to be." He insinuated that the Dred Scott decision was a part of a Democratic programme. "We cannot absolutely know," said he, "that all these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places by different workmen—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance—and we see these timbers joined together, and see them exactly make the frame of a house or mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in—in such a case we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck."

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[1] "And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand."—Mark 3:25.

THE DOUGLAS "BOLTERS"

The breach between Douglas and the administration was reflected in the Democratic state convention which met at Springfield, April 21, 1858. As soon as resolutions were introduced approving the course of Senator Douglas, a considerable number of delegates withdrew from the convention and formed a "rump" assembly in another room. They were mostly from Chicago and the northern part of the state. These "bolters" called another convention which met at Springfield, June 9, nominated candidates, and adopted resolutions denouncing Douglas and characterizing his opposition to the administration on the Lecompton question as "an act of overweening conceit."

[*Daily Chicago Times*, June 10, 1858]

THE BOLTERS CONVENTION

In another column we publish the telegraphic report of the proceedings of the Bolters Convention at Springfield yesterday. It was a miserable farce. It is represented that 48 of the 100 counties were represented, and considering that the delegates were self-appointed, and that offices under the federal government were promised to all who would attend, the fact that in 52 counties there could not be found men mean enough to participate in the proceedings, is a glorious tribute to the fidelity of the Democracy of Illinois.

Dougherty and Reynolds were nominated, and if they receive 2,500 votes in the whole State it will astonish even themselves.

We publish also the letter of our correspondent detailing the events of Tuesday—the drunken orgies of the men, who, rioting on the public money, have been a disgrace to the State, to the party and now even to themselves.

[*Illinois State Register*, September 25, 1858]

SONG OF THE HYENAS

The following, which we clip from an eastern contemporary, is entitled "Senator Douglas and His Persecutors, or, the Battle Song of the Hyenas." It undoubtedly contains "more truth than poetry," and we cordially commend it to the careful perusal of the Illinois Danites:—

1. We'll hunt the lion down,
   We jolly bold Hyenas,
Though honest folks may think
   We're just about as mean as

2. The devils are, who make
   Poor bigots torture people,
Because the people can't
   Uphold said bigots' steeple,

3. O won't it be such fun
   To crush the "Little Giant"
Who, conscious of the right,
   Is saucy and defiant?

4. Why can't he do like us—
   Stoop low for place and plunder?
Such independence does
   Excite our wrath and wonder.

5. Of course in open day
   We never will attack him,
For then his voice would call
   The masses up to back him;

6. But at the midnight hour
   In dark and gloomy weather,
In some old grave-yard foul,
   We'll congregate together.

7. And lay secret plan
   To stuff with spoils our leanness;
And hunting Douglas down
   Will gratify our meanness!

Although these "bolters" represented fewer than half the counties of the state, their action was significant and the contagion might spread. Consequently, one week later Douglas turned aside in the Senate from the pending question upon which he was speaking to address his fellow senators on the condition of political parties in Illinois. In a speech characteristically abusive he denounced the leader of the "bolters" as an ex-Mormon with an unwholesome record, and he fastened upon the recalcitrants the name of "Danite," by which they were known during the remainder of the campaign. He took care during the course of his remarks to state that in his opinion Buchanan was not a party to the attacks made upon him from the ranks in Illinois.

The Democratic press of the state immediately lined up with the rival conventions. A majority of the editors of the state favored Douglas, who had thus far been intrusted with a large part of the federal patronage of the state. The Whig editors took no part in the quarrel; the Buchananites were sadly in the minority. Some of the Douglas supporters went so far as to place the name of Douglas at the head of a column on the editorial page, as if the election of a senator were to be determined by popular vote. This, added to the direct nomination of Lincoln by the Republican convention, gave additional color to the popular aspect of the campaign. It was as if the two were running for the presidency rather than for an election to a senatorship through a state legislature.

[*Illinois State Register*, Springfield, June 17]

Mr. Lincoln is recommended for Senator and however unusual such an issue may be, it is now plainly and squarely one before the people of the state for United States senator—Stephen A. Douglas on the one side and Abraham Lincoln on the other; the Democracy of the one against the black republican principles of the other.

[*New York Daily Tribune*, June 26, 1858]

ILLINOIS

Sketch of the Hon. Abraham Lincoln

Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*

COLLINSVILLE, ILL., June 15, 1858

The decided expressions of the Republican Convention of this State in favor of Abraham Lincoln for Senator, in the place now held by Judge Douglas, will give interest to anything throwing light upon the character and abilities of Mr. Lincoln, especially to those who are not acquainted with him. As he has served only one term in the Lower House of Congress, and that so long ago as 1846–8, there must be many who would like to know how he will be likely to fill the place of the now so notorious—I might say distinguished—Douglas. Is he a match for his "illustrious predecessor"?

. . . .

But I am forgetting myself, which was chiefly to relate an incident showing the two men in contact and somewhat in comparison. I think it has never been in print.

It was in the Fall of 1854, when the Nebraska bill was a fresh topic, Lincoln was speaking to some two thousand persons in the State-House at Springfield. Douglas sat on the Clerk's platform, just under the Speaker's stand. In his introduction, Lincoln complimented his distinguished friend; said he himself had not been in public life as he had; and if he should, on that account, misstate any fact, he would be very much obliged to his friend the Judge, if he would correct him. Judge Douglas rose with a good deal of Senatorial dignity, and said that it was not always agreeable to a speaker to be interrupted in the course of his remarks, and therefore, if he should have anything to say, he would wait until Mr. Lincoln was done. For some reason, he did not keep to his purpose, but quite frequently rose to put in a word when he seemed to think his case required immediate attention. One of these passages—and it was pretty nearly a sample of the rest—was in this wise: Lincoln had been giving a history of the legislation of the Federal Government on the subject of Slavery, and referring to the opinions held by public men, and had come down to the Nicholson letter, wherein the denial of the power of Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories was first presented to the public. Said he, "I don't know what my friend the Judge thinks" [and he looked down upon him with a smile half playful, half roguish], "but really it seems to me that *that* was the origin of the Nebraska bill." This stroke at the Senator's laurels in the matter of the "great principle," created a good deal of laughter and some applause, which brought the Judge to his feet. Shaking back his heavy hair, and looking much like a roused lion, he said, in his peculiarly heavy voice which he uses with so much effect when he wishes to be impressive, "No, Sir! I will tell you what was the origin of the Nebraska bill. It was this, Sir! God created man, and placed before him both good and evil, and left him free to choose for himself. That was the origin of the Nebraska bill." As he said this, Lincoln looked the picture of good nature and patience. As Douglas concluded, the smile which lurked in the corners of Lincoln's mouth parted his lips, and he replied, "Well, then, I think it is a great honor to Judge Douglas that he *was the first man to discover that fact.*" This brought down the house, of course, but I could not perceive that the Judge appreciated the fun in the least. . . . . W.

Congress adjourned June 1, 1858, and Douglas started for Chicago by way of northern New York, where he intended paying a visit to his aged mother. So prominently before the public was he at this time, in view of the coming contest in Illinois, that the newspapers chronicled his every movement on the way.

[*Chicago Times*, June 27]

SENATOR DOUGLAS

Senator Douglas, accompanied by his beautiful and accomplished wife, arrived at the Girard House, Monday night, from Washington en route for Chicago, where he proposes opening his campaign.—He was visited, in the course of yesterday, by a large number of our most influential citizens—holding quite an impromptu levee, in fact, for no special announcement of his arrival in this city had been made. He appeared in excellent health and spirits. He left New York by the afternoon train.—*Phila. Press.*

[*Daily Whig*, Quincy, Ills., July 1]

Senator Douglas is at present at his mother's in the State of New York—recruiting previous to entering upon the campaign in this State. It is said that he will open the ball at Carlinville, Macoupin County.

Col. Carpenter on the part of the Administration Democrats, is to take the stump, it is said, and meet Douglas in the field.

The Republican standard bearer will be HON. ABE LINCOLN—and we could not place our cause in abler hands.

Let the people hear and judge between the principles of these contending parties.

[*Cincinnati, Ohio, Commercial*, July 6, 1858]

MR. DOUGLAS IN ILLINOIS

The Dismantled Democracy and the Administration]

We have been informed, from a satisfactory source, that it is the purpose of Mr. Senator Douglas (now en route homeward) to enter at once upon the state campaign of Illinois, which, in the approaching fall election, is to determine the complexion of the Legislature, and thus whether Mr. Douglas or some other man is, for the next term of six years, to take the chair so long occupied in the United States Senate by the "Little Giant." We learn, too, that adopting a conciliatory course toward the administration, the plan of the campaign of Mr. Douglas will be war to the knife against the destructive anti-slavery heresies of the late Illinois State Convention, and of their Senatorial nominee, Mr. Lincoln; and that thus, taking up the glove thrown before him, Mr. Douglas, upon the broad democratic principles of constitutional obligations and state rights, will make a fair field fight with the opposition upon the ground of their own choosing.

In this aspect of affairs, the Illinois Republicans having coolly turned their backs upon Mr. Douglas, he is in an excellent position to understand the exact necessities of his case, the difficulties of his party and the way to surmount them.

Considering, therefore, the dangers which surround the Illinois Democracy, with the critical position of Mr. Douglas on the one hand, and the excessive confidence of the opposition on the other, we may anticipate a campaign out there as desperate as that of the Pennsylvania October election of 1856, and perhaps as momentous to the Democratic party in reference to the Presidency.

[*Cincinnati, Ohio, Commercial*, July 8, 1858]

ILLINOIS POLITICS

A correspondent, a particular friend and admirer of Douglas, writing from Olney, Ill., under date of July 3d, to the *Vincennes Sun*, gives a glimpse of the fight in Illinois.

The Little Giant will soon be among us, and as he moves about we can tell how the people feel. It is conceded here that it's all right in this district.

Every district where there is any hope will be looked after and nothing left undone that will tend to success. By about September the whole state will be alive with stumpers,—Douglas will be backed by the "giants," and the Black Republican Ajaxes will be in the field armed for the conflict. Distinguished speakers from all parts of the Union on both sides are promised.

Lincoln is popular—the strongest man the opposition have,—is nearly fifty years old—six feet two—slightly stoop-shouldered—very muscular and powerful—dark eyes—a quizzical, pleasant, raw-boned face—tells a story better than anybody else—is a good lawyer—and is what the world calls a devilish good fellow.—He would have been senator before, had not Trumbull's superior cunning overreached him. But, in dignity, intellect and majesty of mind it is not pretended that he is Douglas's equal.

[*Cincinnati, Ohio, Commercial*, July 13]

MR. DOUGLAS—HIS PASSAGE THROUGH OHIO—HIS COMFORTERS

The Honorable Stephen A. Douglas appears to have put himself into not very desirable hands in his passage through the state of Ohio. It is true that if he found it advisable to put himself into any hands whatever, he had left to him very little freedom of choice. The original Buchanan men, and those whose interests it is still to appear to cling to the presidential faction, could not, of course, have anything to do with him.

Having addressed a large gathering of the people at Clifton Springs, N. Y., on the Fourth of July, Douglas departed for Chicago. In New York, at Cleveland, and at Toledo, Ohio, he was tendered serenades and receptions. Recalling the unfortunate manner in which the people of Chicago had greeted him four years before, his supporters now planned a reception which, by its very magnitude would overwhelm hostility if any were manifest and would also show Buchanan that Illinois chose to follow her senator rather than the President. It was the first of the extraordinary rallies made to the banner of Douglas in the campaign of 1858.

[*Illinois State Register*, Springfield, July 12, 1858]

[From the *Chicago Times* of Saturday, 10th]

SENATOR DOUGLAS AT HOME

Triumphant Demonstration! — Enthusiastic Welcome. — Cheering Tribute to a Public Servant!—Grand Ovation—30,000 People Assembled!—Great Speech of Senator Douglas.—Bonfires, Fireworks, Salutes, &c.—Chicago to her Senator.—Departure of the Committee

As per announcement in the programme of the reception of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, published by authority of the committee of arrangements, an extra train of cars was ready at 1 o'clock, yesterday, to convey the committee of reception to Michigan City—distant from Chicago sixty miles—at which place Senator Douglas was to take the Illinois Central road on the return trip.

. . . .

In the meantime, also, a great number of national flags were being elevated at conspicuous points near the depot and elsewhere, and banners of different shapes and colors, besides streamers, pennants, etc., were disposed in all directions.

It was now 1 o'clock. The train was to start at that hour, and all things being ready, the cars moved off amid shouts from the outside, and answering shouts and music from within. In all the company numbered four hundred. A splendid banner, that of the young Men's Democratic Club, was carried upon the locomotive.

. . . .

The train proceeded to Michigan City, where it was met by a host of gallant Indianians, who accompanied the Judge from Laporte to Michigan City. Some malicious person having secretly spiked the only gun in the town, the democracy obtained a large anvil, and placing it in the middle of the street, made the welkin echo with its repeated discharges.

. . . .

THE RETURN TO THE CITY

At a few minutes after five o'clock the procession was formed and proceeded to the depot, Judge Douglas being now the guest of the committee. The train soon started, and all along the road—at every station, at almost every farmhouse and laborer's cabin—in every cornfield and at every point where laborers were engaged—there was

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY SAN RAFAEL

exhibited by cheers, by waving of handkerchiefs and other demonstrations, that cordial "welcome home" to the great representative of popular rights.

At the outer depot of the Illinois Central railroad the national flag had been raised by the operatives, and a swivel belched forth its roaring notes of welcome. The hardy hands of the mechanics resounded with applause, and cheers and huzzas continued until the train had passed on to the city.

As the train passed along from Twelfth street to the depot, crowds of ladies were assembled on the doorsteps of the residences on Michigan avenue, waving banners and handkerchiefs; the lake part was crowded by persons hastily proceeding to the depot. Long before the train could enter the station house, thousands had crossed over the breakwater, got upon the track, and climbed into the cars, and when the latter reached the depot they were literally crammed inside and covered on top by ardent and enthusiastic friends and supporters of the illustrious Illinoisan.

Capt. Smith's artillery were, in the meantime, firing from Dearborn Park a salute of 150 guns, (guns were also firing in the west and north divisions) the booming of the cannon alone rising above the cheering plaudits of the assembled multitude. The hotels and principal buildings of the city were adorned with flags.

The Adams House, near the Central depot, was most handsomely decorated. The national flag, a banner bearing the motto "Douglas, the champion of Popular Sovereignty," as well as numerous flags belonging to vessels in the harbor were suspended across the street, presenting a grand display. The doors, windows, balconies, and roofs of the Adams House, as well as the private residences in the neighborhood, and the large stores and warehouses along Lake Street were crowded with ladies and other persons—all cheering and welcoming the senator. At the depot, a procession consisting of the "Montgomery Guards," Capt. Gleason and the "Emmet Guards," &c., Lieut. Stuart commanding, acting as the military escort, was then formed. Judge Douglas was in an open barouche drawn by six horses, and was followed by the committee of arrangements in other carriages. The procession proceeded up Lake to Wabash Avenue, down Wabash Avenue to Dearborn street, and thence by Dearborn to the Tremont House.

Throughout the whole route of the procession, the senator was greeted from house top and window, from street, from awning post and balcony by every demonstration of grateful welcome.

THE SCENE AT THE TREMONT

As early as half past six o'clock people began to collect around the Tremont House. The omnibusses from Union Park, and from the southern and northern limits of the city, were crowded with suburban residents, and people came on foot from the remotest parts of the city, taking up eligible standing places around the hotel.

At about half past seven the booming of cannon on the lake shore having announced the arrival of the train, it was the signal for the assembling of thousands of others who rapidly filled up every vacant spot in Lake street, from State, for the distance of a block and a half. Dearborn street was also thronged from Lake to Randolph. The area occupied by the people, packed together in one dense mass, was considerably over *fifty thousand square feet.* In addition to this, every window and roof within hearing distance was occupied, a large portion of the occupants being ladies. The assemblage of people who welcomed in vociferous and prolonged shouts of joy the return of Senator Douglas numbered at the least calculation *thirty thousand.*

Chicago has never before witnessed such a sight. A field of human forms parted with difficulty as the procession passed through, and closed instantly behind it, with the surge and roar of the waters of a sea; an ocean of upturned faces, extending beyond the furthest limits to which the senator's powerful voice could reach, from which broke one spontaneous burst of applause as he appeared upon the balcony before them! Over all the light of the illumination, and the glare and glitter of the fireworks, spread an appearance which is indescribable!

The building just across the street from the Tremont, on Lake, occupied by Jno. Parmly, hat manufacturer, and others, was finely illuminated, and a handsome transparency was displayed, bearing the words "Welcome to Stephen A. Douglas, the Defender of Popular Sovereignty."

THE SPEECHES

Chas. Walker, Esq., then appeared on the Lake Street balcony and in a very neat address, welcomed Senator Douglas to his constituents from a prolonged, but glorious struggle in which he defended and maintained the right.

Senator Douglas responded in a speech of over an hour in which he briefly reviewed the history of the past and the prospect of the future.

. . . .

We could not but remember the scene of 1854, when instead of welcoming huzzas he was greeted with denunciation. The past, however, is gone; the present is upon us; and instead of the mere handful who indorsed his course in 1854, he now can count thousands who have approved his course, and an united constituency who applaud and admire the fidelity with which he has adhered to his principles and to the pledges he made to the people.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, July 9, 1858]

THE OVATION TO SENATOR DOUGLAS

The followers of Senator Douglas are straining their utmost powers to make the demonstration in behalf of their champion on his return home, a great and "glorious" affair, this evening. If it does not prove imposing, and if there is not a *tremendous* outward show of "enthusiasm" displayed on the occasion, it will not be for lack of effort on the part of the Senator's more active worshippers to render it so. They have been begging and scraping together all the spare dollars, shillings, dimes and six pences that could be obtained, for the last few weeks,—have bought powder enough to supply the Utah war—have expended large sums in getting up banners and devices—and have laid out not a small sum in hiring men and boys to make up a big procession and make a big noise. Surely, after such extensive preparations, we have a right to anticipate a great time, and shall expect to see the lionized Senator perfectly emblazoned in the glory of triumphant honors.

[From the same paper]

PERSONAL.—Hon. A. Lincoln, O. H. Browning, Judge I. O. Wilkinson of Rock Island, and other distinguished gentlemen from different parts of the State are at present in the city, in attendance on the U. S. District Court.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, July 10, 1858]

SPEECH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS LAST NIGHT

Several thousand people, amongst whom were many Republicans, who were present as a matter of curiosity—assembled in front of the Tremont House last evening, on the occasion of the reception of Senator

Douglas, to hear what account he had to give of himself and what he had to say in reference to the political topics of the day.

He spoke for an hour and a half, in his usual style—dispensing "soft-soap" quite freely, setting himself forth as a hero of no common order, and indulging even more than ordinarily in that inexorable habit of misrepresentation, and prevarication which appears in political matters to have become a sort of second nature to him.

. . . .

Dropping the Kansas question, he next paid his respects to Mr. Lincoln and the speech that gentleman made at Springfield at the late Republican State Convention. He considered Mr. Lincoln a "kind, amiable, high-minded gentleman, a good citizen, and an honorable opponent," but took exception to the sentiments of his speech.

. . . .

He repeated, almost word for word, the language of his last year's Springfield speech in regard to "negro equality" and very falsely imputed to Mr. Lincoln this doctrine of "negro equality," while the fact is that Mr. Lincoln has no more to do with negroes, or the question of placing negroes on an equality with white men, than Douglas has to do with the Americanizing of the Hottentots or the Fejee Islanders.

[From the same paper]

The following scene, as described by the *Tribune*, took place preliminary to the speech:

> Shortly before eight o'clock the procession from the depot, preceded by a band of music, and two companies of militia, reached the corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, from Randolph. The hack drivers charged furiously on the dense throng and by dint of whipping and swearing, the carriage containing Mr. Douglas was brought up to the north entrance of the house. At this juncture a blockhead on the upper balcony commenced firing off rockets, and of course made a dozen horses crazy. Those attached to the carriage in which Mr. Douglas sat, plunged frantically in every direction. Several persons were bruised. One man had his leg broken in three places, and was borne fainting into a drug store. Mr. Douglas escaped indoors, and almost immediately reappeared on the north balcony, when Charles Walker, Esq., commenced his reception speech.
>
> At this point of the proceedings a furious battle commenced in the street between the crowd and the remaining hack drivers, who persisted insanely in plowing through the living sea in front of the building. In the confusion and excitement, Mr. Walker's speech came to an abrupt and embarrassing termination—leaving people uncertain whether he had forgotten the balance, or had adopted that novel and peculiar way of welcoming a Senator. Not one man in fifty of the entire audience knew that he had made a speech at all. The battle in the street below

was kept up for some ten minutes with various results,—one man being knocked down with the butt end of a whip, and a driver being pulled off his seat three times in five minutes. The horses were finally extricated and Mr. Douglas commenced.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Illinois, July 16, 1858]

THE DIFFERENCES

Four years ago Senator Douglas returned to Chicago from Washington and attempted to speak to the people in justification of his course in the United States Senate, but was denied a hearing. And, indeed, as most of our readers will recollect, when he did make the effort he was assailed and driven from the platform. The Chicago people would not listen to him; nor did they permit him the right of speech at all, so incensed were they against him for his support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

Four years have elapsed since then and the city which hunted, denounced and assailed the "little giant," makes the occasion of his arrival a source of public rejoicing. In another place we have alluded to his triumphant entry into the city on last Friday. Indeed, it is conceded that for magnificence and unanimity it excelled any demonstration of the kind ever witnessed west of the Allegheny Mountains.

. . . . [From the *Joliet Signal*]

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 12, 1858]

RECEPTION AND SPEECH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS

CHICAGO, July 9, 11 P. M.

Senator Douglas was received here this evening, with great display. At one o'clock, a committee of four hundred persons of Chicago and the adjoining counties, proceeded to Michigan City, where they met the train, and escorted Mr. Douglas to this city, and, on his arrival, he was greeted with vociferous cheering from the people, and the firing of cannon. A procession was immediately formed, and Mr. Douglas was conducted to the Tremont House, where he was welcomed in a brief speech in behalf of the citizens, by Charles Walker, President of the Board of Trade.

Mr. Lincoln was present and heard Mr. Douglas. Fireworks were discharged in several parts of the city. The number of persons in attendance is variously estimated at from fifteen to twenty-five thousand.

At the Douglas meeting, Lincoln was accorded the courtesy of "a good seat," as he said, and, according to his custom four years before in the senatorial campaign, he arose the following evening at the same place to reply to Douglas. Quite naturally, the Chicago newspapers varied in their report of the meeting, according to their political complexions.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, July 12, 1858]

SPEECH OF HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN IN REPLY TO SENATOR DOUGLAS

Enthusiastic Reception of Mr. Lincoln by the Republicans of Chicago

The audience assembled to hear Hon. Abraham Lincoln on Saturday evening was in point of numbers, about three-fourths as large as that of the previous evening, when Douglas held forth; and in point of enthusiasm, about four times as great. The crowd extended from the corner of Lake and Dearborn Streets the whole length of the Tremont House, and as on the evening previous, the balconies, windows and roofs of the adjoining buildings were filled with attentive spectators—ladies and gentlemen. The only advertisement of the meeting consisted of a notice in the Saturday morning papers, and a few handbills distributed during the day. The essential difference in the two demonstrations was simply that the Lincoln audience was enthusiastically for Lincoln, and the Douglas was but qualified in favor of anybody. This will be admitted by any fair-minded man who witnessed both demonstrations. The Douglas authorities estimate the crowd of Friday evening at 30,000—or something more than the whole male adult population of the city. We presume that 12,000 is a liberal reckoning for that evening, and that 9,000 would about cover the gathering of Saturday night.

During the progress of Mr. Lincoln's speech a procession of four hundred men from the Seventh ward including the German Republican Club, arrived on the ground, preceded by a band of music, and carrying the Seventh ward banner. They were received with loud and continued cheers from the audience.

Mr. Lincoln was introduced by C. L. Wilson, Esq., and as he made his appearance he was greeted with a perfect storm of applause. For some moments the enthusiasm continued unabated. At last, when by a wave of his hand partial silence was restored, Mr. Lincoln spoke.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, July 12, 1858]

THE MEETING SATURDAY NIGHT

At an early hour Saturday evening, the street in front of the Tremont House began to be filled with an eager crowd. A band of music discoursed from the balcony of the Tremont, and rockets blazed in different directions until about 8½ o'clock, the gathering in the meantime having been swelled to thousands, presenting literally a sea of faces.

Shortly afterward Mr. Lincoln appeared on the balcony, and was greeted with a perfect storm of cheers.

The feature of the evening, was the arrival of the German Republican Club of the Seventh Ward, with a band of music, and their new banner. They were vociferously greeted with the wildest kind of hurrahs.

Mr. Lincoln devoted himself to replying to the speech of Senator Douglas, and considering the brief time he had for preparation, it must be conceded that he did it effectually.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Ill., July 14, 1858]

From the *Chicago Union*

LINCOLN ON THE STUMP

Burlesque on the Douglas Ovation

Yesterday (Saturday) placards appeared on the streets; and a band went round in a wagon to announce to the Republicans that Hon. Abraham Lincoln would reply to Hon. S. A. Douglas from the Tremont House balcony.—Rockets were fired to show the spot where Lincoln would talk, and at 8½ o'clock, not less than 3000 persons of all parties had assembled. The lamps marked with the names of States, which had been set up for Douglas, were re-lit; but it was remarkable that those of the slave States burned very badly, and some one from the crowd suggested that a black republican meeting could do with seventeen lamps. Bye-and-Bye Bross came forward and stood between two lamps, the light playing on his generous countenance, when there arose a shout of "Bross," "Lincoln." A stentorian voice cried, "Fellows, Bross will do as well," when there arose a shout of Bross, amidst which the worthy Deacon retired, blushing. He remarked, when behind (Bross is his own Boswell,) "They got their eyes on me, did they not?" Band of music plays.—Then there were cries of Long John, Little John, George Brown, Smart, etc. After a disagreeable wait, C. L. Wilson, Esq., of the *Journal*, introduced Mr. Lincoln. Bross went forward and called for cheers, when the crowd cried out "Lincoln, stand where Bross is," and he did. We shall not attempt to give Mr. Lincoln's speech. It was a rambling affair. Mr. L. thought he was mentioned in such a way that he could not refuse to reply to him. He commenced to read from the Senator's speech [cries of put on your specs].

He argued against the allegation of Judge Douglas that an alliance existed between the Republicans and the National Democrats.—[A rocket went off.] He denied it. [The audience cheered instead of groaning—and another rocket.] Douglas is not a live lion but a Russian rugged bear. [Bross,—"splendid;" Shuman of the Journal, "That's argument."] He objected to being slain. [Small boy from the crowd, "Don't."] Let him remember the allies took Sebastopol. [Shuman—That's profound.] He confessed he rather liked the disaffection of the Buchanan Democracy, because it would divide the party. But he had never paid to them. [Cries of "No, sir."] He wanted to know what had become of squatter sovereignty. [A voice—"Throw back your ears Douglas will swallow you whole." Voices—"Three cheers for James Buchanan."] He would read them something from Douglas.—[Cries of "do," and others of "do, and we'll go." Bross catches hold of Lincoln's farmer satin coat and tears it. "Don't Lincoln, don't read it."] He thought Douglas did right in opposing Lecompton, because all the Republicans voted with him. He did not leave them to vote against it. [A voice—No, they stuck to him pretty well.] Who defeated Lecompton—was it Judge Douglas! [Voices—Yes.] He furnished three votes, and the Black Republicans twenty against it. Now, who did it.—[Voices—Douglas.] He'd put the proposition in a different way. [Voices—You'd better.] The Republican party would have defeated Lecompton without Douglas. [A voice—Why did not they come out first?] He reiterated his views upon the matter of the ultimate extinction of slavery. The speaker attempted a reply to Democratic principles, amid some applause, and some spicy interruptions. We left when Deacon Bross announced that the Seventh Ward *are* coming. Band played, Hocklets fizzled, and we mizzled.

[*Illinois Journal*, Springfield, July 12, 1858]

LINCOLN'S REPLY TO DOUGLAS

We today occupy considerable of our space with the speech of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, in reply to Senator Douglas' speech of Friday evening. . . . . The war has begun. The first fire has been exchanged by the two contestants. Those who will read the speech we publish today, will perceive that the Little Giant is already wounded in several vital parts. In sound, manly argument, Lincoln is too much for him. While the former shakes his black locks vain-gloriously and explodes in mere fustian of sound and smoke, the latter quietly unassumingly but effectually drives home argument after argument, heavy as cannon balls, and sharp as two-edged swords, until his adversary is so thoroughly riddled, cut up and "used up," that in the view of discriminating men, nothing remains of him but a ghostly appearance.

[*Cincinnati, Ohio, Commercial*, July 12, 1858]

SENATOR DOUGLAS IN CHICAGO

We devote much space in our news columns to the reproduction of reports in the Chicago papers of the reception of Senator Douglas in that city Friday last, and his speech on that occasion. His competitor, Hon. Abram Lincoln, sat near him, marked attentively all he said, and replied to him from the same place the following evening. We have not yet a report of Mr. Lincoln's remarks. The speech of Douglas was able and bold, and it appears from some things said of Lincoln, that his personal relations with that gentleman are friendly.—The indications are that the political campaign in Illinois will be quite exciting and the contest close, and that Douglas will succeed in being re-elected to the U. S. Senate.

[*Louisville Democrat*, Louisville, Ky., September 5, 1858]

The debate in Illinois, between Lincoln and Douglas, is the ablest and the most important that has ever taken place in any of the States, on the great question which has so long agitated the country, elected and defeated Presidential candidates, built up and broken down parties. It is the opening of the question for 1860. There the real battle has begun, by broadsides too, from the heaviest artillery. Douglas is matchless in debate, and stands upon the only national platform. Lincoln is able, and does full justice to the bad cause he advocates.

He is the champion of anti-slavery in the North. It is the one idea that has brought him forward as the candidate of his party. . . . .

[*Daily Whig*, Quincy, Ill., July 21, 1858]

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

. . . .

As to the Southern Democratic candidates, the leading men are Senator Hunter and Gov. Wise of Virginia, the former representing Administration, the latter anti-Administration views on the Kansas question. Senator Slidell, of Louisiana, Secretary Floyd, of Virginia, and Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, are also spoken of.

The *Times* postpones the chances of Senator Douglas indefinitely, on account of his quarrel with the administration, and the fact that he is from a Northern State, two circumstances which render his nomination entirely out of the question.

Among the Republican candidates, the *Times* places the name of Col. Fremont first on the list; next Mr. Seward, followed by Mr. Crittenden, Gov. Banks, of Mass., Gov. Chase, of Ohio, and Judge McLean.

. . . .

From its beginning the Illinois campaign attracted widespread attention. It meant more than state issues and state results. The fate of "squatter sovereignty," the triumph or defeat of the administration, the presidential nominations to be made in the next national conventions, indeed, the future of the Union was felt to depend in no small degree upon the outcome of these debates. Eastern newspapers at once dispatched special reporters to the scene and they outlined the situation for their readers.

[*New York Semi-Weekly Post*, August 18, 1858]

POLITICS IN ILLINOIS

Abe Lincoln.—Douglas Rejoicing over Blair's Defeat.—Senator Trumbull's Speech

[From our special correspondent]

CHICAGO, ILL., August 13, 1858

The interest in politics increases here as the campaign progresses. Illinois is regarded as the battle-ground of the year, and the results of this contest are held to be of the highest importance to the wellfare of the country and the success of the great contending parties. The Republican Convention of June 16, after placing a state ticket in nomination, named as its choice for United States senator to succeed Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln, of Springfield. This expression met at once the approval of the Republicans of the state. Mr. Lincoln was regarded as the man for the place. A native of Kentucky, where he belonged to the class of "poor whites," he came early to Illinois. Poor, unfriended, uneducated, a day-laborer, he has distanced all these disadvantages, and in the profession of the law he has risen steadily to a competence, and to the position of an intelligent, shrewd and well balanced man. Familiarly known as "Long Abe," he is a popular speaker, and a cautious, thoughtful politician, capable of taking a high position as a statesman and legislator. His nomination was proof that the Republicans of Illinois were determined in their hostility to Mr. Douglas, and that no latter-day conversion of his, however luminous it might appear to some eastern eyes, could blind them to the fact that in him were embodied the false and fatal principles against which they were organized. They had grown mighty in their opposition to Douglas, and in his defeat they were certain of an enlarged and a well-established party. Even Mr. Douglas's anti-Lecomptonism could not excuse or palliate his past errors; nor did it incline them in the least degree to sympathize with him. Save in this one respect, he was, as ever, the firm upholder of Dred Scottism, and the constant apologist and defender of the Federal Administration and the measures which it urged upon an unwilling country. The people of Illinois felt certain that they knew best the sentiment of their state, and they repudiated the counsels of those who suggested that Douglas was a good-enough Republican, and that he might be used to break down the democratic party here and in the northwest. The present attitude of Mr. Douglas, so entirely consistent with his antecedents, is good evidence that the Republicans in Illinois did well to contemn the time-serving and dangerous suggestions that emanated from Washington and New York, and which had voice in many influential journals at the East. Mr. Douglas, in all his speeches, claims to be a democrat, and demands the support of democrats in his assault upon Republicanism. The "Little Giant" is unchanged in no respect; and as the canvass grows warmer, the breech widens, and his actual position becomes more clearly defined.

He is of other material, altogether, than that which makes Republicanism. He is still an out-and-out pro-slavery man. In one of his recent speeches he stopped to read the despatch announcing Blair's defeat in St. Louis, as the overthrow of "negro equality" and all that sort of stuff that forms the staple of democratic rhetoric.

It is a foregone conclusion, therefore, that under no circumstances can the Republicans of Illinois show any favor to Mr. Douglas. In fighting him, they fight democracy in one of its worst forms. It seems to be equally a conclusion that the administration democrats of Illinois are utterly hostile to Douglas. The democratic split, while widening every day, is as marked and bitter as in the battle of the Shells. "Danite" and Douglasite are names of hostility as deep as that once existing between Hard and Soft. Perhaps another truce at Charleston, as hollow as that at Cincinnati, may be needed to "harmonize" things. Senator Slidell has been here to look on, perhaps to "fix" matters. Stephens of Georgia is here now, ostensibly to have his portrait painted by Healy, but really to see what can be done to adjust these difficulties. The prospect is reported to be not flattering. The Buchanan men propose to carry their anti-Douglas feeling even to the least important county nominations. The democracy must choose whom they will serve, and come out flat-footed for the Postoffice, or for the Douglas exegesis of popular sovereignty.

Douglas is working like a lion. He is stumping the state, everywhere present, and everywhere appealing to his old lieges to stand by him. Never did feudal baron fight more desperately against the common superior of himself and his retainers. In the Egypt of Southern Illinois the senator has been always strong, but the ties that bound him to the Egyptians are melting before the incessant charges that he is no democrat. That cry is fatal to the faith of many of his once most reliable friends. Democracy must be done, though Douglas falls.

Lincoln, too, is actively engaged. His senatorial nomination has sent him to the field, and he is working with an energy and zeal which counterbalançe the spirit and dogged resolution of his opponent. Lincoln is battling for the right, and Douglas is desperately struggling to save himself from utter political ruin. He is losing strength daily, while Lincoln is surely gaining upon him. You will observe as a new feature, even in western politics, that Mr. Lincoln has a State Convention nomination for the Senate, and that he is stumping the state for his party, while the legislature to be elected is to have the responsibility of electing the senator. But with this endorsement, no Republican member of the state legislature would dare to bolt the significant expression of the Springfield Convention. Mr. Douglas, on the other hand, has no nomination. Returning home, he found Mr. Lincoln prepared, and at once he mounted the platform and opened upon him. He is stumping for himself, and trying to vindicate his course to the people at large on the one hand, and to the administration scoffers on the other.

[*New York Times*, July 16, 1858]

SENATORIAL CONTEST IN ILLINOIS

The Republican candidate for United States Senator, the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, was present on Saturday evening when Mr. Douglas made his address published in Tuesday's *Times* to the crowd assembled in honor of his arrival in Chicago. On Monday evening Mr. Lincoln replied to his distinguished competitor, and we give his speech in full this morning. He, too, received an enthusiastic welcome and the war between the two champions was fitly inaugurated in the chief city of Illinois. . . . . Until November, therefore, the contest will go on with increasing vigor. Mr. Douglas has an undertaking on hand which will task his utmost powers, and he is not the man to flinch from a contest because the odds are against him.

[*New York Herald*, July 27, 1858]

RECEPTION OF LINCOLN

On Monday night there was a large gathering in the legislative hall of the Capitol to hear the Honorable Abraham Lincoln in reply to Mr. Douglas. Mr. Lincoln, though not perhaps so well calculated for a leader as Senator Douglas, is a remarkably able man. In addition to his talents as a lawyer, he has many personal qualities which have endeared him to the people of Illinois, and will be beyond all question the strongest opponent that could be found in the State to oppose Mr. Douglas.

It is, we believe somewhat of an anomaly for a Senator of the United States to be stumping the State, and another who wishes to be Senator following in his wake, yet thus it is at the present time in Illinois, and none can have heard either of these gentlemen speak without being impressed and highly gratified with the fact that whenever reference is made by either to the other, it is in the kindest, most courteous and dignified manner. The approaching political contest between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln will be one of the severest we have had in the State, but that it will result in the reëlection of Douglas there appears to be at present very little doubt.

[*New York Daily Tribune*, July 16, 1858]

The admirable and thoroughly Republican speech of Mr. Lincoln in reply to Judge Douglas, published in our last, seemed to require no comment; yet a single remark with reference to the origin and attitude of the rival canvassers may not be out of place. Judge Douglas, who regards Slavery as an affair of climate and latitude, is a native of Free Vermont; Mr. Lincoln, who esteems Slavery a National evil, and hopes that our Union may one day be *all* Free, was born and reared in slaveholding Kentucky. These gentlemen would seem respectively to have "conquered their prejudices" founded in early impressions. We shall watch with interest the progress of their canvass.

[*Philadelphia North American*, August 25, 1858]

SENATOR DOUGLAS

Senator Douglas, little giant though he be, can hardly fail to suffer somewhat from the wear and tear of the life he leads. . . . . The adjournment of Congress brings no peace to the Senator from Illinois. Strong as he was in that state,—holding as he thought he did, the democratic party at home in his hand—he finds that he has lost ground there. The Administration has been at work with all the power which its patronage and influence gives it to prevent the re-election of Mr. Douglas to the Senate. And he is obliged to go to work again, this time with his coat off, stumping the State and addressing the people, with the thermometer ranging somewhere between 96 and 100° in the shade. And not only this, while the democracy are very forgetful of their old comrade and ungrateful for the services he has so frequently done them in past years, the republicans, generally speaking, have not a particle of faith in Mr. Douglas' professions. He has not their confidence and is plainly unable to win them to his support. Mr. Lincoln, the republican candidate, follows him wherever he addresses the people, and has the best of the argument. . . . . As it is, he lost his temper and in reply to some remarks of Mr. Trumbull made at a public meeting at Chicago, indulged in language which he will probably be ashamed to read in print.

The favorable manner in which Douglas' speech was received by the Democrats in the city of Chicago was a disappointment to the supporters of Buchanan in his contest with Douglas and immediate steps were taken to curb the latter's popularity in Illinois. The administration machinery was put in motion and, before many days had passed, lists of proscribed postmasters and of other federal employees favorable to Douglas began to appear in the newspapers. The *Union*, the administration organ in Washington, devoted columns of space to show why the Democrats of Illinois should not support Douglas, and urged them to vote for Judge Breese, who was faint-heartedly put forward in opposition to the Little Giant. Senator Trumbull, bound to support Lincoln because of his sacrifice four years before, as well as by party ties and natural hostility toward Douglas, took the stump in a series of abusive attacks on Douglas, which drew from the latter equally caustic and offensive rejoinders. Without a formal nomination or indorsement by the people of Illinois, ridiculed as a "my-party" candidate, and facing the loss of the federal patronage, Douglas entered upon the greatest of his many battles for supremacy—a contest surpassing that waged two years later for the presidency, when he was in a hopeless situation from the beginning of the campaign. Alone and unaided, he faced in the lists Trumbull and Lincoln, the best debators afforded by the Republicans in the West, and probably equaled only by Seward in the East.

[*Daily Whig*, Quincy, Ill., June 23, 1858]

DOUGLAS TO TAKE THE STUMP

. . . .

Judge Douglas has left the Democratic party, or the party has left *him*. He opposed the Administration in its darling measure to enslave

Kansas—and there is no forgiveness for him. He sees that his fate is sealed; but he is determined to die hard. Before he retires from the field, a defeated and disappointed man, he will give the "Nationals" such stabs as will forever finish the party in this State. He has already turned State's evidence against them—as the greatest rogues always do—and shown up their rascalities. We shall have more of it this fall; and we would advise the Buchaneers to be prepared for a skinning.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Ill., July 20, 1858]

SENATOR DOUGLAS

His campaign through this state will pretty effectually destroy the hopes of the Republican party; and Abe Lincoln, who compared himself to a "living dog" and Douglas to a "dead lion" will rapidly discover that instead of "living" he is one of the smallest of defunct puppies. He measure strength with Douglas! His comparison in some degree was true—it is very much like a puppy-dog fighting a lion.—*Pittsfield Democrat.*

[*Evening Post*, New York, July 13, 1858]

THE CANVASS IN ILLINOIS

Illinois is just now the theatre of the most momentous political contest, whether we consider the eminence of the contestants or the consequences which may result from it, that has occurred in this country in any state canvass since the defeat of Silas Wright for Governor in 1846. Nor are the contestants dissimilar. Both were regarded by their friends as material from which Presidents should be made; both were victims of treachery at Washington, and both were betrayed for venturing to propose a limit to the exactions of the nullifiers and disunionists. . . . .

One week after his triumphant reception at Chicago, Douglas began a tour of the state which was to continue during the four summer months. He made elaborate preparations for the beginning of the journey, traveling in a special train of coaches which included a flat car upon which was mounted a small cannon. The opposition press did not fail to ridicule the novel method of firing salutes as the train drew near a station instead of running the risk of not receiving a welcoming salute from the inhabitants of the city being approached. "Douglas' powder" suffered a run of pleasantries; kegs of powder tagged for Douglas were reported seen at various stations; and Republican papers circulated the story that Douglas was obliged to mortgage his Chicago home and even then to solicit funds in New York to carry on the expensive campaign. On the other hand, the Democratic press praised his action in transferring to the new University of Chicago the ground on which its buildings stood as the deed of a noble man of means. The first important stop made by the special train was at Bloomington.

[*Bloomington, Ill., Pantagraph*, July 17, 1858]

DOUGLAS AT BLOOMINGTON

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas arrived in this city at half past three o'clock yesterday afternoon. The train on which he arrived was tastefully decorated with flags and on each side of the baggage car were the words "S. A. Douglas, the Champion of Popular Sovereignty." About a thousand persons—more than one half of whom were Republicans—witnessed Judge D's arrival. Just before the cars reached the depot Pullen's Brass Band commenced playing "Hail Columbia" and when the cars stopped, the Bloomington Guards commenced firing a national salute of thirty-two guns. Judge Douglas was in the hindmost passenger car—an open car, upon which was placed a brass six-pounder, bringing up the rear.

. . . .

At seven o'clock in the evening the Court House bell rang and Judge Douglas escorted by the Guards, the Brass Band and a goodly number of Democrats, proceeded to the public square. He was welcomed by Dr. Roe, who spoke for about five minutes and concluded by introducing Judge Douglas.

The Judge commenced speaking at half past seven, and concluded at a quarter before ten. His speech did not differ materially from the one made by him in Chicago on the evening of the ninth.

He spoke to an audience of about two thousand persons. His Democratic listeners were highly pleased with his speech. They viewed it as a masterly effort—and we are willing to admit that the

Judge did, on the whole, make a very good speech in a very bad cause.

As soon as Judge Douglas retired, loud calls were made for Hon. Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln held back for a little while, but the crowd finally succeeded in inducing him to come upon the stand. He was received with three rousing cheers—much louder than those given to Judge Douglas. He remarked that he appeared before the audience for the purpose of saying that he would take an early opportunity to give his views to the citizens of this place regarding the matters spoken of in Judge Douglas' speech.—"This meeting," said Mr. Lincoln, "was called by the friends of Judge Douglas, and it would be improper for me to address it." Mr. Lincoln then retired amid loud cheering.

Leaving Bloomington, the senatorial train proceeded to the real objective point—Springfield, the state capital, the home of Lincoln, and a stronghold of Douglas supporters. Here the senator addressed an enormous gathering of people in a grove adjacent to the city. He explained his objections to the Lecompton constitution, asserting that it did not represent the free will of the whole people of Kansas, although he did not object to its pro-slavery tendency. Turning his attention to Lincoln, he pronounced his attitude toward the non-extension of slavery as virtually a war upon that institution and ridiculed his proposition to get a new law from Congress which would undo the Dred Scott decision. He bore especially hard on Lincoln's defense of the black man and charged that he desired black and white to be social equals.

[*Illinois State Register*, Springfield, July 19, 1858]

SENATOR DOUGLAS AT THE CAPITAL

His Journey from Chicago.—Enthusiastic Receptions.—Immense Assemblages of the People

WILLIAMSVILLE

Here the train with Senator Douglas was met,—the rain pouring down in torrents the while. The cannon thundered welcome for welcome—the shouts of the passengers joined in swelling the uproarious greeting; the several bands struck up stirring airs, and amid the storm, of rain, shouts, guns and music, the trains were joined and sped southward. When within two miles of Springfield the cannon, at minute intervals, announced the coming of our great guest. At precisely three o'clock the train arrived.

AT SPRINGFIELD

According to the arrangements the train stopped beside the beautiful grove of Mr. Edwards, on the northern boundary of the city, where, notwithstanding the previous drenching rain, thousands of people were awaiting the arrival of the distinguished visitor. The cannon on the cars boomed in response to cannon on the grounds, barely equalled in their thunders by the hurras of the crowd. The grove was gaily decorated with national flags, with significant mottoes, the whole forming a scene which filled the heart of every democrat present with pride—Conspicuous among these banners we will note was one very large pennant, with "Douglas," in broad letters upon its folds, got up by the Springfield employees of the work shops of the Chicago and St. Louis Road. Upon the stoppage of the train the committee of reception, preceded by the "Capital Guards" and the capital band, escorted Mr. Douglas to the stand, where Mr. B. S. Edwards welcomed him in a neat address, which welcome was reiterated by the hearty cheers of the large assemblage which he represented. To this Senator Douglas responded. We give both the address and reply in today's paper.

Senator Douglas' speech was received as it justly deserved, the reader will admit. Cheer upon cheer responded to his many happy points and forcible argumentation.

The crowd upon the ground numbered between five and six thousand. The drenching rain which immediately preceded the arrival of the train, and which made the grounds muddy and uncomfortable, kept away as many more, who were present in the city to participate in the reception. Especially is it to be regretted, that the committee's arrangements for the accommodation of the ladies were rendered unavailable on account of the rain, but notwithstanding, there were hundreds of them present in carriages, and many on foot, in mud, joining in the cheering welcome to our distinguished guest.

The counties immediately around us furnished large delegations, and hundreds were here from remote parts of the state. From the south a train of twelve cars were filled with people from Madison, Macoupin, Jersey, Greene, Montgomery, St. Claire, Monroe and other counties—one of these cars bearing a conspicuous pledge, in bold lettering—"Madison for Douglas!"—Another, "Jersey all right for Douglas!"—with a sixpounder on a platform car in the rear, this train came thundering into town at noon.

From the east a train, decorated with national banners, bearing delegations from the counties along the line of the G. W. Road, Macon, Piatt, Champaign, &c., arrived at 12, and simultaneously, from the west, another train of ten cars, with delegations from Morgan, Scott, and Pike, covered with the stars and stripes, and a cannon to tell their coming, arrived.

From our own county, notwithstanding the busy time of our farmers, and the rainy day, the people poured into town from all directions.—The town was alive with the masses, who wanted to see and to welcome Douglas. From the state house flag-staff streamed the national flag across the streets around the square hung immense banners, many of the buildings fronting the square were tastefully ornamented with flags, interspersed with mottoes, all speaking the one idea—"welcome to Douglas."

. . . .

SPEECH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS

Mr. Edwards having introduced Senator Douglas to the audience, Senator Douglas said:

. . . .

"I will not recur to the scenes which took place all over this country in 1854 when that Nebraska bill passed. I could then travel from Boston to Chicago by the light of my own effigies, in consequence of having stood up for it. ["It did not hurt you." "Hurra for Douglas," etc.] I leave it to you to say how I met that storm, and whether I quailed under it: ["never," "no"] whether I did not 'face the music,' justify the principle and pledge my life to carry it out." ["You did," and three cheers.] . . . .

Meanwhile Lincoln had returned to Springfield and although he was not present at the Douglas meeting in the afternoon, he took advantage of the presence of many strangers in the city to address the people at a public meeting at the State House in the evening. He devoted the speech largely to repelling the charges made by Douglas against him of disunion sentiment, forcible resistance to the Dred Scott decision, and a desire for negro equality. He also renewed his charge that the Dred Scott decision was a conspiracy to which Douglas was a party. Douglas was not present at the meeting, having already departed on his tour of the state. In this irregular manner began a campaign, which was speedily turned into a series of formal debates through a challenge sent by Lincoln to Douglas.

CHAPTER III

THE CHALLENGE

After conferring with the Democratic Committee at Springfield, Douglas gave out a list of his appointments covering July and a large part of August, ending with Ottawa, August 21. Lincoln's friends also prepared a list of Republican meetings, in some cases coinciding with the Democratic dates but generally following them a day later. In his Springfield speech, Lincoln distinctly stated that he was not present when Douglas made his speech in the grove during the afternoon and had no intention of making his remarks a reply. The previous day at Bloomington he refused to heed the calls of the crowd for a reply at the close of a Douglas meeting. Nevertheless, soon after the appointed meetings began, the Douglas papers made complaint that Lincoln was transgressing the ethics of campaigning by following their candidate and taking advantage of his crowds.

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, July 23, 1858]

The *Chicago Times* launches out into a personal attack upon Mr. Lincoln for presuming to be present when Mr. Douglas speaks. One would think from this that Mr. Douglas has a patent right to audiences in Illinois. We hope that Mr. Lincoln will continue to follow up Senator Douglas with a sharp stick, even if it does make his organ howl with rage.

[*Journal and Courier*, Lowell, Mass., August 24, 1858]

GENESEO, ILL., August 18, 1858

Douglas and Lincoln are stumping the state and a right merry time they have of it; wherever the Little Giant happens to be, Abe is sure to turn up and be a thorn in his side. X.

[*Chicago Times*, July 30, 1858]

AN AUDIENCE WANTED

It was Japhet, we believe, whose adventures in search of his father, furnished the novelist with the plot of a popular romance. There are but few of our readers who have not known, or at least heard of physicians unable, even in the midst of sickness, to obtain patients, lawyers unable to obtain clients, and actors unable to draw houses. But we venture to say that never before was there heard of in any political canvass in Illinois, of a candidate unable to obtain an audience to hear him! But such is the fact. Abe Lincoln, the candidate of all the Republicans, wants an audience. He came up to Chicago, and, taking advantage of the enthusiasm of Douglas' reception, made a speech here; he went to Bloomington, and, at the Douglas meeting, advertised himself for a future occasion; at Springfield he distributed handbills at the Douglas meeting imploring the people to hear him. The Springfield attempt was a failure. He came to Chicago, and declared it impossible for him to get the people to turn out to hear him, and then it was resolved to try and get him a chance to speak to the crowds drawn out to meet and welcome Douglas. That proposition was partially declined and another substituted; but yet the cringing, crawling creature is hanging at the outskirts of Douglas' meetings, begging the people to come and hear him. At Clinton he rose up at the Democratic meeting, and announced his intention to speak at night, but only 250 persons could be induced to attend his meeting.

He went yesterday to Monticello in Douglas' train; poor, desperate creature, he wants an audience; poor unhappy mortal, the people won't turn out to hear him, and he must do something, even if that something is mean, sneaking and disreputable!

We have a suggestion to make to Mr. Judd—the next friend of Lincoln. There are two very good circuses and menageries traveling through the State; these exhibitions always draw good crowds at country towns. Mr. Judd, in behalf of his candidate, at a reasonable expense, might make arrangements with the managers of these exhibitions to include a speech from Lincoln in their performances. In this way Lincoln could get good audiences, and his friends be relieved from the mortification they all feel at his present humiliating position.

[*Chicago Journal*, July 30, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

The *Times* growls because Mr. Lincoln made a speech at Clinton, at night, in reply to that of Senator Douglas, delivered in the afternoon, and that he "went to Monticello in Douglas' train."

We suppose Douglas owns neither the railroad trains he travels on, nor the people whom he addresses. We hope Mr. Lincoln will answer Senator Douglas at every point. If he will not invite him to address the same audiences, Lincoln will have the "closing argument" to meetings of his own.

According to authority quoted in the Senator's Springfield speech, "there is no law against it."

[Peoria, Illinois, correspondence to the *Philadelphia Press*, August 4, 1858]

Lincoln, unable to gather a crowd himself, follows up Douglas and attempts to reply; but they are mere attempts. His hearers soon become satisfied and by the time he is done begging *for a seat* in the Senate he finds himself minus an audience.

[*Illinois State Register*, September 25, 1858]

"WHO FURNISHES THE AUDIENCES?"

Under this caption the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, of the 23d inst., proceeds to argue that at the joint discussions between Douglas and Lincoln thus far, the friends of the latter have been largely in the ascendant—hence Mr. Lincoln draws the greatest crowds. This conclusion is characteristic of the logical proclivities of that paper, and only lacks one feature—truth.

If this assertion is true, why then does Mr. Lincoln persist in following up Judge Douglas for the ostensible purpose of taking advantage of the large audiences assembled to hear him? For instance look at his last demonstration at Sullivan, where, through his uncourteous behavior, a riot was almost precipitated.

The fact is, Mr. Lincoln can't draw large crowds—the sympathy o the people is not with him—consequently he resorts to this highly disreputable course to make a show. The Chicago organ cannot palm off such logic upon the people of Illinois.

[*New York Herald*, August 3, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN ON THE STUMP

The *Chicago Times* states that Douglas and Lincoln met on the 27 ult. at Clinton. The former spoke for three hours, and the latter replied at an evening meeting. The *Times* indulges in a tirade against Mr. Lincoln, an extract from which will serve to indicate the bitterness of feeling that enters into this contest:

> Lincoln was present during the delivery of the speech, sitting immediately in front of Senator Douglas, but rendered invisible from the stand by a gentleman in

green goggles, whom he used as a shield and cover. After Senator Douglas had concluded, and the cheers which greeted him ceased, green goggles rose and proposed three cheers for Lincoln, which were given by about ten men who stood immediately around him. Mr. Lincoln then gradually lengthened out his long, lank proportions until he stood upon his feet, and with a desperate attempt at looking pleasant, said that he would not take advantage of Judge Douglas' crowd, but would address "sich" as liked to hear him in the evening at the Court House. Having made this announcement in a tone and with an air of a perfect "Uriah Heep," pleading his humility, and asking for forgiveness of Heaven for his enemies, he stood washing his hands with invisible soap in imperceptible water, until his friends, seeing that his mind was wandering, took him in charge, and bundled him off the ground. . . . . .

Mr. Lincoln's course in following Senator Douglas is condemned here even by his friends. He explains it by saying that he challenged Judge Douglas to meet the people and address them together, which challenge had not been accepted. The unfairness and untruth of this statement made in Chicago you who have seen the correspondence know.

Douglas was devoting a large share of attention in these speeches to his fellow-senator, Trumbull, who had charged Douglas with a corrupt bargain in espousing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise measure. Strong language was used by each and rumors of a personal encounter likely to follow between the two men were common. Trumbull's speeches were widely quoted in the eastern press as "representative Republican doctrines." The *Boston Daily Traveler* headed its campaign letter, "Illinois, Trumbull and Douglas." Lincoln saw that he was likely to be ignored if Trumbull were permitted to monopolize the attention of Douglas and in that case his political chances would be jeopardized. Manifestly his only course was to challenge Douglas to a series of set debates in which the political issues of the day would replace the personal matters at stake between Douglas and Trumbull. After consulting with representative Republicans of the State, Lincoln sent the following letter to Douglas:

Chicago, Ill., July 24, 1858

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

My dear Sir: Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd,[1] who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such agreement. Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln

The same day Douglas replied to Lincoln:

Chicago, July 24, 1858

Hon. A. Lincoln.

Dear Sir: Your note of this date, in which you inquire if it would be agreeable to me to make an arrangement to divide the time and address the same audiences during the present canvass, was handed to me by Mr. Judd. Recent events have interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.

I went to Springfield last week for the purpose of conferring with the Democratic State Central Committee upon the mode of conducting the canvass, and with them, and under their advice, made a list of appointments covering the entire period until late in October. The people of the several localities have been notified of the times and places of the meetings. Those appointments have all been made for Democratic meetings, and arrangements have been made by which the Democratic candidates for Congress, for the Legislature, and other offices, will be present and address the people. It is evident, therefore, that these various candidates, in connection with myself, will occupy the whole time of the day and evening, and leave no opportunity for other speeches.

Besides, there is another consideration which should be kept in mind. It has been suggested recently that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me, with no other purpose than to insure my defeat, by dividing the Democratic party for your benefit. If I should make this arrangement with you, it is more than probable that this other candidate, who has a common object with you, would desire to become a party to it, and claim the right to speak from the same stand; so that he and you, in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case.

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[1] Norman B. Judd (1815–78), a prominent Chicago attorney, was at this time chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, if it was your original intention to invite such an arrangement, that you should have waited until after I had made my appointments, inasmuch as we were both here in Chicago together for several days after my arrival, and again at Bloomington, Atlanta, Lincoln, and Springfield, where it was well known I went for the purpose of consulting with the State Central Committee, and agreeing upon the plan of the campaign.

While, under these circumstances, I do not feel at liberty to make any arrangements which would deprive the Democratic candidates for Congress, State offices, and the Legislature, from participating in the discussion at the various meetings designated by the Democratic State Central Committee, I will, in order to accommodate you as far as it is in my power to do so, take the responsibility of making an arrangement with you for a discussion between us at one prominent point in each Congressional District in the State, except the second and sixth districts, where we have both spoken,[1] and in each of which cases you had the concluding speech. If agreeable to you, I will indicate the following places as those most suitable in the several Congressional Districts at which we should speak, to wit: Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro, and Charleston. I will confer with you at the earliest convenient opportunity in regard to the mode of conducting the debate, the times of meeting at the several places, subject to the condition that where appointments have already been made by the Democratic State Central Committee at any of those places, I must insist upon you meeting me at the times specified.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

S. A. Douglas

This correspondence was at once given to the press and excited a variety of comment.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, July 27, 1858]

LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE TO DOUGLAS

Below will be found the challenge of Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Douglas, and the reply of the latter.

We do not think it argues very well for the courage of the Senator that he evades the challenge in the manner he does, nor much for his courtesy when asked to confer with the Chairman of the Republican

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[1] Chicago was in the second congressional district and Springfield was in the sixth. See the map in this volume.

State Central Committee in regard to the times and places, that he should himself proceed to designate seven places where Mr. Lincoln must meet him, if at all.

The friends of Senator Douglas claim that Mr. Lincoln is no match for him, before the people. Every canvass for the last twenty years has found these two champions of their respective parties side by side with each other, and often addressing the same audience, and Mr. Lincoln never asked any favor of his adversary. He does not now. If Mr. Douglas really felt his superiority, those who know him will be slow to believe that he would not take advantage of it. He, however, shows the white feather, and, like a trembling Felix skulks behind the appointments of the emasculate Democratic State Central Committee!!

The challenge should properly have proceeded from Senator Douglas, but it having become apparent that he did not intend to meet Mr. Lincoln, it was thought proper by Mr. Lincoln's friends that the challenge should come from our side. The delay was a matter of courtesy toward Mr. Douglas, and not for the reasons the Senator intimates in his reply. In courteous demeanor, as well as in the honorable conduct of an argument before the people Mr. Douglas will ever find, as in many campaigns he has heretofore found, Mr. Lincoln to be at least his equal.

. . . .

We much regret that the two candidates cannot canvass the whole State, by speaking together at every county, and in every town of any size or importance. We desire the people to have a fair hearing and a full understanding of the positions, sentiments and argumentative ability of the two men. But the seven meetings proposed, will be better than none. They will give the people of the several Congressional districts an opportunity to get together on the days appointed, in great mass meetings, to hear the great political topics of the day discussed, (fairly and ably we trust) and to "reason together" in the spirit of candor, and with the desire to get at the truth.—Let Congressional Mass Meetings be the order of the day.

[*Illinois State Register*, July 29, 1858]
From the *Chicago Times*

LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE.—DOUGLAS' REPLY

On the 9th of July Judge Douglas made his speech in Chicago, and the next evening Mr. Lincoln replied to it. Both gentlemen remained in Chicago for several days thereafter. Subsequently, Judge Douglas proceeded to Springfield to be present at a meeting of the democratic state committee—held for the purpose of making appointments for public meetings from that period until the election. On his way to Springfield he stopped at Bloomington, Atlanta and Lincoln, and at all these places met Mr. Lincoln and conversed with him. When Mr. Douglas reached Springfield, there were hand-bills conspicuously posted all over the city announcing that Mr. Lincoln would speak that evening. Judge Douglas remained at Springfield two or three days, and then returned to this city. In the meantime the state committee had made out their programme for democratic meetings all over the state, commencing at Clinton, July 27, and ending, we believe, at Atlanta, on the last of October. On Saturday evening last, July 24, Mr. Lincoln, having read in the papers the announcement of Judge Douglas' appointments for August, came up to Chicago, and sent him a note proposing a joint discussion, which note, as well as the reply, we publish below.

Mr. Lincoln evidently has been consulting his own fears and the result likely to follow a separate canvass. He dreaded personally the consequence of a joint discussion, yet he knew that his only chance to obtain respectable audiences, was to make an arrangement to speak at the same meetings with Douglas; between the two causes of dread he has been shivering for nearly a month, and at last, believing that Douglas, having announced his meetings would not change his programme, has allowed his friends to persuade him to make a challenge for a joint discussion. The reply of Judge Douglas, while it explains fully the reasons why he cannot now agree to a joint discussion at all his meetings, tenders Mr. Lincoln a meeting at seven different points in the state. The points designated are important ones; one in each congressional district, and while it disturbs the arrangements heretofore made by the democracy, and communicated to all parts of the state, the proposition of Judge Douglas, if accepted by Mr. Lincoln, will in all probability afford the latter about as much of a joint debate as he will fancy. We doubt very much even if Mr. Lincoln's friends can screw his courage up sufficiently to enable him to accept this offer, whether he will even go through with the seven appointments. We think one, or at all events two of such meetings, will be sufficient to gratify Mr. Lincoln's ambition.

We will see, however, whether he will accept Douglas' offer.

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

In today's paper we copy from the *Chicago Times* a correspondence between Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas, in which the former suggests an arrangement by which the two senatorial candidates will canvass the state together. After Mr. Douglas had issued notice of his appointments to meet the people, prior to which Mr. Lincoln had ample time and opportunity to make and receive a response to such a proposition, it will surprise the public that he has made such an offer. Upon this the *Times* pointedly comments, and to which Mr. Douglas refers in his reply. He, however, offers Mr. Lincoln ample opportunity to discuss the issues between them before the people. Mr. Douglas proposes to meet Mr. Lincoln at one point in each of the congressional districts of the state, except in this and in the 2d district, where they have already spoken. Mr. Lincoln cannot expect his opponent to break his appointments already made, preparations for which the people at the several points are already making; but we have no doubt in the seven encounters proposed by Mr. Douglas, if Mr. Lincoln will accept, he will get enough of debate and discomfiture to last him the balance of his life. Will he accept?

[*Peoria, Ill., Daily Transcript*, July 29, 1858]

LINCOLN CHALLENGES DOUGLAS TO STUMP THE STATE WITH HIM

After waiting several weeks hoping that Judge Douglas would, according to the western custom, challenge him to stump the state, Honorable Abram Lincoln sent a note to Judge D. the other day inviting him to make an arrangement to divide time and address the same audiences. The Judge has returned a lengthy reply, excusing himself from accepting such a challenge. His excuse is that he has placed his time at the disposal of the Democratic State Committee, who have made appointments for him which will consume his time until about the middle of October. The excuse will hardly relieve Mr. Douglas from the suspicion that he fears to meet so powerful opponent as Mr. Lincoln in argument before the people. He intimates, in his note, that it was well known that his recent journey to Springfield was made for the purpose of consulting with the state committee, and that if Mr. Lincoln desired to canvass the state with him he should have made the fact known before that consultation was had. How the fact should be well known that Judge Douglas' journey to Springfield was for the purpose of such a consultation as he describes, or any other kind of consultation, is certainly beyond our comprehension. It was not made public through the press and we are not aware that it was announced outside of his immediate circle of friends, if indeed it was announced there. It may be relied upon, at all events, that if Mr. Lincoln had known that his opponent was about to make engagements that would preclude the possibility of arranging a canvass of the state with him, a challenge would have been forthcoming immediately. It was properly Mr. Douglas' duty to challenge Mr. Lincoln, without waiting to receive one.

Mr. Douglas announces, towards the close of his reply, that it is probable that he can meet Mr. Lincoln before the people once in each Congressional district. We hope he will be able to; and in the meantime, if he is disposed to be an honest man, let him desist from such gross misrepresentations of Mr. Lincoln's position as he has thus far indulged in.

[*Freeport, Ill., Journal*, July 29, 1858]

AT FREEPORT

Mr. Lincoln having challenged Senator Douglas to meet him on the stump all over the state, the latter declines the general invitation, but agrees to meet him at seven places, as follows: Freeport, Ottawa, Galesburg, Quincy, Alton, Jonesboro, and Charleston, provided Lincoln will come at the times that Douglas' friends may have chosen, if any. Though this is a half way evasion of the challenge, we are glad that we, in Freeport at least, will have an opportunity to hear these two champions from the same stand. We bespeak for them the largest gathering ever known here, and are willing to let the people judge for themselves as to who shall be their choice, after a fair hearing of them both in person.

[*Illinois State Register*, July 31, 1858]

LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE

The republican organs make a most clumsy effort to have it appear that Senator Douglas declines a general canvass with Mr. Lincoln, because the former dreads the combat! The very tone of these organs, in their silly assertions on this point, denies their sincerity. The idea that a man who has crossed blades in the senate with the strongest intellects of the country, who has as the champion of democratic principles in the senatorial arena, routed all opposition—that such a man dreads encounter with Mr. A. Lincoln is an absurdity that can be uttered by his organs only with a ghastly phiz. Mr. Lincoln, if he desired what his organs claim, had ample opportunity to make his proposition. He could have made such an arrangement as would have, had he held out, shown him in withering contrast in every county seat in the state. *He was not anxious for the fray!* or he would have made his proposition at Chicago, or here, where he had ample opportunity; but he waits until Mr. Douglas makes other arrangements, and advertises them, in a manner that they must, with propriety, be fulfilled, when he banters for battle, *knowing* his proposition cannot be accepted.

Mr. Douglas' reply to his note affords him fray enough. He has opportunity, at seven different points in the state, to show his metal. If he was good for fifty or a hundred encounters, he certainly ought to be for seven. Will he accept? The joint efforts of the two parties certainly will insure large turn-outs of the people, and we have no doubt the railroads, which have latterly become a nightmare to the republican candidate, will assist, and make, in a "business" way, a "good thing" of it.

Let us have a grand turn-out of the people at one point in each congressional district. The democracy of Illinois will submit the whole case to such popular jurors, called together by the joint effort of the two parties.

[*Burlington, Iowa, Gazette,* July 31, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

So perverse in their nature are some black republican editors that it seems an impossibility for them to tell the truth. Our home contemporary [*Hawkeye*] is of this class. Mark what he says in the following lines:

> Lincoln has challenged Douglas to canvass Illinois together, addressing the people from the same stump. Judge Douglas dodges.

Judge Douglas dodges, eh? Well, let us see if he dodges. Here is the correspondence entire between Lincoln and Douglas relating to the matter.

. . . .

No sir, Douglas will meet Lincoln if Lincoln *dare* to meet Douglas; and the only dodging there will be on the part of the "Little Giant" will take place when the people of Illinois, through their respresentatives elect, *dodge him* into the Senatorship again, as they most assuredly will.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Ill., July 29, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN ON THE STUMP

We copy below, from the *Chicago Times*, a correspondence that recently took place between Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, in regard to the plan of the present campaign. Lincoln, having thus far failed to attract a respectable audience, seems to be entirely willing to avail himself of Judge Douglas' great fame and popularity to get up crowds for him to speak to. Nobody seems to care about hearing anything from Lincoln—but the masses of all parties, wherever he goes, turn out to see and hear Douglas. Hence, Lincoln asks him if he won't let him follow along after him and permit him to speak to the crowds that turn out, not to hear *him*, but to hear Douglas.

In response to the suggestion of Douglas for seven meetings, Lincoln framed a reply. Before it was delivered, he met Douglas by accident near Monticello in the course of the campaign and tendered him the paper. Douglas' reporters took advantage of the incident to ridicule Lincoln.

[*Chicago Times*, August 1, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN

Douglas at Monticello.—Great Enthusiasm Everywhere

MONTICELLO, July 29, 1858

. . . . The meeting then adjourned, and Senator Douglas, who was to fill an appointment at Paris on Saturday next, was escorted to the railway station at Bement by the delegation from Okaw, Bement and that vicinity. About two miles out of the town the procession met Mr. Lincoln, who was on his way to Monticello. As he passed, Senator Douglas called to him to stop, that he wanted to see him. Lincoln jumped out of his carriage and shook hands with the Senator, who said to him, "Come, Lincoln, return to Bement. You see we have only a mile or two of people here. I will promise you a much larger meeting there than you will have at Monticello." "No, Judge," replied Lincoln, "I can't. The fact is I did not come over here to make a speech. I don't intend to follow you any more; I don't call this following you. I have come down here from Springfield to see you and give you my reply to your letter. I have it in my pocket, but I have not compared it with the copy yet. We can compare the two now, can't we?" Senator Douglas told him that he had better compare the two at Monticello, and, when he had his answer ready, send it to him at Bement, where he intended to remain until the one o'clock p. m. train for the East. This Lincoln promised to do, and, after again assuring the Senator that he must not consider his visit to Monticello "following" him—that such a "conclusion" would be erroneous—the two separated, after shaking hands. . . . .

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 1, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

An Account of Piatt County.—Speeches, etc.

MONTICELLO, PIATT CO., ILLS., July 30

. . . .

When he [Douglas] had finished he was escorted to the railroad depot by a large procession. Col. W. N. Coler, the Democratic nominee for the Legislature in this district, was present during the speech. At its conclusion he was announced to reply to Mr. Lincoln on Friday.

On the way to the railway track the procession of the Judge was met by Abe, who in a kind of nervous-excited manner tumbled out of his carriage, his legs appearing sadly in the way or out of place. Lincoln is looking quite worn out, his face looks even more haggard than when he said it was lean, lank and gaunt. He got to the Judge's carriage with a kind of hop, skip and jump, and then, with a considerable of bowing and scraping, he notified Mr. Douglas that he had an answer to his letter, of which we have spoken heretofore; that it was long, that he had not compared the original and the copy, and could the Judge just wait, that the comparison might be made by the roadside. Just think of staying out in the middle of a vast prairie, surrounded by hundreds of followers, to compare notes. Douglas of course declined, requesting Mr. L. to compare to his own satisfaction, and then forward the communication.

Lincoln proceeded on his way to Monticello, some of us bearing him company, the Judge returning on his proper route. A meeting was at once organized to hear him speak. He mounted in the Court House Square and thus spoke for about half an hour. He would not speak then, he would, however, read the correspondence with the

Judge, together with the reply he was going to send the Judge, all of which he did.

. . . .

B. B.

[*Illinois State Register*, August 2, 1858]

MONTICELLO, July 29

I returned to Monticello to hear Lincoln. He spoke in the grove where Senator Douglas had spoken an hour or two before and promised the people that before the canvass was over he would visit them again in company with Judge Trumbull, who would reply to Douglas.

It was expected that he would remain here for a day or two, or follow Senator Douglas to Paris, but he left suddenly on the midnight train for Springfield and one of his friends told me that he did not intend to follow Judge Douglas any more, but was going immediately to Chicago to consult with Cook, Bross, and other friends, and make out a list of his own appointments.

PIATT

Lincoln's reply to the suggestion of Douglas was as follows:

SPRINGFIELD, July 29, 1858

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 24th in relation to an arrangement to divide time, and address the same audiences, is received; and, in apology for not sooner replying, allow me to say, that when I sat by you at dinner yesterday, I was not aware that you had answered my note, nor, certainly, that my own note had been presented to you. An hour after, I saw a copy of your answer in the *Chicago Times*, and reaching home, I found the original awaiting me. Protesting that your insinuations of attempted unfairness on my part are unjust, and with the hope that you did not very considerately make them, I proceed to reply. To your statement that "It has been suggested, recently, that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself, should canvass the State in opposition to me," etc., I can only say, that such suggestion must have been made by yourself, for certainly none such has been made by or to me, or otherwise, to my knowledge. Surely you did not *deliberately* conclude, as you insinuate, that I was expecting to draw you into an arrangement of terms, to be agreed on by yourself, by which a third candidate and myself, "in concert, might be able to take the opening and closing speech in every case."

As to your surprise that I did not sooner make the proposal to divide time with you, I can only say, I made it as soon as I resolved to make it. I did not know but that such proposal would come from you; I waited, respectfully, to see. It may have been well known to you that you went to Springfield for the purpose of agreeing on the plan of campaign; but it was not so known to me. When your appointments were announced in the papers, extending only to the 21st of August, I, for the first time considered it certain that you would make no proposal to me, and then resolved that, if my friends concurred, I would make one to you. As soon thereafter as I could see and consult with friends satisfactorily, I did make the proposal. It did not occur to me that the proposed arrangement could derange your plans after the latest of your appointments already made. After that, there was, before the election, largely over two months of clear time.

For you to say that we have already spoken at Chicago and Springfield, and that on both occasions I had the concluding speech, is hardly a fair statement. The truth rather is this: At Chicago, July 9th, you made a carefully prepared conclusion on my speech of June 16th. Twenty-four hours after, I made a hasty conclusion on yours of the 9th. You had six days to prepare, and concluded on me again at Bloomington on the 16th. Twenty-four hours after, I concluded again on you at Springfield. In the mean time, you had made another conclusion on me at Springfield, which I did not hear, and of the contents of which I knew nothing when I spoke; so that your speech made in daylight, and mine at night, of the 17th, at Springfield, were both made in perfect independence of each other. The dates of making all these speeches will show, I think, that in the matter of time for preparation, the advantage has all been on your side, and that none of the external circumstances have stood to my advantage.

I agree to an arrangement for us to speak at the seven places you have named, and at your own times, provided you name the times at once, so that I, as well as you, can have to myself the time not covered by the arrangement. As to the other details, I wish perfect reciprocity and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all. Your obedient servant,

A. Lincoln

P. S.—As matters now stand, I shall be at no more of your exclusive meetings; and for about a week from to-day a letter from you will reach me at Springfield. A. L.

To this Mr. Douglas replied:

BEMENT, PIATT CO., ILL., July 30, 1858

DEAR SIR: Your letter dated yesterday, accepting my proposition for a joint discussion at one prominent point in each Congressional District, as stated in my previous letter, was received this morning.

The times and places designated are as follows:

Ottawa, La Salle County,	August	21,	1858
Freeport, Stephenson County,	"	27,	"
Jonesboro, Union County,	September	15,	"
Charleston, Coles County,	"	18,	"
Galesburg, Knox County,	October	7,	"
Quincy, Adams County,	"	13,	"
Alton, Madison County,	"	15,	"

I agree to your suggestion that we shall alternately open and close the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you can reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will then follow for half an hour. At Freeport, you shall open the discussion and speak one hour; I will follow for an hour and a half, and you can then reply for half an hour. We will alternate in like manner in each successive place.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. A. DOUGLAS

HON. A. LINCOLN, Springfield, Ill.

This arrangement was accepted by Mr. Lincoln:

SPRINGFIELD, July 31, 1858

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

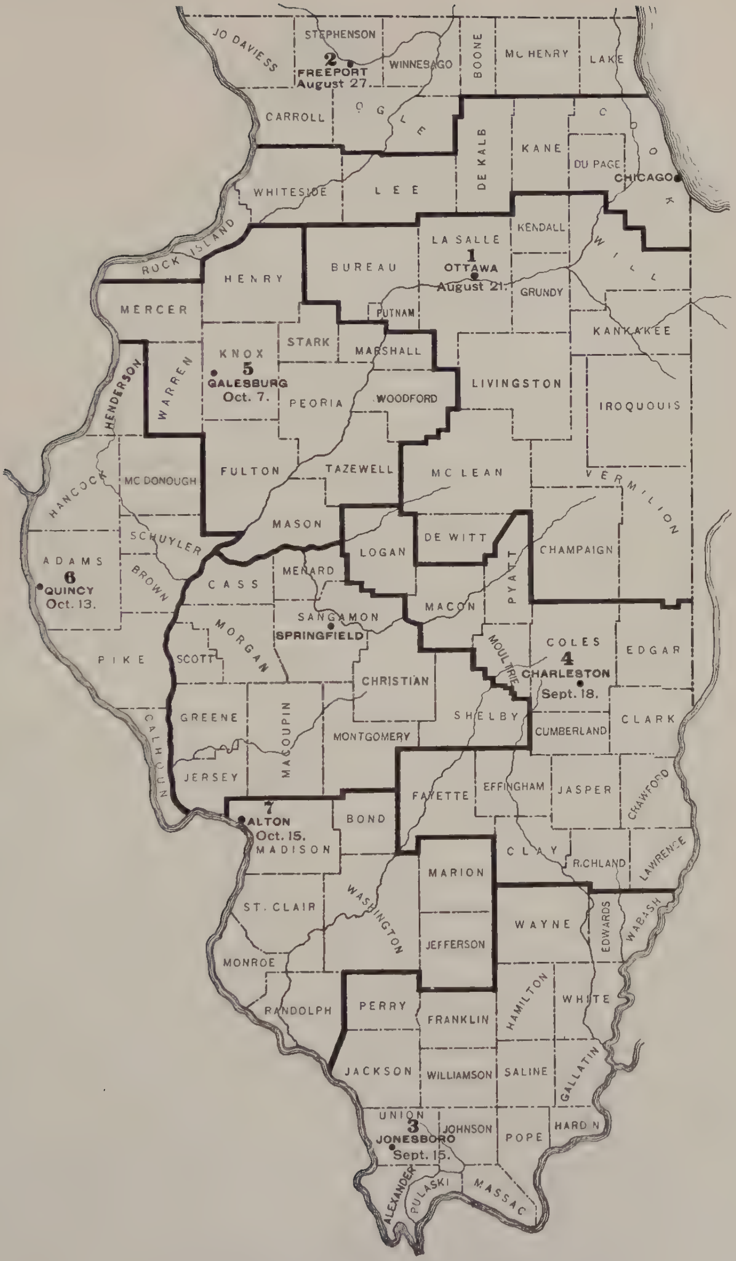
DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday, naming places, times, and terms, for joint discussions between us, was received this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closes, to my *three*, I accede, and thus close the arrangement. I direct this to you at Hillsboro, and shall try to have both your letter and this appear in the *Journal* and *Register* of Monday morning.

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN

[*Chicago Times*, August 1, 1858]

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN SENATOR DOUGLAS AND MR. LINCOLN

We received yesterday, and print this morning, the final correspondence between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, in relation to



CONGRESSIONAL MAP OF ILLINOIS, 1858

Showing places where the seven debates were held, numbered in order

addressing the people in company. Those readers who examine the letter of our Monticello correspondent will learn somewhat of the circumstances which attended the conclusion of this arrangement. Mr. Lincoln's letter is dated Springfield, but it was sent by the author from some place in Piatt county to Senator Douglas in Bement. We are not disposed to criticise too harshly the style of Mr. Lincoln's letter. It is now printed and speaks for itself its own praise or condemnation. But, the public will have their opinion of it, and it can be none other than that it is as badly conceived as bunglingly expressed. We hope, however, that we have seen the "*conclusion*" of the correspondence, and do not question that by the time Mr. Lincoln has "*concluded*" on Senator Douglas, once or twice, and permitted Senator Douglas to "*conclude*" on him an equal number of times, he will "*conclude*" that he better haul off and lay by for repairs.

We need not describe the arrangement, as it is made fully to appear in the correspondence itself.

[*Illinois State Journal*, July 31, 1858]

MR. LINCOLN'S CHALLENGE TO MR. DOUGLAS.—REJOINDER OF MR. LINCOLN

We have already published the letter of Mr. Lincoln challenging Mr. Douglas to a joint canvass of the State, and also the letter of Mr. Douglas in reply, declining the invitation in the most pettifogging and cowardly manner. Today we publish a rejoinder of Mr. Lincoln, exposing the flimsy pretexts upon which Mr. Douglas places his declension and at the same time cordially responding to that part of the reply in which Mr. Douglas reluctantly consents to allow himself to be used up by Mr. Lincoln at seven different places. It is clear that Mr. Douglas is not fond of Mr. Lincoln's rough handling and is anxious to get out of an ugly scrape on any terms. In this matter Douglas goes on the principle that discretion is the better part of valor.

We knew from the first that Douglas would not dare to make a general canvass of the state with Lincoln. He had to run away from that gentleman in 1854 and dared not stand his broadsides now. If he dared not meet Lincoln in the first dawnings of his conspiracy to Africanize the whole American Continent, of course he would object still more to such a canvass in 1858, when the evidences of that conspiracy are so numerous and overwhelming that even his audacity shrinks from denying it. But we did expect that Mr. Douglas would at least put his refusal on some more plausible ground than a mere squibble. The idea that Mr. Douglas is unable to meet Mr. Lincoln in debate because forsooth a Democratic Central Committee had already made some half dozen appointments for him, is pitiful—just as though those appointments could not be changed, or so modified as also to embrace a discussion with Mr. Lincoln or leaving those appointments out of the question, just as though there was not yet remaining full two months in which to make the canvass with Mr. Lincoln! However it is viewed, Mr. Douglas' attempt to Skulk behind a Central Committee, is a cowardly showing of the white feather.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, August 2, 1858]

The *Times* finds fault with Mr. Lincoln's letter to Mr. Douglas because it is "bunglingly expressed".

Our neighbor should recollect that he has not the advantage of having the Douglas candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction *to correct it for him!*

[*Illinois State Register*, Springfield, August 2, 1858]

DISCUSSION BETWEEN MESSRS. DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

We were furnished on Saturday, by Mr. Lincoln, with the following correspondence, from which it will be seen that he agrees to meet Mr. Douglas in discussion at seven points in the state, which are named in the note of the letter. Mr. Lincoln cannot forego, even in this brief note, the expression of the idea uppermost with him, that he is "a victim," Douglas has one more "opening" than himself, which, if it were not so, Mr. Lincoln would have one more than Mr. Douglas. As we are told by Mr. Lincoln's organs that Douglas felt incapable of debating successfully with Mr. L., the latter should have forborne his lament, in a spirit of magnanimity.

. . . .

Now there is a bit of egotism in all this, pardonable, probably, in view of Mr. Lincoln's extremity. Why had he, any more than Wentworth, or Browning, or Gillespie, or Palmer, or Dougherty, or Judd, or any other republican or Danite notability, a right to expect a challenge for debate from Douglas. True, Lincoln had thrust himself before all the reception meetings gotten up in honor of Mr. Douglas, and had taken shape as a senatorial candidate; but as Mr. Douglas suggests, there are others with similar aspirations. He had in this manner of doubtful propriety, made himself a figure out of place, but we cannot see that the circumstances were such as to induce Mr. Douglas to single him out from the number of his opponents—black republican and Danite, and challenge him to a general canvass. Mr. Lincoln's political necessities may have needed this boosting of him into prominence, but he is scarcely justified in lamenting that Mr. Douglas did not contribute to it.

Mr. Douglas, as a representative of his state in the senate, was a prominent actor in the exciting debates of the last session. His action, and his motives therefor, had been condemned and impugned, and he had concluded, on his return home, to go before his constituents to render an account of the course he had deemed proper to pursue, as well as to advocate the principles, policy and the election of the candidates of his party. Mr. Lincoln was as well qualified to know that Mr. Douglas came to this city to arrange with his party friends for this purpose, as was Mr. Douglas that Mr. Lincoln's party friends had arranged that he was to champion their cause; and as such, if it was his desire to have had a general canvass, single-handed, he could have made it known at the threshold—at Chicago. Why he did not do it, is simply because he had not "resolved" to do it and we think he did not resolve to do it because he thought he could cut a better figure by waiting until Mr. Douglas had made other arrangements, and then pompously send a challenge which he knew could not be accepted.

Mr. Lincoln knew it was Mr. Douglas' intention to canvass the state long before Mr. D's return home. If it was his desire to canvass with him—if it was the desire of his party that he should do so, he should have met the "lion," with a watchful resistance, at the gate, and not have waited for his terms, and the mode and manner of being eaten up.

This bit of pettifogging jugglery on the part of Mr. Lincoln and his backers can only be viewed as such by the people of the state. The twaddle of his organs about Douglas' dread of his prowess is unworthy of comment. Mr. Douglas' agreement to meet him as proposed in the correspondence above, which could not, under the circumstances, be declined by Mr. Lincoln, is, doubtless, more than they bargained for in their epistolary efforts to make a brave front on paper, as they will certainly learn before they are through with a small portion of the large job they profess to bid for.

Eastern newspapers at first failed to appreciate the importance of this challenge and acceptance, although the arrangement caused extensive comment in the Illinois press, as the above quotations would indicate. In the older section the breach between Douglas and Buchanan continued to be extensively treated by editorial writers.

CHAPTER IV

REPORTING THE DEBATES

MR. HORACE WHITE

Mr. White, the official reporter of the Debates for the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, was born in New Hampshire in 1834. When three years of age, he was taken with the family to Wisconsin Territory, where the city of Beloit now stands. In 1849, Horace entered Beloit College, was graduated in 1853, and became a reporter on the *Chicago Evening Journal.* In 1857 he spent a short time in Kansas, returning to Chicago to become an editorial writer on the *Chicago Press and Tribune.* While holding this position, he was designated as chief correspondent to accompany Abraham Lincoln in 1858 on his campaign against Stephen A. Douglas for the United States senatorship.

The notable features of this campaign were given to the public chiefly through Mr. White's letters to the *Chicago Tribune*, and were subsequently condensed by him at the instance of William H. Herndon and published in the latter's *Life of Lincoln* (2d ed., D. Appleton & Co., New York). In 1861 Mr. White was sent to Washington as correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, and while there he filled successfully the places of clerk of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and clerk in the War Department. In the latter capacity he was assigned to the special service of P. H. Watson, assistant secretary of war, and later of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary. In 1865 he became part owner and chief editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, which place he filled until September, 1874, when he resigned and was succeeded by Joseph Medill; he spent the year 1875 in Europe. In 1877 he removed to New York and became associated with Henry Villard in the latter's railroad enterprises, especially that of the Oregon Railway and Navigation Co., of which he was treasurer for the next few years. In 1881 he joined with Mr. Villard in the purchase of the *New York Evening Post*, of which he became the president and one of the editors, in conjunction with Carl Schurz and Edwin L. Godkin Mr. Schurz retired in 1884, Mr. Godkin in 1899, and Mr. White in 1903. Mr. White is best known by his contributions to the various campaigns for sound money that have been fought in the political arena since the close of the Civil War. In addition to his editorial work he has been a frequent contributor to the magazines and pamphlet literature of that period. He resides (1908) in New York City.

It was my good fortune to accompany Mr. Lincoln during his political campaign against Senator Douglas in 1858, not only at the joint debates but also at most of the smaller meetings where his competitor was not present.[1] We traveled together many thousands of miles. I was in the employ of the *Chicago Tribune*, then called the *Press and Tribune*. Senator Douglas had entered upon his campaign with two short-hand reporters, James B. Sheridan and Henry Binmore, whose duty it was to "write it up" in the columns of the *Chicago Times*. The necessity of counteracting or matching that force became apparent very soon, and I was chosen to write up Mr. Lincoln's campaign.

I was not a short-hand reporter. The verbatim reporting for the *Chicago Tribune* in the joint debates was done by Mr. Robert R. Hitt, late assistant secretary of state. . . . . Verbatim reporting was a new feature in journalism in Chicago and Mr. Hitt was the pioneer thereof. The publication of Senator Douglas's opening speech in that campaign, delivered on the evening of July 9, by the *Tribune* the next morning, was a feat hitherto unexampled in the West, and most mortifying to the Democratic newspaper, the *Times*, and to Sheridan and Binmore, who,

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[1] Mr. Horace White in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, by permission of D. Appleton & Co.

HORACE WHITE

From a photograph made in 1854, and loaned by Mr. White, now a resident of New York City

after taking down the speech as carefully as Mr. Hitt had done, had gone to bed intending to write it out the next day, as was then customary.

All of the seven joint debates were reported by Mr. Hitt for the *Tribune*, the manuscript passing through my hands before going to the printers, but no changes were made by me except in a few cases where confusion on the platform, or the blowing of the wind, had caused some slight hiatus or evident mistake in catching the speaker's words. I could not resist the temptation to *italicise* a few passages in Mr. Lincoln's speeches, where his manner of delivery had been especially emphatic.

. . . .

Here [Ottawa] I was joined by Mr. Hitt and also by Mr. Chester P. Dewey of the *New York Evening Post*, who remained with us until the end of the campaign. Hither, also, came quite an army of young newspaper men, among whom was Henry Villard, in behalf of Forney's *Philadelphia Press*.

MR. ROBERT R. HITT

Robert Roberts Hitt was born in Urbana, Champaign County, Ohio, January 16, 1834. In 1837, the Hitts moved to Illinois and with their following settled in Ogle County, and established what became the village of Mount Morris. Educated at the Rock River Seminary at Mount Morris, an institution founded by his father and uncle, and later graduated from the Asbury (now Depauw) University of Indiana, the subject of this sketch trained himself in the art of phonography and in 1856 opened an office in Chicago and established himself as a court and newspaper shorthand reporter, the first expert stenographer permanently located in that city. His work as a stenographer first brought him into the notice of Abraham Lincoln, then practicing law, and later as a newspaper reporter in reporting the campaign speeches of Lincoln and other prominent orators of the day, including Douglas, Logan, Lovejoy, and indeed of all the great speakers of the Middle West of that time. During the Lincoln-Douglas debates he was the *verbatim* reporter, receiving the highest praise from Mr. Lincoln for the accuracy of his work.

During the sessions of 1858, 1859, and 1860, Mr. Hitt was the official stenographer of the Illinois legislature, having the contract for both the senate and the house. In 1867 and 1868 he made a tour of Europe and Asia, daily taking down in shorthand notes his impressions of the peoples and conditions of the countries and places visited. Upon his return he was again employed by the government in confidential cases, including missions to Santo Domingo and to the southern states to investigate the Ku Klux Klan, after which he became private secretary to Senator O. P. Morton, and in December of the same year was appointed secretary of legation at Paris, by President Grant, which position he held for six years.

In 1880, upon the request of Mr. Blaine, then secretary of state, President Garfield appointed him assistant secretary, which position he resigned to become a candidate for Congress, to which he was elected in 1882. He served continuously from the Forty-eighth to the Fifty-eighth Congress. While serving his twelfth term, Mr. Hitt died on September 20 1906 at Narragansett Pier, Rhode Island.

[*Phonographic Magazine*, VII, 205; June 1, 1893]

AN INTERVIEW WITH HON. R. R. HITT

When I was a lad of nearly fifteen, I saw some little pamphlets which were handed me by a man named Pickard, in 1850, in advocacy of phonetic reform, and it was through the advertisements in them that I procured the phonographic manuals. From these works I obtained enough knowledge of the principles and rules of shorthand to begin to use it.

The first fruitful use of it was in taking notes of lectures at college. After graduating at Mt. Morris College I went to New Orleans, constantly practicing the art and gaining speed. In the spring of 1857 I returned to Illinois, then removed to Chicago and began to report

ROBERT R. HITT

From a daguerreotype made in 1858, and loaned by Mrs Hitt, of Washington, D C

court cases. In 1858 the contest between Stephen A. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln for the Senate brought Mr. Lincoln into national view. Seven debates were arranged between them and I was employed to report them on the Republican side.

There was no one to assist in reporting but a young man named Laraminie from Montreal, who was a skilful reader of shorthand and could transcribe my notes with perfect accuracy. At Quincy, Illinois, where one of the debates was held, he took the train for Chicago, which left before the debate was finished, carrying with him my notes of the earlier part of the debate, and I first saw the work printed in a newspaper. Mr. Lincoln never saw the report of any of the debates. I mention this as it was often charged at that time in the fury of partisan warfare that Mr. Lincoln's speeches were doctored and almost re-written before they were printed; that this was necessary because he was so petty a creature in ability, in thought, in style, in speaking when compared with the matchless Douglas.

[*New York Herald*, May 29, 1904]

To tell the story of Mr. Hitt's public career with anything like completeness would require columns of space. He first came into the public eye just after he left college. He had learned the system of shorthand then in use and was probably the only stenographer in the West at that time who could take a speech *verbatim* as it was delivered from the rostrum.

Abraham Lincoln had heard of his rare accomplishment and made a requisition on the young man to report the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Illinois. It is chronicled that when the debate was about to begin, Mr. Lincoln lifted his long form from a chair, looked out over the immense audience, and shouted, "Where's Hitt? Is Hitt present?"

The future representative and possible vice-president was far out on the edge of the crowd:

"Here I am, Mr. Lincoln," he cried, "but I can't get through this crowd to the stand." Whereupon strong men lifted the frail, slender young man into the air and passed him along over the heads of the crowd to the platform. Mr. Hitt took complete notes of the speech and afterward transcribed most of them himself. Some of Mr. Lincoln's political enemies, who had brought an indictment of illiteracy against the gaunt Illinois statesman, charged Mr. Hitt with "doctoring" the English of the speech, but he denied that he had taken any liberties with Lincoln's phraseology. . . . . His notes of the Lincoln-Douglas debates would be invaluable literary documents today, but he did not preserve them. . . . . Because of the prestige growing out of his services in the Lincoln-Douglas debate, he was selected to make the official report of the trouble that arose in 1860 in the Department of Missouri under General Fremont.

HENRY BINMORE

Henry Binmore was born in London, England, September 23, 1833; educated in the schools of England and at Wickhall College, and came to Montreal, Canada, at the age of 16. He at once entered the profession of journalism and invented a system of phonographic reporting peculiar to himself. With it he was able to attain a desirable speed, but could not exchange reading with other systems. He continued at newspaper work in Montreal, New York, and St. Louis for several years, including a term as reporter in the Missouri state senate. In 1858 he was employed on the *St. Louis Republican*, a Douglas organ, and was sent to Illinois to report the triumphant home-coming of the senator. His reports appearing in the *Republican* showed such skill in his art that he was employed by the *Chicago Times*, the official newspaper of Douglas, to report the set debates with Lincoln. He shared this task with James B. Sheridan, a regular phonographic reporter, brought from Philadelphia.

At the close of the campaign, Mr. Binmore became a private secretary to Douglas and in 1860 was made reporter in the House of Representatives. From this position he resigned to accept a secretarial appointment on the staff of General Prentiss and later on that of General Hurlbert. At the close of the war, he returned to Chicago, became a law reporter, was admitted to the bar, and died in that city, November 4, 1907. He left an unpublished manuscript on the art and experiences of repertorial writing.

HENRY BINMORE

From a contemporary photograph in the possession of the family, Chicago

JAMES B. SHERIDAN

The art of phonography was early developed in Philadelphia where was located a prominent school. Among its early disciples was Mr. Sheridan, who became a prominent reporter on Forney's *Philadelphia Press*. Forney espoused the cause of Douglas in his breach with Buchanan, and when the senator entered upon his great canvass for re-election, Forney sent Sheridan to Illinois to follow the campaign. It was not the original intention to have him remain throughout the autumn, but the value of his services as a reporter was so evident that he was employed to take the debates for the Democratic *Chicago Times*, in connection with Mr. Binmore. He continued to write descriptive articles for the *Press*, many of the quotations from that paper printed in this volume being no doubt contributed by him.

At the close of the campaign, Sheridan went to New York, enlisted as a northern Democrat in the Civil War, attained the rank of colonel, and later became the official reporter of the New York Supreme Court. In 1875, he was elected justice of the Marine Court of New York City. He died about 1905.

Owing to the prevalent partisan feeling, there was complaint on both sides of unfairness in reporting the debates. Immediately after the appearance in print of the speeches in the first debate, each side accused the other of misrepresenting the ideas expressed by its spokesman. The Republican press claimed that Lincoln was not given a fair report, and the Democratic editors replied that Lincoln was by nature ungrammatical and uncouth in his utterances. It is true that the variations to be noted in Mr. Lincoln's speeches as reported in the Republican and in the Democratic papers decreased steadily throughout the campaign.

Quite naturally the Democratic reporters did not exercise the same care in taking the utterances of Mr. Lincoln as with those of Mr. Douglas, and *vice versa.* Mr. White described later the difficulties under which the reporting was done—the open air, the rude platforms, the lack of accommodations for writing, the jostling of the crowds of people, and the occasional puffs of wind which played havoc with sheets of paper.

[*Chicago Times,* August 25, 1858]

LINCOLN'S SPEECH

We delayed the issue of our Sunday morning's paper some hours in order that we might publish in full the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas, at Ottawa. We had two phonographic reporters there to report those speeches. One of them (Mr. Sheridan) we have known personally for years, and know him to be one of the most accomplished phonographers in the United States Senate. The other (Mr. Binmore) is reputed to be a most excellent reporter, and having had occasion to mark the manner in which he has on several occasions executed his duty, we are satisfied that he is not only a competent but a most faithful reporter. These two gentlemen reported the two speeches, and they, shortly after their arrival in Chicago from Ottawa, commenced transcribing the speeches from their notes. We publish both speeches as they were furnished us by the reporters.

THE SPEECHES AT OTTAWA

Another Gross Charge.—Dialectics, Logic, and Other Things

Any person who heard at Ottawa the speech of Abraham, alias Old Abe, alias Abe, alias "Spot," Lincoln, must have been astonished at the report of that speech as it appeared in the *Press and Tribune* of of this city. Our version of it was literal. No man, who heard it delivered, could fail to recognize and acknowledge the fidelity of our reporters. We did not attempt, much, to "fix up" the bungling effort; that was not our business. Lincoln should have learned, before this, to "rake after" himself—or rather to supersede the necessity of "raking after" by taking heed to his own thoughts and expressions. If he ever gets into the United States Senate—of which there is no earthly

JAMES B. SHERIDAN

From a photograph in the possession of Mrs. Sheridan, New York, made about 1857

probability—he will have to do that; in the congressional arena, the words of debaters are snatched from their lips, as it were, and immediately enter into and become a permanent part of the literature of the country. But it seems, from the difference between the two versions of Lincoln's speech, that the Republicans have a candidate for the Senate of whose bad rhetoric and horrible jargon they are ashamed, upon which, before they would publish it, they called a council of "literary" men, to discuss, re-construct and re-write; they dare not allow Lincoln to go into print in his own dress; and abuse us, the TIMES, for reporting him literally.

We also printed Senator Douglas literally. Our accomplished reporters alone are responsible to us for the accuracy of our version of both speeches. There is no orator in America more correct in rhetoric, more clear in ideas, more direct in purpose, in all his public addresses, than Stephen A. Douglas. That this is so, is not our fault, but rather it is the pride of the Democracy of Illinois and of the Union.

[*Galesburg, Ill., Democrat,* October 13, 1858]

OUTRAGEOUS FRAUDS

One Hundred and Eighty Mutilations Made in Lincoln's Speech by The Chicago Times ! !

We had heard of the numerous frauds to which the Douglas party resort to mislead the public mind, beginning with the forgery of the platform at Ottawa and ending with Douglas' declaration that Mr. Lincoln is hired by the Illinois Central Railroad Company, at $5,000 per year, to cheat the State of its 7 per cent. dividends of the earnings of the Road (the very post occupied by Mr. Douglas), but were not prepared for such rascality as is exhibited in the *Times*' report of the debate in this place. There is scarcely a correctly reported paragraph in the whole speech! Many sentences are dropped out which were absolutely necessary for the sense; many are transposed so as to read wrong end first; many are made to read exactly the opposite of the orator's intention, and the whole aim has been to blunt the keen edge of Mr. Lincoln's wit, to mar the beauty of his most eloquent passages, and make him talk like a booby, a half-witted numbskull. By placing him thus before their readers they hope to disgust the people with Mr. Lincoln, and at least keep them at home if they do not vote for Douglas. Even that beautiful apostrophe, quoted from the "REVERED CLAY," as Douglas hypocritically called him at the Bancroft House, could not go unmutilated.

We have taken the pains to go over the reports of the speeches carefully and note the *material* alterations—saying nothing of long passages, where the *Times'* Reporter appeared to aim only *at* the sense, without giving the language—and find that they number ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY!

We believe that an action for libel would hold against these villains, and they richly deserve the prosecution.

[*Chicago Times*, October 12, 1858]

GARBLING SPEECHES.—THE OLD CHARGE

. . . .

We do not mean, by this remark, to cast any imputation of unfairness on Mr. Hitt, the reporter for the *Press and Tribune;* such imputation would be unjust, as we have reason to believe. Our controversy is not with the reporter at all; for even if he should maltreat Senator Douglas' *speeches*, he would do so under instructions; he being the employee of our neighbor, he could not relieve the editors of the odium of the act. But such are the facts; we give them, not because we feel very deeply on this point, but to put the public right with regard to them. We can prove their proof by Mr. Hitt himself, if he will go upon the stand under oath. Even, however, after Senator Douglas' speeches are marred—by striking out words, here and there, by mangling sentences to hide their meaning, by mis-punctuations, etc. etc.—and after re-writing and polishing the speeches of Lincoln, those of Douglas so much excelled those of his opponent, in all respects, that we cannot find it in our hearts to complain much. Poor Lincoln requires some such advantage—though it be mean—in his contest with the irresistible advocate of liberal principles—the acknowledged champion of living principles in Illinois.

[*The Daily Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 16, 1858]

Douglas carries around with him a reporter by the name of Sheridan, whose business it is to garble the speeches of Mr. Lincoln, and amend and elaborate those of Douglas, for the *Times*. As almost everybody present on Wednesday could hear Mr. Lincoln distinctly, and not a hundred in the crowd could understand Douglas, we are curious to see the report that this fellow Sheridan will give of the speeches. Our word for it, he will serve his master to the best of his ability, and lie about the whole proceedings.

CHAPTER V

THE OTTAWA DEBATE

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 18, 1858]

THE GREAT DEBATE AT OTTAWA

The first grand encounter between the champions of Slavery and Freedom,—Douglas and Lincoln,—takes place at Ottawa on Saturday afternoon, Aug. 21st.

A special train will leave the Rock Island depot at 8 A. M., passing Blue Island at 8:45, Joliet at 9:55, Morris 10:50, and Ottawa at 11:45, which will give plenty of time for dinner, to arrange the preliminaries, and to prepare the polemic combatants for the contest. The train will leave Ottawa on its return at 6 P. M. and will be back in Chicago at 9:45.

Passengers will be carried the round trip for *half-fare* from all the stations above named. How big a crowd is going from this city? The Lincoln boys should be on hand.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 21, 1858]

ALL ABOARD FOR OTTAWA!

Special Despatch to *Press and Tribune.*

OTTAWA, Aug. 20, 1858

Lincoln will take the Special Train from Chicago at Morris tomorrow morning. Please give notice to the public.

REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 21, 1858]

HO! FOR OTTAWA

The gallant LINCOLN will enter the lists at Ottawa today, with DOUGLAS. The meeting will be a memorable one, and the first of the present campaign.

A large delegation will be in attendance from this city, leaving here by the 8 A. M. train on the Chicago & Rock Island Railroad, returning this evening. Let there be a good attendance of our Republicans.

THE PRESS AND TRIBUNE of Monday will contain a full Phonographic verbatim report of the speeches of LINCOLN and DOUGLAS.

Let all who can be present hear the champions, and all who cannot should read and judge for themselves.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 23, 1858]

FIRST JOINT DEBATE

At two o'clock the multitude gathered in the public square, the sun shining down with great intensity, and the few trees affording but little shade. It would seem that the most exposed part of the city was selected for the speaking. After a long delay, the discussion was opened by Judge Douglas, who spoke as follows:

Mr. Douglas' Speech[1]

Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear before you to-day for the purpose of discussing the leading political topics which now agitate the public mind. By an arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and myself, we are present here to-day for the purpose of having a joint discussion, as the representatives of the two great political parties of the State and Union, upon the principles in issue between those parties, and this vast concourse of people shows the deep feeling which pervades the public mind in regard to the questions dividing us.

Prior to 1854 this country was divided into two great political parties, known as the Whig and Democratic parties. Both were national and patriotic, advocating principles that were universal in their application. An Old Line Whig could proclaim his principles in Louisiana and Massachusetts alike. Whig principles had no boundary sectional line; they were not limited by the Ohio River, nor by the Potomac, nor by the line of the Free and Slave States; but applied and were proclaimed wherever the Constitution ruled or the American flag waved over the American soil. ["Hear him;" and three cheers.] So it was, and so it is with the great Democratic party, which, from the days of Jefferson until this period, has proven itself to be the historic party of this nation. While the Whig and Democratic parties differed in regard to a bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, they

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[1] The speeches in this debate have been reprinted from the Follett, Foster & Co. edition of 1860, and all the interruptions, omitted in that edition, have been added from the newspaper reports, those in Douglas' speeches from the official Democratic report in the *Chicago Times*, and those in Lincoln's speeches from the official Republican report in the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. All variants in the text (except those of capitalization and punctuation) from these official reports have been noticed in the footnotes. From an examination of these, it will be seen that Lincoln did not make any important changes in his speeches, and that the editors were very fair in their reprint of the speeches of his opponent.

PUBLIC SQUARE AT OTTAWA

The stand for the public speaking was erected in that part of the square shown in the foreground

agreed on the great slavery question which now agitates the Union. I say that the Whig party and the Democratic party agreed on this slavery question, while they differed on those matters of expediency to which I have referred. The Whig party and the Democratic party jointly adopted the Compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of a proper and just solution of this slavery question in all its forms. Clay was the great leader, with Webster on his right and Cass on his left, and sustained by the patriots in the Whig and Democratic ranks who had devised and enacted the Compromise measures of 1850.

In 1851 the Whig party and the Democratic party united in Illinois in adopting resolutions indorsing[1] and approving the principles of the Compromise measures of 1850, as the proper adjustment of that question. In 1852, when the Whig party assembled in Convention at Baltimore for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency, the first thing it did was to declare the Compromise measures of 1850, in substance and in principle, a suitable adjustment of that question. [Here the speaker was interrupted by loud and long-continued applause.] My friends, silence will be more acceptable to me in the discussion of these questions than applause. I desire to address myself to your judgment, your understanding, and your consciences, and not to your passions or your enthusiasm. When the Democratic Convention assembled in Baltimore in the same year, for the purpose of nominating a Democratic candidate for the Presidency, it also adopted the Compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of Democratic action. Thus you see that up to 1853–'54, the Whig party and the Democratic party both stood on the same platform with regard to the slavery question. That platform was the right of the people of each State and each Territory to decide their local and domestic institutions for themselves, subject only to the Federal Constitution.

During the session of Congress of 1853–'54, I introduced into the Senate of the United States a bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska on that principle which had been adopted in the Compromise measures of 1850, approved by the Whig party and the Democratic party in Illinois in 1851, and indorsed[2] by the Whig party and the Democratic party in National Convention in 1852. In order that there might be no misunderstanding in relation to the principle involved in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, I put forth the true intent and meaning of the Act in these words: "It is the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Federal Constitution." Thus you see that up to 1854, when the Kansas and Nebraska bill was brought into Congress for the purpose of carrying out the principles which both parties had up to that time indorsed[1] and approved, there had been no division in this country in regard to that principle except the opposition of the Abolitionists. In the House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature, upon a resolution asserting that principle, every Whig and every Democrat in the House voted in the affirmative, and only four men voted against it, and those four were Old Line Abolitionists. [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "endorsing" for "indorsing."

[2] Reads: "endorsed" for "indorsed."

In 1854, Mr. Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull entered into an arrangement, one with the other, and each with his respective friends, to dissolve the old Whig party on the one hand, and to dissolve the old Democratic party on the other, and to connect the members of both into an Abolition party, under the name and disguise of a Republican party. [Laughter and cheers; "Hurrah for Douglas."] The terms of that arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull have been published to the world by Mr. Lincoln's special friend, James H. Matheny, Esq., and they were, that Lincoln should have Shields's place in the United States Senate, which was then about to become vacant, and that Trumbull should have my seat when my term expired. [Great laughter.] Lincoln went to work to Abolitionize the old Whig party all over the State, pretending that he was then as good a Whig as ever [laughter]; and Trumbull went to work in his part of the State preaching Abolitionism in its milder and lighter form, and trying to Abolitionize the Democratic party, and bring old Democrats handcuffed and bound hand and foot into the Abolition camp. ["Good," "hurrah for Douglas," and cheers.]

In pursuance of the arrangement, the parties met at Springfield in October, 1854, and proclaimed their new platform. Lincoln was to bring into the Abolition camp the Old Line Whigs, and transfer them over to Giddings, Chase, Fred[2] Douglas, and Parson Lovejoy, who were ready to receive them and christen them in their new faith. [Laughter and cheers.] They laid down on that occasion a platform for their new Republican party, which was to be thus constructed. I have the resolutions of their State Convention then held, which was the first mass State Convention ever held in Illinois by the Black Republican party, and I now hold them in my hands, and will read a part of them, and cause the others to be printed. Here are[1] the most important and material resolutions[2] of this Abolition platform:—

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[1] Reads: "endorsed" for "indorsed."

[2] Reads: "Ford, Douglass" for "Fred Douglass."

> "1. *Resolved*, That we believe this truth to be self-evident, that when parties become subversive of the ends for which they are established, or incapable of restoring the Government to the true principles of the Constitution, it is the right and duty of the people to dissolve the political bands by which they may have been connected therewith, and to organize new parties, upon such principles and with such views as the circumstances and exigencies of the nation may demand.
>
> "2. *Resolved*, That the times imperatively demand the reorganization of parties, and, repudiating all previous party attachments, names, and predilections, we unite ourselves together in defense of the liberty and Constitution of the country, and will hereafter co-operate as the Republican party, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes: To bring the administration of the Government back to the control of first principles, to restore Nebraska and Kansas to the position of Free Territories, that, as the Constitution of the United States vests in the States, and not in Congress, the power to legislate for the extradition of fugitives from labor, to repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive-Slave law; to restrict slavery to those states in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more Slave States into the Union; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the acquirement[3] of any more Territories, unless the pactice of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.
>
> "3. *Resolved*, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such Constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office, under the General or State Government, who is not positively and fully committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, and who shall not have abjured old party allegiance and ties."

[The resolutions as they were read were cheered throughout.]

Now, gentlemen, your Black Republicans have cheered every one of those propositions ["Good" and cheers.], and yet I venture to say that you cannot get Mr. Lincoln to come out and say that he is now in favor of each one of them. [Laughter and applause. "Hit him again."] That these propositions, one and all, constitute the platform of the Black Republican party of this day, I have no doubt; ["Good."]

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[1] Reads: "is" for "are."

[2] Reads; "resolution" for "resolutions."

[3] Reads: "acquirements" for "acquirement."

and when you were not aware for what purpose I was reading them, your Black Republicans cheered them as good Black Republican doctrines. ["That's it," etc.] My object in reading these resolutions was to put the question to Abraham Lincoln this day, whether he now stands and will stand by each article in that creed and carry it out. ["Good," "Hit him again."] I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make. ["That's it;" "put it at him."] I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States. ["He does."] I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line. ["Kansas too."] I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, unless slavery is[1] prohibited therein.

I want his answer to these questions. Your affirmative cheers in favor of this Abolition platform are[2] not satisfactory. I ask Abraham Lincoln to answer these questions, in order that, when I trot him down to lower Egypt, I may put the same questions to him. [Enthusiastic applause.] My principles are the same everywhere. [Cheers, and "hark."] I can proclaim them alike in the North, the South, the East, and the West. My principles will apply wherever the Constitution prevails, and the American flag waves. ["Good," and applause.] I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln's principles will bear transplanting from Ottawa to Jonesboro? I put these questions to him to-day distinctly, and ask an answer. I have a right to an answer ["That's so;" "he can't dodge you," etc.], for I quote from the platform of the Republican party, made by himself and others at the time that party was formed, and the bargain made by Lincoln to dissolve and kill the old Whig party, and transfer its members, bound hand and foot, to the Abolition party, under the direction of Giddings and Fred Douglass. [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "is first prohibited."

[2] Read: "is" for "are."

In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, both[1] struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem. [Applause and laughter.] He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods. Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school-teacher as I could, and when a cabinet-maker I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than with[2] anything else; [cheers] but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the Legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the up-hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. ["No doubt."] He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot-race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper; could ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together; [uproarious laughter] and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse-race or fist-fight excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. [Renewed laughter.] I sympathized with him because he was struggling with difficulties, and so was I.

Mr. Lincoln served with me in the Legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided, or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the Abolition tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican war, taking the side of the common enemy against his own country; ["that's true"] and when he returned home he found that the indignation of

[1] Reads: "and both."

[2] Reads: "than anything else."

the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged, or obliged to retire into private life, forgotten by his former friends. ["And will be again."] He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this Abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase, and Fred Douglass, for the Republican party to stand upon. [Laughter, "Hit him again," etc.]

Trumbull, too, was one of our own contemporaries. He was born and raised in old Connecticut, was bred a Federalist, but, removing to Georgia, turned Nullifier when Nullification was popular, and as soon as he disposed of his clocks and wound up his business, migrated to Illinois, [laughter] turned politician and lawyer here, and made his appearance in 1841 as a member of the Legislature. He became noted as the author of the scheme to repudiate a large portion of the State debt of Illinois, which, if successful, would have brought infamy and disgrace upon the fair escutcheon of our glorious State. The odium attached to that measure consigned him to oblivion for a time. I helped to do it. I walked into a public meeting in the hall of the House of Representatives, and replied to his repudiating speeches, and resolutions were carried over his head denouncing repudiation, and asserting the moral and legal obligation of Illinois to pay every dollar of the debt she owed, and every bond that bore her seal. ["Good," and cheers.] Trumbull's malignity has followed me since I thus defeated his infamous scheme.

These two men having formed this combination to Abolitionize the old Whig party and the old Democratic party, and put themselves into the Senate of the United States, in pursuance of their bargain, are now carrying out that arrangement. Matheny states that Trumbull broke faith; that the bargain was that Lincoln should be the Senator in Shields's[1] place, and Trumbull was to wait for mine; [laughter and cheers] and the story goes that Trumbull cheated Lincoln, having control of four or five Abolitionized Democrats who were holding over in the Senate; he would not let them vote for Lincoln, which[2] obliged the rest of the Abolitionists to support him in order to secure an Abolition Senator. There are a number of authorities for the truth of this besides Matheny, and I suppose that even Mr. Lincoln will not deny it. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. Lincoln demands that he shall have the place intended for

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[1] Reads: "Shields'."

[2] Reads: "and which."

Trumbull, as Trumbull cheated him and got his, and Trumbull is stumping the State traducing me for the purpose of securing the[1] position for Lincoln, in order to quiet him. ["Lincoln can never get it."] It was in consequence of this arrangement that the Republican Convention was empanelled to instruct for Lincoln and nobody else, and it was on this account that they passed resolutions that he was their first, their last, and their only choice. Archy Williams was nowhere, Browning was nobody, Wentworth was not to be considered; they had no man in the Republican party for the place except Lincoln, for the reason that he demanded that they should carry out the arrangement. ["Hit him again."]

Having formed this new party for the benefit of deserters from Whiggery, and deserters from Democracy, and having laid down the Abolition platform which I have read, Lincoln now takes his stand and proclaims his Abolition doctrines. Let me read a part of them. In his speech at Springfield to the Convention which nominated him for the Senate, he said:—

> "In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government *cannot endure permanently half Slave and half Free.* I do not expect the Union to be dissolved,—I do not expect the house to fall; *but I do expect it will cease to be divided.* It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery *will arrest the further spread of it,* and place it where the public mind shall rest, in the belief *that it is in the course of ultimate extinction,* or its advocates *will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States,*—old as well as new, North as well as South."

["Good," "good," and cheers.]

I am delighted to hear you Black Republicans say "good." [Laughter and cheers.] I have no doubt that doctrine expresses your sentiments ["Hit them again," "that's it."], and I will prove to you now, if you will listen to me, that it is revolutionary, and destructive of the existence of this Government. ["Hurrah for Douglas," "good," and cheers.] Mr. Lincoln, in the extract from which I have read, says that this Government cannot endure permanently in the same condition in which it was made by its framers,—divided into Free and Slave States. He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it. ["Neither can it."] Why can it not exist divided into Free and Slave States? Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day, made this government divided into Free States and Slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. ["Right, right."] Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it? ["It can."] They knew when they framed the Constitution that in a country as wide and broad as this, with such a variety of climate, production, and interest, the people necessarily required different laws and institutions in different localities. They knew that the laws and regulations which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina, ["Right, right."] and they therefore provided that each State should retain its own Legislature and its own sovereignty, with the full and complete power to do as it pleased within its own limits, in all that was local and not national. [Applause.]

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[1] Reads: "That" for "the.

One of the reserved rights of the States was the right to regulate the relations between master and servant, on the slavery question. At the time the Constitution was framed,[1] there were thirteen States in the Union, twelve of which were slaveholding States and one a Free State. Suppose this doctrine of uniformity preached by Mr. Lincoln, that the States should all be Free or all be Slave had prevailed, and what would have been the result? Of course, the twelve slaveholding States would have overruled the one Free State, and slavery would have been fastened by a Constitutional provision on every inch of the American Republic, instead of being left, as our fathers wisely left it, to each State to decide for itself. ["Good, good," and "three cheers for Douglas."] Here I assert that uniformity in the local laws and institutions of the different States is neither possible or desirable. If uniformity had been adopted when the Government was established, it must inevitably have been the uniformity of slavery everywhere, or else the uniformity of negro citizenship and negro equality everywhere.

We are told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision, and will not submit to it, for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship. [Laughter and applause.] That is the first and main reason which he assigns for his warfare on the Supreme Court of the United States and its decision. I ask you, are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? ["No, no."] Do you desire to strike out of our State Constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the State, and allows the free negroes to flow in, ["Never."] and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony, ["No, no."] in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? ["Never," "no."] If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro. ["Never, never."] For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. [Cheers.] I believe this Government was made on the white basis. ["Good."] I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians, and other inferior races. ["Good for you." "Douglas forever."]

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[1] Reads: "formed" for "framed."

Mr. Lincoln, following the example and lead of all the little Abolition orators, who go around and lecture in the basements of schools and churches, reads from the Declaration of Independence that all men were created equal, and then asks, How can you deprive a negro of that equality which God and the Declaration of Independence award[1] to him? He and they maintain that negro equality is guaranteed by the laws of God, and that it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence. If they think so, of course they have a right to say so, and so vote. I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious belief that the negro was made his equal, and hence is his brother; [laughter] but for my own part, I do not regard the negro as my equal, and positively deny that he is my brother, or any kin to me whatever. ["Never," "Hit him again," and cheers.] Lincoln has evidently learned by heart Parson Lovejoy's catechism. [Laughter and applause.] He can repeat it as well as Farnsworth, and he is worthy of a medal from Father Giddings and Fred Douglass for his Abolitionism. [Laughter.] He holds that the negro was born his equal and yours, and that he was endowed with equality by the Almighty, and that no human law can deprive him of these rights, which were guaranteed to him by the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

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[1] Reads: "awards."

Now I do not believe that the Almighty ever intended the negro to be the equal of the white man. ["Never, never."] If he did, he has been a long time demonstrating the fact. [Cheers.] For thousands of years the negro has been a race upon the earth, and during all that time, in all latitudes and climates, wherever he has wandered or been taken, he has been inferior to the race which he has there met. He belongs to an inferior race and must always occupy an inferior position. ["Good," "that's so," etc.] I do not hold that because the negro is our inferior that therefore he ought to be a slave. By no means can such a conclusion be drawn from what I have said. On the contrary, I hold that humanity and Christianity both require that the negro shall have and enjoy every right, every privilege, and every immunity consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives. ["That's so."] On that point, I presume, there can be no diversity of opinion. You and I are bound to extend to our inferior and dependent beings every right, every privilege, every facility and immunity consistent with the public good.

The question then arises, What rights and privileges are consistent with the public good? This is a question which each State and each Territory must decide for itself. Illinois has decided it for herself. We have provided that the negro shall not be a slave, and we have also provided that he shall not be a citizen, but protect him in his civil rights, in his life, his person and his property, only depriving him of all political rights whatsoever, and refusing to put him on an equality with the white man. ["Good."] That policy of Illinois is satisfactory to the Democratic party and to me; and if it were to the Republicans, there would then be no question upon the subject. But the Republicans say that he ought to be made a citizen, and when he becomes a citizen he becomes your equal, with all your rights and privileges. ["He never shall."] They assert the Dred Scott decision to be monstrous because it denies that the negro is or can be a citizen under the Constitution. Now, I hold that Illinois had a right to abolish and prohibit slavery as she did, and I hold that Kentucky has the same right to continue and protect slavery that Illinois had to abolish it. I hold that New York had as much right to abolish slavery as Virginia has to continue it, and that each and every State of this Union is a sovereign power, with the right to do as it pleases upon this question of slavery, and upon all its domestic institutions.

Slavery is not the only question which comes up in this controversy. There is a far more important one to you, and that is, What shall be done with the free negro? We have settled the slavery question as far as we are concerned; we have prohibited it in Illinois forever; and in doing so, I think we have done wisely, and there is no man in the State who would be more strenuous in his opposition to the introduction of slavery than I would. [Cheers.] But when we settled it for ourselves, we exhausted all our power over that subject. We have done our whole duty, and can do no more. We must leave each and every other State to decide for itself the same question. In relation to the policy to be pursued toward[1] the free negroes, we have said that they shall not vote; whilst Maine, on the other hand, has said that they shall vote. Maine is a sovereign State, and has the power to regulate the qualifications of voters within her limits. I would never consent to confer the right of voting and of citizenship upon a negro; but still I am not going to quarrel with Maine for differing from me in opinion. Let Maine take care of her own negroes, and fix the qualifications of her own voters to suit herself, without interfering with Illinois, and Illinois will not interfere with Maine. So with the State of New York. She allows the negro to vote, provided he owns two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of property, but not otherwise. While I would not make any distinction whatever between a negro who held property and one who did not; yet if the sovereign State of New York chooses to make that distinction, it is her business and not mine, and I will not quarrel with her for it. She can do as she pleases on this question if she minds her own business, and we will do the same thing.

Now, my friends, if we will only act conscientiously and rigidly upon this great principle of popular sovereignty, which guarantees to each State and Territory the right to do as it pleases on all things, local and domestic, instead of Congress interfering, we will continue at peace one with another. Why should Illinois be at war with Missouri, or Kentucky with Ohio, or Virginia with New York, merely because their institutions differ? Our fathers intended that our institutions should differ. They knew that the North and the South, having different climates, productions, and interests, required different institutions.

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[1] Reads: "towards" for "toward."

This doctrine of Mr. Lincoln,[1] of uniformity among the institutions of the different states, is a new doctrine, never dreamed of by Washington, Madison, or the framers of this Government. Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party set themselves up as wiser than these men who made this Government, which has flourished for seventy years under the principle of popular sovereignty, recognizing the right of each State to do as it pleased. Under that principle, we have grown from a nation of three or four millions to a nation of about thirty millions of people; we have crossed the Alleghany[2] mountains and filled up the whole Northwest, turning the prairie into a garden, and building up churches and schools, thus spreading civilization and Christianity where before there was nothing but savage barbarism. Under that principle we have become, from a feeble nation, the most powerful on the face of the earth; and if we only adhere to that principle, we can go forward increasing in territory, in power, in strength, and in glory until the Republic of America shall be the North Star that shall guide the friends of freedom throughout the civilized world. ["Long may you live," and great applause.]

And why can we not adhere to the great principle of self-government, upon which our institutions were originally based? ["We can."] I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln and his party will dissolve the Union if it succeeds. They are trying to array all the Northern States in one body against the South, to excite a sectional war between the Free States and the Slave States, in order that the one or the other may be driven to the wall.

I am told that my time is out. Mr. Lincoln will now address you for an hour and a half, and I will then occupy an half hour in replying to him. [Three times three cheers were here given for Douglas.]

Mr. Lincoln's Reply

Mr. Lincoln then came forward and was greeted with long and protracted cheers from fully two-thirds of the audience. This was admitted by the Douglas men on the platform. It was some minutes before he could make himself heard, even by those on the stand. At last he said:

My Fellow-Citizens: When a man hears himself somewhat misrepresented, it provokes him,—at least, I find it so with myself; but when misrepresentation becomes very gross and palpable, it is more apt to amuse him [laughter]. The first thing I see fit to notice is the fact that Judge Douglas alleges, after running through the history of the old Democratic and the old Whig parties, that Judge Trumbull and myself made an arrangement in 1854, by which I was to have the place of General Shields in the United States Senate, and Judge Trumbull was to have the place of Judge Douglas. Now, all I have to say upon that subject is that I think no man—not even Judge Douglas—can prove it, *because it is not true* [cheers]. I have no doubt he is "*conscientious*" in saying it [laughter].

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[1] Reads: "Lincoln's."

[2] Reads: "Allegheny" for "Alleghany."

As to those resolutions[1] that he took such a length of time to read, as being the platform of the Republican party in 1854, I say I never had anything to do with them, and I think Trumbull never had [renewed laughter]. Judge Douglas cannot show that either[2] of us ever did have anything to do with them. I believe *this* is true about those resolutions. There was a call for a Convention to form a Republican party at Springfield, and I think that my friend Mr. Lovejoy, who is here upon this stand, had a hand in it. I think this is true, and I think if he will remember accurately, he will be able to recollect that he tried to get me into it, and I would not go in [cheers and laughter]. I believe it is also true that I went away from Springfield when the Convention was in session, to attend court in Tazewell County. It is true they did place my name, though without authority, upon the committee, and afterward wrote me to attend the meeting of the committee; but I refused to do so, and I never had anything to do with that organization. This is the plain truth about all that matter of the resolutions.

Now, about this story that Judge Douglas tells of Trumbull bargaining to sell out the old Democratic party, and Lincoln agreeing to sell out the old Whig party, I have the means of *knowing* about that: [laughter] Judge Douglas cannot have; and I know there is no substance to it whatever [applause]. Yet I have no doubt he is "*conscientious*" about it [laughter]. I know that after Mr. Lovejoy got into the Legislature that winter, he complained of me that I had told all the old Whigs of[3] his district that the old Whig party was good enough for them, and some of them voted against him because I told them so.

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[1] These resolutions are deliberate forgeries by Mr. Douglas. None such were passed by the Springfield convention nor anything like them.—(Ed. *Press and Tribune.*)

[2] Inserts "one" after "either."

[3] Reads: "in" for "of."

Now, I have no means of totally disproving such charges as this which the Judge makes. A man cannot prove a negative; but he has a right to claim that when a man makes an affirmative charge, he must offer some proof to show the truth of what he says. I certainly cannot introduce testimony to show the negative about things, but I have a right to claim that if a man says he *knows* a thing, then he must show *how* he knows it. I always have a right to claim this, and it is not satisfactory to me that he may be "conscientious" on the subject [cheers and laughter].

Now, gentlemen, I hate to waste my time on such things; but in regard to that general Abolition tilt that Judge Douglas makes, when he says that I was engaged at that time in selling out and Abolitionizing the old Whig party, I hope you will permit me to read a part of a printed speech that I made then[1] at Peoria, which will show altogether a different view of the position I took in that contest of 1854.

A Voice.—"Put on your specs."

Mr. Lincoln.—Yes, sir, I am obliged to do so; I am no longer a young man [laughter].

"This is the *repeal* of the Missouri Compromise.[2] The foregoing history may not be precisely accurate in every particular, but I am sure it is sufficiently so for all the uses I shall attempt to make of it, and in it we have before us the chief materials enabling us to correctly judge whether the repeal of the Missouri Compromise is right or wrong.

"I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong,—wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world where men can be found inclined to take it.

"This *declared* indifference, but, as I must think, covert *real* zeal for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world,—enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many really good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty,—criticising the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but *self-interest.*

"Before proceeding let me say, I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top Abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South and become most cruel slave-masters.

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[1] Reads: "when" for "then."

[2] This extract from Mr. Lincoln's Peoria speech of 1854 was read by him in the Ottawa debate, but was not reported fully or accurately in either *Times* or *Press Tribune*. It is inserted now as necessary to a complete report of the debate. (This note appeared in the Follet, Foster & Co. edition, 1860. The whole quotation was omitted in the *Press and Tribune* to the paragraph beginning "When Southern people tell . . . . " and the omission was noted, and even the rest was quoted very incorrectly.—EDITOR.)

"When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it, in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves and send them to Liberia,—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if, indeed, it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

"When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one [loud applause].

"But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own Free Territory than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves *from* Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them *to* Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter."[1]

I have reason to know that Judge Douglas *knows* that I said this. I think he has the answer here to one of the questions he put to me. I do not mean to allow him to catechise me unless he pays back for it in kind. I will not answer questions one after another, unless he reciprocates; but as he has made this inquiry, and I have answered it before, he has got it without my getting anything in return. He has got my answer on the Fugitive-Slave law.

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[1] This clause was not reported in the *Tribune* account.

Now, gentlemen, I don't want to read at any greater length; but this is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it; and anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. [Laughter.]

I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position. I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that, notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence,—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. [Loud cheers.] I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects,—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man. [Great applause.]

Now I pass on to consider one or two more of these little follies. The Judge is wofully at fault about his early friend Lincoln being a "grocery-keeper." [Laughter.] I don't know as it would be a great sin, if I had been; but he is mistaken. Lincoln never kept a grocery anywhere in the world. [Laughter.] It is true that Lincoln did work the latter part of one winter in a little still-house, up at the head of a hollow. [Roars of laughter.]

And so I think my friend the Judge is equally at fault when he charges me at the time when I was in Congress of having opposed our soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican war The Judge did not make his charge very distinctly, but I can tell you what he can prove, by referring to the record. You remember I was an old Whig, and whenever the Democratic party tried to get me to vote that the war had been righteously begun by the President, I would not do it. But whenever they asked for any money, or land-warrants, or anything to pay the soldiers there, during all that time, I gave the same vote that Judge Douglas did. [Loud applause.] You can think as you please as to whether that was consistent. Such is the truth; and the Judge has the right to make all he can out of it. But when he, by a general charge, conveys the idea that I withheld supplies from the soldiers who were fighting in the Mexican war, or did anything else to hinder the soldiers, he is, to say the least, grossly and altogether mistaken, as a consultation of the records will prove to him.

As I have not used up so much of my time as I had supposed, I will dwell a little longer upon one or two of these minor topics upon which the Judge has spoken. He has read from my speech in Springfield, in which I say "that a house divided against itself can not stand." Does the Judge say it can stand? [Laughter.] I don't know whether he does or not. The Judge does not seem to be attending to me just now, but I would like to know if it is his opinion that a house divided against itself can stand. If he does, then there is a question of veracity, not between him and me, but between the Judge and an authority of a somewhat higher character. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my friends, I ask your attention to this matter for the purpose of saying something seriously. I know that the Judge may readily enough agree with me that the maxim which was put forth by the Saviour is true, but he may allege that I misapply it; and the Judge has a right to urge that, in my application, I do misapply it, and then I have a right to show that I do *not* misapply it. When he undertakes to say that because I think this nation, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, will all become one thing or all the other, I am in favor of bringing about a dead uniformity in the various States, in all their institutions, he argues erroneously. The great variety of the local institutions in the States, springing from differences in the soil, differences in the face of the country, and in the climate, are bonds of Union. They do not make "a house divided against itself," but they make a house united. If they produce in one section of the country what is called for by the wants of another section, and this other section can supply the wants of the first, they are not matters of discord, but bonds of union, true bonds of union.

But can this question of slavery be considered as among *these* varieties in the institutions of the country? I leave it to you to say whether, in the history of our Government, this institution of slavery has not always failed to be a bond of union, and, on the contrary, been an apple of discord and an element of division in the house. [Cries of "yes, yes," and applause.] I ask you to consider whether, so long as the moral constitution of men's minds shall continue to be the same, after this generation and assemblage shall sink into the grave, and another race shall arise, with the same moral and intellectual development we have,—whether, if that institution is standing in the same irritating position in which it now is, it will not continue an element of division? [Cries of "Yes, yes."] If so, then I have a right to say that, in regard to this question, the Union is a house divided against itself; and when the Judge reminds me that I have often said to him that the institution of slavery has existed for eighty years in some States, and yet it does not exist in some others, I agree to the fact, and I account for it by looking at the position in which our fathers originally placed it,—restricting it from the new Territories where it had not gone, and legislating to cut off its source by the abrogation of the slave-trade, thus putting the seal of legislation *against its spread*.

The public mind *did* rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. [Cries of "Yes, yes."] But lately, I think—and in this I charge nothing on the Judge's motives—lately, I think, that he, and those acting with him, have placed that institution on a new basis, which looks to the *perpetuity and nationalization of slavery*. [Loud cheers.] And while it is placed upon this new basis, I say, and I have said that I believe we shall not have peace upon the question until the opponents of slavery arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or, on the other hand, that its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Now, I believe if we could arrest the spread, and place it where Washington and Jefferson and Madison placed it, it would be in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind *would*, as for eighty years past, believe that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. The crisis would be past, and the institution might be let alone for a hundred years, if it should live so long, in the States where it exists; yet it would be going out of existence in the way best for both the black and the white races. [Great cheering.]

A Voice.—"Then do you repudiate Popular Sovereignty?"

Mr. Lincoln.—Well, then, let us talk about Popular Sovereignty. [Laughter.] What is Popular Sovereignty? [Cries of "A Humbug," "a humbug."] Is it the right of the people to have slavery or not have it, as they see fit, in the Territories? I will state—and I have an able man to watch me—my understanding is that Popular Sovereignty, as now applied to the question of slavery, does allow the people of a Territory to have slavery if they want to, but does not allow them *not* to have it if they *do not* want it. [Applause and laughter.] I do not mean that if this vast concourse of people were in a Territory of the United States, any one of them would be obliged to have a slave if he did not want one; but I do say that, as I understand the Dred Scott decision, if any one man wants slaves, all the rest have no way of keeping that one man from holding them.

When I made my speech at Springfield, of which the Judge complains, and from which he quotes, I really was not thinking of the things which he ascribes to me at all. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a war between the Free and Slave States. I had no thought in the world that I was doing anything to bring about a political and social equality of the black and the white races. It never occurred to me that I was doing anything, or favoring anything to reduce to a dead uniformity all the local institutions of the various States. But I must say, in all fairness to him, if he thinks I am doing something which leads to these bad results, it is none the better that I did not mean it. It is just as fatal to the country, if I have any influence in producing it, whether I intend it or not. But can it be true that placing this institution upon the original basis—the basis upon which our fathers placed it—can have any tendency to set the Northern and the Southern States at war with one another, or that it can have any tendency to make the people of Vermont raise sugar-cane, because they raise it in Louisiana; or that it can compel the people of Illinois to cut pine logs on the

Grand Prairie, where they will not grow, because they cut pine logs in Maine, where they do grow? [Laughter.]

The Judge says this is a new principle started in regard to this question. Does the Judge claim that he is working on the plan of the founders of the government? I think he says in some of his speeches—indeed, I have one here now—that he saw evidence of a policy to allow slavery to be south of a certain line, while north of it it should be excluded, and he saw an indisposition on the part of the country to stand upon that policy, and therefore he set about studying the subject upon *original principles*, and upon *original principles* he got up the Nebraska bill! I am fighting it upon these "original principles,"—fighting it in the Jeffersonian, Washingtonian, and Madisonian fashion. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my friends, I wish you to attend for a little while to one or two other things in that Springfield speech. My main object was to show, so far as my humble ability was capable of showing, to the people of this country, what I believed was the truth,—that there was a tendency, if not a conspiracy, among those who have engineered this slavery question for the last four or five years, to make slavery perpetual and universal in this nation. Having made that speech principally for that object, after arranging the evidences that I thought tended to prove my proposition, I concluded with this bit of comment:—

> "We cannot absolutely know that these exact adaptations are the result of preconcert; but when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen,—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance,—and when we see these timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortises exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few,—not omitting even the scaffolding,—or if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in,—in such a case we feel it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn before the first blow was struck." [Great cheers.]

When my friend Judge Douglas came to Chicago on the 9th of July, this speech having been delivered on the 16th of June, he made an harangue there, in which he took hold of this speech of mine, showing that he had carefully read it; and while he paid no attention to *this* matter at all, but complimented me as being a "kind, amiable, and intelligent gentleman," notwithstanding I had said this, he goes on and deduces,[1] or draws out, from my speech this tendency of mine to set the States at war with one another, to make all the institutions uniform, and set the niggers and white people to marrying together. [Laughter.] Then, as the Judge had complimented me with these pleasant titles (I must confess to my weakness), I was a little "taken" [laughter], for it came from a great man. I was not very much accustomed to flattery, and it came the sweeter to me. I was rather like the Hoosier, with the gingerbread, when he said he reckoned he loved it better than any other man, and got less of it. [Roars of laughter.] As the Judge had so flattered me, I could not make up my mind that he meant to deal unfairly with me; so I went to work to show him that he misunderstood the whole scope of my speech, and that I really never intended to set the people at war with one another.

As an illustration, the next time I met him, which was at Springfield, I used this expression, that I claimed no right under the Constitution, nor had I any inclination, to enter into the Slave States, and interfere with the institutions of slavery. He says upon that: Lincoln will not enter into the Slave States, but will go to the banks of the Ohio, on this side, and shoot over! [Laughter.] He runs on, step by step, in the horse-chestnut style[2] of argument, until in the Springfield speech he says: "Unless he shall be successful in firing his batteries, until he shall have extinguished slavery in all the States, the Union shall be dissolved." Now, I don't think that was exactly the way to treat a "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman." [Roars of laughter.] I know if I had asked the Judge to show when or where it was I had said that if I didn't succeed in firing into the Slave States until slavery should be extinguished, the Union should be dissolved, he could not have shown it. I understand what he would do. He would say, "I don't mean to quote from you, but this was the *result* of what you say." But I have the right to ask, and I do ask now, Did you not put it in such a form that an ordinary reader or listener would take it as an expression from me? [Laughter.]

In a speech at Springfield, on the night of the 17th, I thought I might as well attend to my own business a little, and I recalled his attention as well as I could to this charge of conspiracy to nationalize slavery.

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[1] Reads: "eliminates."

[2] Reads: "plan."

I called his attention to the fact that he had acknowledged, in my hearing twice, that he had carefully read the speech, and, in the language of the lawyers, as he had twice read the speech, and still had put in no plea or answer, I took a default on him. I insisted that I had a right then to renew that charge of conspiracy. Ten days afterward I met the Judge at Clinton,—that is to say, I was on the ground, but not in the discussion,—and heard him make a speech. Then he comes in with his plea to this charge, for the first time; and his plea when put in, as well as I can recollect it, amounted to this: that he never had any talk with Judge Taney or the President of the United States with regard to the Dred Scott decision before it was made; I (Lincoln) ought to know that the man who makes a charge without knowing it to be true, falsifies as much as he who knowingly tells a falsehood; and, lastly, that he would pronounce the whole thing a falsehood; but he would make no personal application of the charge of falsehood, not because of any regard for the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman," but because of his own personal self-respect! [Roars of laughter.]

I have understood since then (but [turning to Judge Douglas] will not hold the Judge to it if he is not willing) that he has broken through the "self-respect," and has got to saying the thing *out*. The Judge nods to me that it is so. [Laughter.] It is fortunate for me that I can keep as good-humored as I do, when the Judge acknowledges that he has been trying to make a question of veracity with me. I know the Judge is a great man, while I am only a small man, but *I feel that I have got him*. [Tremendous cheering.] I demur to that plea. I waive all objections that it was not filed till after default was taken, and demur to it upon the merits. What if Judge Douglas never did talk with Chief Justice Taney and the President before the Dred Scott decision was made, does it follow that he could not have had as perfect an understanding without talking as with it? I am not disposed to stand upon my legal advantage. I am disposed to take his denial as being like an answer in chancery, that he neither had any knowledge, information, or belief in the existence, of such a conspiracy. I am disposed to take his answer as being as broad as though he had put it in these words. And now, I ask, even if he had done so, have not I a right to *prove it on him*, and to offer the evidence of more than two witnesses, by whom to prove it; and if the evidence proves the existence of the conspiracy, does his broad answer denying all knowledge, information, or belief, disturb the fact? It can only show that he was used by conspirators, and was not a leader of them. [Vociferous cheering.]

Now, in regard to his reminding me of the moral rule that persons who tell what they do not know to be true, falsify as much as those who knowingly tell falsehoods. I remember the rule, and it must be borne in mind that in what I have read to you, I do not say that I *know* such a conspiracy to exist. To that I reply, *I believe it.* If the Judge says that I do not believe it, then he says what he does not know, and falls within his own rule, that he who asserts a thing which he does not know to be true, falsifies as much as he who knowingly tells a falsehood.

I want to call your attention to a little discussion on that branch of the case, and the evidence which brought my mind to the conclusion which I expressed as my *belief.* If, in arraying that evidence, I had stated anything which was false or erroneous, it needed but that Judge Douglas should point it out, and I would have taken it back, with all the kindness in the world. I do not deal in that way. If I have brought forward anything not a fact, if he will point it out, it will not even ruffle me to take it back. But if he will not point out anything erroneous in the evidence, is it not rather for him to show, by a comparison of the evidence, that I have *reasoned* falsely, than to call the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman" a liar? [Cheers and laughter.] If I have reasoned to a false conclusion, it is the vocation of an able debater to show by argument that I have wandered to an erroneous conclusion.

I want to ask your attention to a portion of the Nebraska bill, which Judge Douglas has quoted: "It being the true intent and meaning of this Act, not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Thereupon Judge Douglas and others began to argue in favor of "Popular Sovereignty,"—the right of the people to have slaves if they wanted them, and to exclude slavery if they did not want them. "But," said, in substance, a Senator from Ohio (Mr. Chase, I believe), "we more than suspect that you do not mean to allow the people to exclude slavery if they wish to; and if you do mean it, accept an amendment which I propose, expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery."

I believe I have the amendment here before me, which was offered, and under which the people of the Territory, through their proper representatives, might, if they saw fit, prohibit the existence of slavery therein. And now I state it as a fact, to be taken back if there is any mistake about it, that Judge Douglas and those acting with him voted that amendment down. [Tremendous applause.] I now think that those men who voted it down had a *real reason* for doing so. They know what that reason was. It looks to us, since we have seen the Dred Scott decision pronounced, holding that "under the Constitution," the people cannot exclude slavery,—I say it looks to outsiders, poor, simple, "amiable, intelligent gentlemen," [great laughter] as though the niche was left as a place to put that Dred Scott decision in, [laughter and cheers]—a niche which would have been spoiled by adopting the amendment. And now, I say again, if *this* was not the reason, it will avail the judge much more to calmly and good-humoredly point out to these people what that *other* reason was for voting the amendment down, than, swelling himself up, to vociferate that he may be provoked to call somebody a liar. [Tremendous applause.]

Again: There is in that same quotation from the Nebraska bill this clause: "It being the true intent and meaning of this bill not to legislate slavery into any Territory or *State*." I have always been puzzled to know what business the word "State" had in that connection. Judge Douglas knows. *He put it there.* He knows what he put it there for. We outsiders cannot say what he put it there for. The law they were passing was not about States, and was not making provision for States. What was it placed there for? After seeing the Dred Scott decision, which holds that the people cannot exclude slavery from a *Territory*, if another Dred Scott decision shall come, holding that they cannot exclude it from a State, we shall discover that when the word was originally put there, it was in view of something which was to come in due time, we shall see that it was the other half of something. [Applause.] I now say again, if there is any different reason for putting it there, Judge Douglas, in a good-humored way, without calling anybody a liar, *can tell what the reason was.* [Renewed cheers.]

When the Judge spoke at Clinton, he came very near making a charge of falsehood against me. He used, as I found it printed in a newspaper, which, I remember, was very nearly like the real speech, the following language:—

> "I did not answer the charge [of conspiracy] before, for the reason that I did not suppose there was a man in America with a heart so corrupt as to believe such

> a charge could be true. I have too much respect for Mr. Lincoln to suppose he is serious in making the charge."

I confess this is rather a curious view, that out of respect for me he should consider I was making what I deemed rather a grave charge, in fun. [Laughter.] I confess it strikes me rather strangely. But I let it pass. As the Judge did not for a moment believe that there was a man in America whose heart was so "corrupt" as to make such a charge, and as he places me among the "men in America," who have hearts base enough to make such a charge, I hope he will excuse me if I hunt out another charge very like this; and if it should turn out that in hunting I should find that other, and it should turn out to be Judge Douglas himself who made it, I hope he will reconsider this question of the deep corruption of heart he has thought fit to ascribe to me. [Great applause and laughter.] In Judge Douglas's speech of March 22, 1858, which I hold in my hand, he says:—

> "In this connection there is another topic to which I desire to allude. I seldom refer to the course of newspapers, or notice the articles which they publish in regard to myself; but the course of the Washington *Union* has been so extraordinary, for the last two or three months, that I think it well enough to make some allusion to it. It has read me out of the Democratic party every other day, at least for two or three months, and keeps reading me out [laughter], and, as if it had not succeeded, still continues to read me out, using such terms as 'traitor,' 'renegade,' 'deserter,' and other kind and polite epithets of that nature. Sir, I have no vindication to make of my Democracy against the Washington *Union*, or any other newspaper. I am willing to allow my history and action for the last twenty years to speak for themselves as to my political principles and my fidelity to political obligations. The Washington *Union* has a personal grievance. When its editor was nominated for public printer, I declined to vote for him, and stated that at some time I might give my reasons for doing so. Since I declined to give that vote, this scurrilous abuse, these vindictive and constant attacks have been repeated almost daily on me. Will my friend from Michigan read the article to which I allude?"

This is a part of the speech. You must excuse me from reading the entire article of the Washington *Union*, as Mr. Stuart read it for Mr. Douglas. The Judge goes on and sums up, as I think, correctly:—

> "Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington *Union* editorially, and apparently *authoritatively;* and any man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of person and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall

be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the Government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage of [1] the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

"Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton Constitution. It was in these words:—

" 'KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone'—

"And a column nearly of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union*. What is it?

" 'ARTICLE 7, *Section* 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as inviolable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.'

"Then in the schedule is a provision that the Constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

" 'But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves.'

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with the *authoritative* article in the Washington *Union* of the day previous to its indorsement of this Constitution."

I pass over some portions of the speech, and I hope that any one who feels interested in this matter will read the entire section of the speech, and see whether I do the Judge injustice. He proceeds:—

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union."

I stop the quotation there, again requesting that it may all be read. I have read all of the portion I desire to comment upon. What is this charge that the Judge thinks I must have a very corrupt heart to make? It was a purpose on the part of certain high functionaries to make it impossible for the people of one State to prohibit the people of any other State from entering it with their "property," so called, and making it a Slave State. In other words it was a charge implying a design to make the institution of slavery national. And now I ask your attention to what Judge Douglas has himself done here. I know he made that part of the speech as a reason why he had refused to vote for a certain man for public printer; but when we get at it, the charge itself is the very one I made against him, that he thinks I am so corrupt for uttering. Now, whom does he make that charge against? Does he make it against that newspaper editor merely? No; he says it is identical in spirit with the Lecompton Constitution, and so the framers of that Constitution are brought in with the editor of the newspaper in that "fatal blow being struck." [Cheers and laughter.] He did not call it a "conspiracy." In his language, it is a "fatal blow being struck." And if the words carry the meaning better when changed from a "conspiracy" into a "fatal blow being struck," I will change *my* expression, and call it "fatal blow being struck." We see the charge made not merely against the editor of the *Union*, but all the framers of the Lecompton Constitution; and not only so, but the article was an *authoritative* article. By whose authority? Is there any question but he means it was by the authority of the President and his Cabinet,—the Administration?

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[1] Reads: "on" for "of."

Is there any sort of question but that[1] he means to make that charge? Then there are the editors of the *Union*, the framers of the Lecompton Constitution, the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and all the supporters of the Lecompton Constitution, in Congress and out of Congress, who are all involved in this "fatal blow being struck." I commend to Judge Douglas's consideration the question of how corrupt a man's heart must be to make such a charge! [Vociferous cheering.]

Now, my friends, I have but one branch of the subject, in the little time I have left, to which to call your attention; and as I shall come to a close at the end of that branch, it is probable that I shall not occupy quite all the time allotted to me. Although on these questions I would like to talk twice as long as I have, I could not enter upon another head and discuss it properly without running over my time. I ask the question[2] of the people here assembled and elsewhere to the course that Judge Douglas is pursuing every day as bearing upon this question of making slavery national. Not going back to the records, but taking the speeches he makes, the speeches he made yesterday and day before,

[1] Omits: "that."

[2] Reads: "attention" for "question."

and makes constantly all over the country,—I ask your attention to them. In the first place, what is necessary to make the institution national? Not war. There is no danger that the people of Kentucky will shoulder their muskets, and, with a young nigger stuck on every bayonet, march into Illinois and force them upon us. There is no danger of our going over there and making war upon them. Then what is necessary for the nationalization of slavery? It is simply the next Dred Scott decision. It is merely for the Supreme Court to decide that no State under the Constitution can exclude it, just as they have already decided that under the Constitution neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature can do it. When that is decided and acquiesced in, the whole thing is done.

This being true, and this being the way, as I think, that slavery is to be made national, let us consider what Judge Douglas is doing every day to that end. In the first place, let us see what influence he is exerting on public sentiment. In this and like communities, public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment, nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed. This must be borne in mind, as also the additional fact that Judge Douglas is a man of vast influence, so great that it is enough for many men to profess to believe anything, when they once find out that Judge Douglas professes to believe it. Consider also the attitude he occupies at the head of a large party,—a party which he claims has a majority of all the voters of the country. This man sticks to a decision which forbids the people of a Territory from excluding slavery, and he does so, not because he says it is right in itself,—he does not give any opinion on that,—but because it has been decided by the court; and being decided by the court, he is, and you are, bound to take it in your political action as law, not that he judges at all of its merits, but because a decision of the court is to him a "Thus saith the Lord." He places it on that ground alone; and you will bear in mind that thus committing himself unreservedly to this decision commits him to the next one just as firmly as to this. He did not commit himself on account of the merit or demerit of the decision, but it is a "Thus saith the Lord." The next decision, as much as this, will be a "Thus saith the Lord." [Applause.]

There is nothing that can divert or turn him away from this decision. It is nothing that I point out to him that his great prototype, General Jackson, did not believe in the binding force of decisions. It is nothing to him that Jefferson did not so believe. I have said that I have often heard him approve of Jackson's course in disregarding the decision of the Supreme Court pronouncing a National Bank constitutional. He says, I did not hear him say so. He denies the accuracy of my recollection. I say he ought to know better than I, but I will make no question about this thing, though it still seems to me that I heard him say it twenty times. [Applause and laughter.] I will tell him, though, that he now claims to stand on the Cincinnati platform, which affirms that Congress *cannot* charter a National Bank, in the teeth of that old standing decision that Congress *can* charter a bank.

And I remind him of another piece of history on the question of respect for judicial decisions: and it is a piece of Illinois history belonging to a time when the large party to which Judge Douglas belonged were displeased with a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois; because they had decided that a Governor could not remove a Secretary of State. You will find the whole story in Ford's History of Illinois, and I know that Judge Douglas will not deny that he was then in favor of overslaughing that decision by the mode of adding five new judges, so as to vote down the four old ones. Not only so, but it ended in *the Judge's sitting down on that very bench as one of the five new judges to break down the four old ones.* [Cheers and laughter.] It was in this way precisely that he got his title of judge. Now, when the Judge tells me that men appointed conditionally to sit as members of a court will have to be catechised beforehand upon some subject, I say, "You know, Judge; you have tried it." [Laughter.] When he says a court of this kind will lose the confidence of all men, will be prostituted and disgraced by such a proceeding, I say, "You know best, Judge; you have been through the mill." [Great laughter.]

But I cannot shake Judge Douglas's teeth loose from the Dred Scott decision. Like some obstinate animal (I mean no disrespect) that will hang on when he has once got his teeth fixed, you may cut off a leg, or you may tear away an arm, still he will not relax his hold. And so I may point out to the Judge, and say, that he is bespattered all over, from the beginning of his political life to the present time, with attacks upon judicial decisions; I may cut off limb after limb of his public record, and strive to wrench him from a single dictum of the court,—yet I cannot divert him from it. He hangs, to the last, to the Dred Scott decision. [Loud cheers.] These things show there is a purpose *strong as death and eternity* for which he adheres to this decision, and for which he will adhere to *all other decisions* of the same court. [Vociferous applause.]

A Hibernian.—"Give us something besides Drid Scott."

Mr. Lincoln.—Yes; no doubt you want to hear something that don't hurt. [Laughter and applause.] Now, having spoken of the Dred Scott decision, one more word, and I am done. Henry Clay, my *beau ideal* of a statesman, the man for whom I fought all my humble life,—Henry Clay once said of a class of men who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation, that they must, if they would do this, go back to the era of our Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return; they must blow out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate there the love of liberty; and then, and not till then, could they perpetuate slavery in this country! [Loud cheers.] To my thinking, Judge Douglas is, by his example and vast influence, doing that very thing in this community, [cheers] when he says that the negro has nothing in the Declaration of Independence. Henry Clay plainly understood the contrary.

Judge Douglas is going back to the era of our Revolution, and to the extent of his ability, muzzling the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. When he invites any people, willing to have slavery, to establish it, he is blowing out the moral lights around us. [Cheers.] When he says he "cares not whether slavery is voted down or voted up,"—that it is a sacred right of self-government,—he is, in my judgment, penetrating the human soul and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty in this American people. [Enthusiastic and continued applause.] And now I will only say that when, by all these means and appliances, Judge Douglas shall succeed in bringing public sentiment to an exact accordance with his own views; when these vast assemblages shall echo back all these sentiments; when they shall come to repeat his views and to avow his principles, and to say all that he says on these mighty questions,—then it needs only the formality of the second Dred Scott decision, which he endorses in advance, to make slavery alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

My friends, that ends the chapter. The Judge can take his half-hour.

As Mr. Lincoln retired, three cheers were proposed and given with tremendous volume—followed by three more, and then three more, extending to all parts of the public square.

Mr. Douglas's Rejoinder

Fellow-Citizens: I will now occupy the half-hour allotted to me in replying to Mr. Lincoln. The first point to which I will call your attention is as to what I said about the organization of the Republican party in 1854, and the platform that was formed on the 5th of October of that year, and I will then put the question to Mr. Lincoln, whether or not he approves of each article in that platform, ["He answered that already."] and ask for a specific answer. ["He has answered," "you cannot make him answer," etc.] I did not charge him with being a member of the committee which reported that platform. ["Yes, you did."] I charged that that platform was the platform of the Republican party adopted by them. The fact that it was the platform of the Republican party is not denied; but Mr. Lincoln now says that although his name was on the committee which reported it, he does not think he was there, but thinks he was in Tazewell, holding court. ["He said he was there."] Gentlemen, I ask your silence, and no interruptions. Now, I want to remind Mr. Lincoln that he was at Springfield when that Convention was held and those resolutions were adopted. ["You can't do it." "He wasn't there," etc.]

[*Mr. Glover*, chairman of the Republican Committee: I hope no Republican will interrupt Mr. Douglas. The masses listened to Mr. Lincoln attentively and as respectable men we ought now to hear Mr. Douglas and without interruption. ("Good.")]

Mr. Douglas resuming:

The point I am going to remind Mr. Lincoln of is this: that after I had made my speech in 1854, during the Fair, he gave me notice that he was going to reply to me the next day. I was sick at the time, but I stayed over in Springfield to hear his reply, and to reply to him. On that day this very Convention, the resolutions adopted by which I have read, was to meet in the Senate chamber. He spoke in the hall of the House; and when he got through his speech,—my recollection is distinct, and I shall never forget it,—Mr. Codding walked in as I took the stand to reply, and gave notice that the Republican State Convention would meet instantly in the Senate chamber, and called upon the Republicans to retire there and go into this very Convention, instead or remaining and listening to me. [Three cheers for Douglas.]

Mr. Lincoln, interrupting, excitedly and angrily.—Judge, add that I went along with them. [This interruption was made in a pitiful, mean, sneaking way, as Lincoln floundered around the stand.]

Mr. Douglas.—Gentlemen, Mr. Lincoln tells me to add that he went along with them to the senate chamber. I will not add that, because I do not know whether he did or not.

Mr. Lincoln, again interrupting.—I know he did not. [Two of the Republican committee here seized Mr. Lincoln, and by a sudden jerk caused him to disappear from the front of the stand, one of them saying quite audibly, "What are you making such a fuss for? Douglas didn't interrupt you, and can't you see that the people don't like it?"]

Mr. Douglas.—I do not know whether he knows it or not, that is not the point and I will yet bring him to the question.

In the first place, Mr. Lincoln was selected by the very men who made the Republican organization on that day, to reply to me. He spoke for them and for that party, and he was the leader of the party; and on the very day he made his speech in reply to me, preaching up this same doctrine of negro equality under the Declaration of Independence, this Republican party met in Convention. [Three cheers for Douglas.] Another evidence that he was acting in concert with them is to be found in the fact that that Convention waited an hour after its time of meeting to hear Lincoln's speech, and Codding, one of their leading men, marched in the moment Lincoln got through, and gave notice that they did not want to hear me, and would proceed with the business of the Convention. ["Strike him again,"—three cheers, etc.] Still another fact. I have here a newspaper printed at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, in October, 1854, a few days afterward, publishing these resolutions, charging Mr. Lincoln with entertaining these sentiments, and trying to prove that they were also the sentiments of Mr. Yates, then candidate for Congress. This has been published on Mr. Lincoln over and over again, and never before has he denied it. ["Three cheers."]

But, my friends, this denial of his that he did not act on the committee, is a miserable quibble to avoid this main issue, [Applause, "That's so."] which is, that this Republican platform declares in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. Has Lincoln answered whether he indorsed[1] that or not? ["No, no."] I called his attention to it when I first addressed you, and asked him for an answer, and I then predicted that he would not answer. ["Bravo, glorious," and cheers.] How does he answer? Why, that he was not on the committee that wrote the resolutions. [Laughter.] I then repeated the next proposition contained in the resolutions, which was to restrict slavery in those States in which it exists, and asked him whether he indorsed[2] it. Does he answer yes, or no? He says in reply, "I was not on the committee at the time; I was up in Tazewell." The next question I put to him was, whether he was in favor of prohibiting the admission of any more Slave States into the Union. I put the question to him distinctly, whether, if the people of the Territory, when they had sufficient population to make a State, should form their Constitution recognizing slavery, he would vote for or against its admission. ["That's it."] He is a candidate for the United States[3] Senate, and it is possible, if he should be elected, that he would have to vote directly on that question. ["He never will."] I asked him to answer me and you, whether he would vote to admit a State into the Union, with slavery or without it, as its own people might choose. ["Hear him," "That's the doctrine," and applause.] He did not answer that question. ["He never will."] He dodges that question also, under the cover that he was not on the committee at the time, that he was not present when the platform was made. I want to know if he should happen to be in the Senate when a State applied for admission, with a Constitution acceptable to her own people, he would vote to admit that State, if slavery was one of its institutions. ["That's the question."] He avoids the answer.

Mr. Lincoln, interrupting the third time, excitedly.—No, Judge.—[Mr. Lincoln again disappeared suddenly, aided by a pull from behind.]

It is true he gives the Abolitionists to understand by a hint that he would not vote to admit such a State. And why? He goes on to say that the man who would talk about giving each State the right to have slavery or not, as it pleased, was akin to the man who would muzzle the guns which thundered forth the annual joyous return of the day of our Independence. [Great laughter.] He says that that kind of talk is casting a blight on the glory of this country. What is the meaning of that? That he is not in favor of each State to have[1] the right of doing as it pleases on the slavery question? ["Stick it to him," "don't spare him," applause.] I will put the question to him again and again, and I intend to force it out of him. [Immense applause.]

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[1] Reads: "endorsed" for "indorsed."

[2] Reads: "endorsed" for "indorsed."

[3] Omits "States."

Then, again, this platform, which was made at Springfield by his own party when he was its acknowledged head, provides that Republicans will insist on the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and I asked Lincoln specifically whether he agreed with them in that? ["Did you get an answer?"] ["No, no."] He is afraid to answer it. ["We will not vote for him."] He knows I will trot him down to Egypt. [Laughter and cheers.] I intend to make him answer there, ["That's right"] or I will show the people of Illinois that he does not intend to answer these questions. ["Keep him to the point," "give us more," etc.] The Convention to which I have been alluding goes a little further, and pledges itself to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction north of 36 deg. 30 min., as well as south. Now, I want to know whether he approves that provision. ["He'll never answer," and cheers.] I want him to answer, and when he does, I want to know his opinion on another point, which is, whether he will redeem the pledge of this platform, and resist the acquirement of any more territory unless slavery therein shall be forever prohibited. I want him to answer this last question.

Each of the questions I have put to him are practical questions, —questions based upon the fundamental principles of the Black Republican party; and I want to know whether he is the first, last, and only choice of a party with whom he does not agree in principle. [Great applause.] ["Rake him down."] He does not deny but that that principle was unanimously adopted by the Republican party; he does not deny that the whole Republican party is pledged to it; he does not deny that a man who is not faithful to it is faithless to the Republican party; and now I want to know whether that party is unanimously in favor of a man who does not adopt that creed and agree with them in their principles; I want to know whether the man who does not agree with them, and who is afraid to avow his differences, and who dodges the issue, is the first, last, and only choice of the Republican party. [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "having" for "to have.

A Voice.—How about the conspiracy?

Mr. Douglas.—Never mind, I will come to that soon enough. ["Bravo, Judge, hurrah," "three cheers for Douglas."] But the platform which I have read to you not only lays down these principles, but it adds:—

> "*Resolved*, That, in furtherance of these principles, we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office, under the General or State Government, who is not positively and fully committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, and who shall not have abjured old party allegiance and ties."

["Good", "you have him," etc.]

The Black Republican party stands pledged that they will never support Lincoln until he has pledged himself to that platform; [Tremendous applause, men throwing up their hats, and shouting, "You've got him."] but he cannot devise his answer. He has not made up his mind whether he will or not. [Great laughter.] He talked about everything else he could think of to occupy his hour and a half, and when he could not think of anything more to say, without an excuse for refusing to answer these questions, he sat down long before his time was out. [Cheers.]

In relation to Mr. Lincoln's charge of conspiracy against me, I have a word to say. In his speech to-day he quotes a playful part of his speech at Springfield, about Stephen, and James, and Franklin, and Roger, and says that I did not take exception to it. I did not answer it, and he repeats it again. I did not take exception to this figure of his. He has a right to be as playful as he pleases in throwing his arguments together, and I will not object; but I did take objection to his second Springfield speech, in which he stated that he intended his first speech as a charge of corruption or conspiracy against the Supreme Court of the United States, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself. That gave the offensive character to the charge. He then said that when he made it he did not know whether it was true or not; [laughter] but inasmuch as Judge Douglas had not denied it, although he had replied to the other parts of his speech three times, he repeated it as a charge of conspiracy against me, thus charging me with moral turpitude. When he put it in that form, I did say that, inasmuch as he repeated the charge simply because I had not denied it, I would deprive him of the opportunity of ever repeating it again, by declaring that it was, in all its bearings, an infamous lie. ["Three cheers for Douglas."] He says he will repeat it until I answer his folly and nonsense about Stephen, and Franklin, and Roger, and Bob, and James.

He studied that out, prepared that one sentence with the greatest care, committed it to memory, and put it in his first Springfield speech; and now he carries that speech around, and reads that sentence to show how pretty it is. [Laughter.] His vanity is wounded because I will not go into that beautiful figure of his about the building of a house. [Renewed laughter.] All I have to say is, that I am not green enough to let him make a charge which he acknowledges he does not know to be true, and then take up my time in answering it, when I know it to be false, and nobody else knows it to be true. [Cheers.]

I have not brought a charge of moral turpitude against him. When he, or any other man, brings one against me, instead of disproving it, I will say that it is a lie, and let him prove it if he can. [Enthusiastic applause.]

I have lived twenty-five years in Illinois, I have served you with all the fidelity and ability which I possess, ["That's so," "good" and cheers] and Mr. Lincoln is at liberty to attack my public action, my votes, and my conduct; but when he dares to attack my moral integrity by a charge of conspiracy between myself, Chief Justice Taney and the Supreme Court, and two Presidents of the United States, I will repel it. ["Three cheers for Douglas."]

Mr. Lincoln has not character enough for integrity and truth, merely on his own *ipse dixit*, to arraign President Buchanan, President Pierce, and nine Judges of the Supreme Court, not one of whom would be complimented by being put on an equality with him. ["Hit him again," "three cheers," etc.] There is an unpardonable presumption in a man putting himself up before thousands of people, and pretending that his *ipse dixit*, without proof, without fact, and without truth, is enough to bring down and destroy the purest and best of living men. ["Hear him," "three cheers."]

Fellow-citizens, my time is fast expiring; I must pass on. Mr. Lincoln wants to know why I voted against Mr. Chase's amendment to the Nebraska bill. I will tell him. In the first place, the bill already conferred all the power which Congress had, by giving the people the whole power over the subject. Chase offered a proviso that they might abolish slavery, which by implication would convey the idea that they could prohibit by not introducing that institution. General Cass asked him to modify his amendment so as to provide that the people might either prohibit or introduce slavery, and thus make it fair and equal. Chase refused to so modify his proviso, and then General Cass and all the rest of us voted it down. [Immense cheering.] Those facts appear on the journals and debates of Congress, where Mr. Lincoln found the charge; and if he had told the whole truth, there would have been no necessity for me to occupy your time in explaining the matter. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Lincoln wants to know why the word "State," as well as "Territory," was put into the Nebraska bill. I will tell him. It was put there to meet just such false arguments as he has been adducing. [Laughter.] That first, not only the people of the Territories should do as they pleased, but that when they come to be admitted as States, they should come into the Union with or without slavery, as the people determined. I meant to knock in the head this Abolition doctrine of Mr. Lincoln's, that there shall be no more Slave States, even if the people want them. [Tremendous applause.] And it does not do for him to say, or for any other Black Republican to say, that there is nobody in favor of the doctrine of no more Slave States, and that nobody wants to interfere with the right of the people to do as they please.

What was the origin of the Missouri difficulty and the Missouri Compromise? The people of Missouri formed a Constitution as a Slave State, and asked admission into the Union; but the Free-soil party of the North, being in a majority, refused to admit her because she had slavery as one of her institutions. Hence this first slavery agitation arose upon a State, and not upon a Territory; and yet Mr. Lincoln does not know why the word "State" was placed in the Kansas-Nebraska bill. [Great laughter and applause.] The whole Abolition agitation arose on that doctrine of prohibiting a State from coming in with slavery or not, as it pleased, and that same doctrine is here in this Republican platform of 1854; it has never been repealed; and every Black Republican stands pledged by that platform never to vote for any man who is not in favor of it. Yet Mr. Lincoln does not know that there is a man in the world who is in favor of preventing a State from coming in as it pleases, notwithstanding. The Springfield platform says that they, the Republican party, will not allow a State to come in under such circumstances. He is an ignorant man. [Cheers.]

Now you see that upon these very points I am as far from bringing Mr. Lincoln up to the line as I ever was before. He does not want to avow his principles. I do want to avow mine, as clear as sunlight in midday. [Cheers and applause.] Democracy is founded upon the eternal principle of right. ["That's the talk."] The plainer these principles are avowed before the people, the stronger will be the support which they will receive. I only wish I had the power to make them so clear that they would shine in the heavens for every man, woman, and child to read. [Loud cheering.] The first of those principles that I would proclaim would be in opposition to Mr. Lincoln's doctrine of uniformity between the different States, and I would declare instead the sovereign right of each State to decide the slavery question as well as all other domestic questions for themselves, without interference from any other State or power whatsoever. ["Hurrah for Douglas!"]

When that principle is recognized, you will have peace and harmony and fraternal feeling between all the States of this Union; until you do recognize that doctrine, there will be sectional warfare agitating and distracting the country. What does Mr. Lincoln propose? He says that the Union cannot exist divided into Free and Slave States. If it cannot endure thus divided, then he must strive to make them all Free or all Slave, which will inevitably bring about a dissolution of the Union. [Cries of "He can't do it."]

Gentlemen, I am told that my time is out, and I am obliged to stop. [Three times three cheers were here given for Senator Douglas.

When Douglas had concluded the shouts were tremendous; his excoriation of Lincoln was so severe, that the Republicans hung their heads in shame. The Democrats, however, were loud in their vociferations.]

[*Philadelphia, Pa., Press*, August 26, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Great Discussion between Douglas and Lincoln.—Immense Enthusiasm.—The Little Giant Triumphant.—20,000 People Present

[Special Correspondence of *The Press*.]

The discussion between Judge Douglas and Hon. A. Lincoln, the respective candidates for the United States Senate, commenced at

Ottawa, Ill., on Saturday, the 21st instant. The meeting was the largest ever held in this part of the State, and the enthusiasm was unbounded. It is estimated that not less than 20,000 persons were present on this important occasion. The bare announcement that the two candidates were to meet in open debate was sufficient to bring together an immense crowd.

A special train of fourteen passenger cars, filled to overflowing, came from Chicago. Another train, composed of eleven cars, came from Peru and La Salle; whilst delegations in wagons, carriages, and on horseback, came from all directions, and aided to swell the great multitude.

Gorgeous flags and ensigns, bearing appropriate inscriptions, unfurled to the breeze, whilst the rapid discharges of artillery reverberated on the air, and seemed to make the very earth tremble.

Judge Douglas, the great champion, and the invincible defender of the rights, liberties, and institutions of a free people, was met at the city of Peru, sixteen miles distant, by the committee, in an elegant carriage drawn by four splendid horses, and brought to Ottawa. Four miles out he was met by a delegation composed of several hundreds, bearing flags and banners, and escorted into the city amid the booming of cannon, the shouts of thousands, and the strains of martial music. As he neared the Geiger House, it was almost impossible for the carriages to force their way through the dense mass of living beings that blocked up the streets, and clung to the carriage containing the distinguished Senator, anxious to clasp him by the hand. The shouts and cheers that arose on his approach were deafening. No conception can be formed of the enthusiasm that was manifested without having been present, and I cannot command the language to render a proper description. He came like some great deliverer, some mighty champion, who had covered himself with imperishable laurels, and saved a nation from ruin; he came as the immortal Washingon, or the patriotic Lafayette, with a nation ready to do him homage. But how different his deeds! They had distinguished themselves on the battle field, whilst the statesman and Senator had reached the culminating point of his career in the councils of the nation, by beating back the tide of *political* tyranny, and gloriously establishing the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and the *right* of the people to make their *own* laws.

When they reached the Geiger House, and the carriage halted in the street, there arose one spontaneous shout that seemed to rend the very air. Again and again did that shout go up, as the distinguished Senator stood in the open carriage with head uncovered, gracefully bowing to the living mass of humanity that surrounded him on all sides. As soon as sufficient order could be restored, he was welcomed in a reception speech by H. W. H. Cushman, Esq., which was indeed an eloquent tribute of esteem and appreciation of his course in the Senate. It was, undoubtedly, the finest, most eloquent, and appropriate reception address delivered during this campaign. I will attempt *no* description of it—you must read it to appreciate it. Judge Douglas was deeply affected, and could scarcely restrain his emotion.

How different the enthusiasm manifested for his competitor, Mr. Lincoln; or, as he has termed himself, "the living dog." As *his* procession passed the Geiger House there was scarcely a cheer went up. They marched along silently and sorrowfully, as if it were a funeral cortege following him to the grave. It struck me as very appropriate, as well as symbolical, of what would most assuredly come to pass next November. They appeared to be following "a dead dog" to his political grave; and had the bands played a mournful funeral dirge, the picture would have been complete.

The discussion opened at 2 o'clock in Lafayette Square. The crowd was so dense that the speakers and committeemen could scarcely make their way to the stand, which was filled with reporters and representatives of the press from all sections of the State.

It was agreed that Judge Douglas should open the debate in a speech an hour in length, when Lincoln should follow in a reply an hour and a half, and Judge Douglas rejoin for thirty minutes.

The opening speech was able and eloquent. The Little Giant seemed to surpass himself. He put a number of pointed and leading questions to Lincoln, one of which was whether, if he were elected to the Senate, he would vote to admit States with the privilege of making their *own* Constitutions, subject to the will of the majority. He deemed it very important that the "living dog" should define his position, by answering this question. If he were a Republican he wanted to know it, and if he were an Abolitionist he wanted to know that also. He wanted no more dodging. It was all-important that Lincoln should tell whether he was for Congress to say whether slavery should exist in a State or Territory, or whether *the* people should say so. This is the key to the whole question at issue, and it will put a different complexion on the campaign.

The remainder of Judge Douglas's speech was particularly severe, as well as logical and powerful. I will attempt no further description of it, as you can read it almost as soon as this.

When Lincoln commenced his reply, he was evidently laboring under great embarrassment. When he had spoken only twenty minutes, he turned round and asked the moderator how near his time was up! Poor fellow! he was writhing in the powerful grasp of an intellectual giant. His speech amounted to nothing. It was made up with such expressions as "I think it is so," "I may be mistaken," "I guess it was done," &c., &c. There were no straightforward assertions and logical conclusions, such as fall from the lips of Douglas. He spent over half an hour reading from some old speech that he had previously made on Abolitionism. As he continued reading, there were numerous voices exclaiming: "What book is that you are reading from?" This tended to increase his confusion, and, after blundering and whining along, and endeavoring to tell anecdotes and nursery tales, he sat down at the end of one hour and fifteen minutes, a quarter of an hour before the expiration of his time, without alluding to *one* of the questions put to him by Judge Douglas. He dodged them all, not daring to give an answer. But they will be put to him again, and there is no alternative now but to "face the music."

When Judge Douglas rose to reply, his countenance brightened up with that peculiar intellectual and demolishing look that he is so famous for when he is about to make a great point. He electrified the crowd at once. Could you have seen those looks, and heard those burning words of sarcasm, as he commenced to rend his antagonist to atoms, you would have been obliged to admit that it was the culminating period of his life. He poured forth a torrent of logic and sarcasm blended in one strain, that was astonishing. Turning around and facing Lincoln, who was beginning to get very blue about his chops, he impaled him at once—then clutching him in his intellectual grasp, he held him up before the crowd as it were, in imagination, till you could see him like a captivated spider. He reiterated his questions, and informed him that there must be no more dodging, and that he was "determined to screw an answer out of him." He reviewed Lincoln's political career, and showed how he had distinguished himself when in Congress by taking sides with the enemy, and how he voted against *his* country and her soldiers. The excoriation that he gave him was terrible.

When he concluded his thirty-minute broadside, he left the stand immediately, for the cars were waiting. The crowd made one rush after him, and there arose a shout that reverberated for miles across the prairies. In front was the "Little Giant," swinging his hat from right to left, with thousands rushing after him. Such unbounded and electrical enthusiasm I never saw before.

Fifteen minutes afterwards a crowd of about 150 proceeded up the street, four of whom had shouldered Mr. Lincoln, and were carrying him to his hotel. A sardonic grin was on his countenance. It was decidedly the most laughable, as well as the most ridiculous, spectacle that I have beheld for many a day. It excited much merriment on all sides.

Lincoln is the worst-used-up man in the United States, and he is driven almost to desperation. You will find that before he passes through this discussion, there will scarcely be anything left of him. He now exhibits the appearance of great mental and bodily suffering. He has six appointments to meet Judge Douglas yet. *I don't believe he will fill them all.* The next one is at Freeport, on the 27th inst.

The campaign in Illinois surpasses all others that have ever taken place. The contest in Pennsylvania, in 1856, falls far behind it. . . . .

[*Evening Post*, New York, Aug. 27, 1858]

SENATORIAL CANVASS IN ILLINOIS

Lincoln and Douglas at Ottawa

[From our Special Correspondent.]

CHICAGO, August 23, 1858

. . . .

Saturday, the 21st, was the day of the first discussion between Lincoln and Douglas. It was held at Ottawa, a city of about 9,000 inhabitants, on the line of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad and the Illinois canal, and at the junction of the Fox and Illinois rivers. I arrived late the night before at Ottawa, and was accommodated with a sofa at the hotel. The city was already even full. Saturday was a pleasant, but warm day, and Ottawa was deluged in dust. By wagon, by rail, by canal, the people poured in, till Ottawa was one mass of active life. Men, women, and children, old and young, the dwellers on the broad prairies, had turned their backs upon the plough, and had come to listen to these champions of the two parties. Military companies were out; martial music sounded, and salutes of artillery thundered in the air. Eager marshals in partisan sashes rode furiously about the streets. Peddlers were crying their wares at the corners, and excited groups of politicians were canvassing and quarreling everywhere. And still they came, the crowd swelling constantly in its proportions and growing more eager and more hungry, perhaps more thirsty, though every precaution was taken against this latter evil. About noon the rival processions were formed, and paraded the streets amid the cheers of the people. Mr. Lincoln was met at the depot by an immense crowd, who escorted him to the residence of the Mayor, with banners flying and mottoes waving their unfaltering attachment to him and to his cause. The Douglas turnout, though plentifully interspersed with the Hibernian element, was less noisy, and thus matters were arranged for the after-dinner demonstration in the Court House square, where the stand was erected, and where, under the blazing sun, unprotected by shade trees, and unprovided with seats, the audience was expected to congregate and listen to the champions.

Two men presenting wider contrasts could hardly be found as the representatives of the two great parties. Everybody knows Douglas, a short, thick-set, burly man, with large round head, heavy hair, dark complexion, and fierce bull-dog bark. Strong in his own real power, and skilled by a thousand conflicts in all the strategy of a hand-to-hand or a general fight. Of towering ambition, restless in his determined desire for notoriety; proud, defiant, arrogant, audacious, unscrupulous, "Little Dûg," ascended the platform and looked out impudently and carelessly on the immense throng which surged and struggled before him. A native of Vermont, reared on a soil where no slave ever stood, trained to hard manual labor and schooled in early hardships, he came to Illinois a teacher, and from one post to another had risen to his present eminence. Forgetful of the ancestral hatred of slavery to which he was the heir, he had come to be a holder of slaves and to owe much of his fame to his continued subservience to southern influence.

The other—Lincoln—is a native of Kentucky, and of poor white parentage; and from his cradle has felt the blighting influence of the dark and cruel shadow which rendered labor dishonorable, and kept the poor in poverty, while it advanced the rich in their possessions. Reared in poverty and the humblest aspirations, he left his native state, crossed the line into Illinois, and began his career of honorable toil. At first a laborer, splitting rails for a living—deficient in education, and applying himself even to the rudiments of knowledge—he, too, felt the expanding power of his American manhood, and began to achieve the greatness to which he has succeeded. With great difficulty struggling through the tedious formularies of legal lore, he was admitted to the bar, and rapidly made his way to the front ranks of his profession. Honored by the people with office, he is still the same honest and reliable man. He volunteers in the Black Hawk war, and does the state good service in its sorest need. In every relation of life, socially and to the State, Mr. Lincoln has been always the pure and honest man. In physique he is the opposite to Douglas. Built on the Kentucky type, he is very tall, slender and angular, awkward even, in gait and attitude. His face is sharp, large-featured and unprepossessing. His eyes are deep set, under heavy brows; his forehead is high and retreating, and his hair is dark and heavy. In repose, I must confess that "Long Abe's" appearance is *not* comely. But stir him up, and the fire of his genius plays on every feature. His eye glows and sparkles, every lineament, now so ill formed, grows brilliant and expressive, and you have before you a man of rare power and of strong magnetic influence. He takes the people every time, and there is no getting away from his sturdy good sense, his unaffected sincerity, and the unceasing play of his good humor, which accompanies his close logic and smoothes the way to conviction. Listening to him on Saturday, calmly and unprejudiced, I was convinced that he has no superior as a stump speaker. He is clear, concise and logical; his language is eloquent and at perfect command. He is altogether a more fluent speaker than Douglas, and in all the arts of debate fully his equal. The Republicans of Illinois have chosen a champion worthy of their heartiest support, and fully equipped for the conflict. . . . . Yours, &c.,

BAYOU

[*Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln on the Stump

Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln the rival candidates for the U. S. Senate in Illinois, have arranged to hold seven public debates with each other in different parts of the State. The first of them took place at Ottawa on Saturday last, in presence of an immense attendance, estimated at twelve thousand. Great interest was exhibited by the multitude, and the champions were loudly cheered and applauded by their respective friends. Mr. Douglas spoke first for an hour; then Mr. Lincoln for an hour-and-a-half; and finally Mr. Douglas for half an hour in closing. The whole debate is reported in full in the Chicago papers, but is of course too voluminous for our space. Our readers, however, will doubtless be glad to understand the basis upon which the campaign is carried on in Illinois, and accordingly we make an extract from each of the speeches, copying from the report in the Chicago *Press and Tribune* of the 23d inst.

The republicans were delighted with the effect of the day's debate. Mr. Lincoln was most vociferously cheered throughout, and at the conclusion of the debate it is stated that "he was seized by the multitude and borne off on their shoulders in the center of a crowd of five thousand shouting republicans with a band of music in front." Judge Douglas, on his part, was cordially supported by his friends.

[*Baltimore, Md., Sun*, August 27, 1858]

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Joint Discussion between Douglas and Lincoln.—Large Turnout.—An Amusing Sketch

The political campaign in Illinois is becoming decidedly warm and interesting, and begins to attract no little attention throughout the country. We find in the New York Express a letter dated Ottawa Ill., August 21st, from which we select a few extracts:

> The representatives of republicanism and democracy in this State—Mr. Lincoln and Judge Douglas—met at this place by appointment to-day, and had a public discussion before an immense concourse of people, on the great questions that agitate the State. Both speakers are able; both have the warmest personal and political adherents, and attract great attention where-ever they appear. The number in Ottawa to-day, brought together chiefly from the surrounding country—though many came from distant parts of the State—could not be less than 20,000.
>
> There is no comparison in my judgment between the two speakers. Judge Douglas stands erect, and has the bearing, the presence and the thoughts of a statesman who aims at the wellfare of the whole country. Mr. Lincoln throws himself into all manner of shapes when speaking, and represents a narrow idea. Judge

Douglas could say what he says at the furthest North and throughout the South. Mr. Lincoln could not find hearers south of the Potomac on the doctrines he professes.

[*St. Louis, Mo., Morning Herald,* August 24, 1858]

ILLINOIS POLITICS

Tremont House
Chicago, Ill., August 22nd, 1858

Editor Herald:—

Leaving St. Louis on Friday morning, the 20th instant, at 6 o'clock A. M., we arrived at Ottawa the same night at 1 o'clock—thanks to the gentlemanly and obliging conductors of the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute, and Illinois Central Railroads, over which we traveled.

On Saturday morning the country people were seen coming into town to be present at the political discussion between Douglas and Lincoln.

Lincoln arrived from Morris shortly before 12 o'clock M., and afterwards Douglas came into town from Peru.

Several hundred persons had congregated at the Geiger House to see the procession pass, and although Ottawa is claimed to be a Republican district, yet not a cheer was heard as Lincoln passed by with his escort: but when Douglas arrived near the same place, he was greeted with loud and continued cheering.

At about half past 2 o'clock Douglas commenced the discussion, speaking one hour. Lincoln replied in a speech of one hour and a half, and then Douglas rejoined, speaking half an hour.

It was evident, from the manner in which the candidates were received on mounting the stump, that the Lincoln men were in the majority, and this idea seemed to be substantiated from the applause Lincoln received during his speech, and on concluding, he sat down apparently well pleased with himself.

But when Douglas rejoined in his speech of half an hour, he carried with him almost the entire crowd. He propounded several questions to Lincoln, which Lincoln could not or would not answer. Among the questions he asked L. if he would sustain the resolutions or platform adopted by the Republican Convention at Springfield, in 1854; but Lincoln remained silent and did not answer, and his smiling face changed considerably when he saw he was cornered.

Lincoln had denied in his speech that he took any part in that Convention, although his name was on one of the Committees. But

Douglas brought forward proofs to show that Lincoln had supported that platform, and, said Douglas, "I will yet bring Mr. Lincoln to his milk on that point."

At this time matters changed considerably, and hundreds of those who had been applauding Lincoln all along, now turned and applauded Douglas.

At the conclusion of the discussion Douglas was surrounded by an immense crowd and escorted to the Geiger House, amid the loudest cheers.

Thus ended the first of the seven discussions to be held at various places in this State, in which both candidates are to take part; and if Douglas commences by triumphing in a Republican district, Lincoln may as well hang up his hat, take a back seat, and wait until 1860, as Douglas will then be President; and then Mr. Lincoln may make another effort for an election to the United States Senate, without having a Douglas to contend with. M.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 23, 1858]

GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT OTTAWA

Twelve Thousand Persons Present.—The Dred Scott Champion Pulverized.—Verbatim Report of Douglas' Speech.—Lincoln's Reply and Douglas' Rejoinder

From sunrise till high noon on Saturday, Ottawa was deluged in dust. The first of the seven great debates which Douglas had consented to hold with Lincoln, had started La Salle, Will, Kendall, Grundy, Kankakee, Cook and other surrounding counties, in unwonted commotion. Before breakfast Ottawa was beleaguered with a multiplying host from all points of the compass. At eight o'clock the streets and avenues resembled a vast smoke house. Teams, trains and processions poured in from every direction like an army with banners. National flags, mottoes and devices fluttered and stared from every street corner. Military companies and bands of music monopolized the thoroughfares around the Court House and the public square. Two brass twelve-pounders banged away in the center of the city and drowned the hubbub of the multitude with their own higher capacities for hubbub. Vanity Fair never boiled with madder enthusiasm.

At eleven o'clock two long processions were formed, one marching to the depot of the Rock Island Railroad, where Mr. Lincoln was expected to arrive, and the other moving down the road towards Peru whence Mr. Douglas was advertised to come. As the first procession was crossing the canal, an enormous canal boat was moored near the bridge, crowded with men and women. In the bow was a large banner inscribed:

THE CORPORATION OF MARSEILLES
FOR
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

In a few minutes another boat appeared from Morris with a similar crowd and similar devices.

Shortly after twelve o'clock a special train from Chicago, Joliet, etc., came in *with seventeen cars*. When it reached the depot, three deafening cheers were repeated and re-repeated until the woods and bluffs rang again. Mr. Lincoln was placed in a carriage beautifully decorated with evergreens and mottoes by the young ladies of Ottawa, and escorted by the procession, over half a mile in length, with military companies and bands of music, from the depot to the public square, around the square and to the residence of Mayor Glover. Enormous crowds blocked the streets and side-walks through which the procession moved, and the shouts of the multitude rolled from end to end, around the street corners and across the bridge, in a continuous tumult. When Mr. Lincoln's carriage stopped at the Mayor's residence, three mighty cheers were given and the crowd scattered miscellaneously for dinner.

The Douglas procession moved down the Peru road to Buffalo Rock, where they met the pro-slavery champion, whom they escorted to the Geiger House. The procession was about half as long as that which waited on Mr. Lincoln, and the enthusiasm was almost wholly confined to the Irish Catholics.

At one o'clock, the crowd commenced pouring into the public square. The rush was literally tremendous. The speaking stand had been foolishly left unguarded, and was so crowded with people, before the officers of the day arrived, that half an hour was consumed in a battle to make room for the speakers and reporters. Even then the accommodations were of the most wretched character. Two or three times the surge of people on the platform nearly drove the reporters off, and half a dozen clowns on the roof broke through some of the boards and let them down on the heads of the Reception Committees. The

OTTAWA, ILLINOIS—THE GLOVER HOUSE

Lincoln was a guest of Mr. Glover during the debate

whole number of persons present could not have been less than twelve thousand. Large numbers were present from Chicago, Galena, Springfield, Peoria, Quincy, Rock Island, Bloomington, Alton and other distant towns. The crowd was considerably larger on the ground than that which assembled in this city on the night of Douglas' opening speech.

MR. DOUGLAS'S SPEECH

At half past two, Mr. Douglas took the front of the platform, amid the cheers of the Hibernians, who had fought their way to the front, and said:

. . . .

MR. LINCOLN'S REPLY

Mr. Lincoln then came forward and was greeted with loud and protracted cheers from fully two-thirds of the audience. This was admitted by the Douglas men on the platform. It was some minutes before he could make himself heard, even by those on the stand. At last he said:

. . . .

When Lincoln had concluded his masterly and crushing indictment and conviction, amidst the applause of thousands of voices, Douglas sprang to his feet to reply. His face was livid with passion and excitement. All his plans had been demolished, himself placed in the criminal's box to answer to an indictment, and make head against a mountain of damning testimony heaped up against him by his antagonist. We have never seen a human face so distorted with rage. He resembled a wild beast in looks and gesture, and a maniac in language and argument. He made no adequate reply to the heavy charges brought against him, save to call everybody "liars" who alleged to believe them. He finished up by renewing his miserable charges and repeating his irrelevant questions, and claiming with a grand flourish, that Lincoln had not refuted the one nor answered the other; boasted that he had won the victory, and threatened what awful things he would do when he would next meet Lincoln at Freeport. The bodyguard of five or six hundred Irish Papists stood close by him yelling and cheering at all he said, perfectly indifferent whether it was sound sense or wild raving.

It was the opinion of every unprejudiced listener, that Douglas would give a year off the end of his life if he could escape meeting Lincoln at the six discussions through which he must pass.

At the conclusion of the debate, when Mr. Lincoln walked down from the platform, he was seized by the multitude and borne off on their shoulders, in the center of a crowd of five thousand shouting Republicans, with a band of music in front. The Chicago delegation scattered for the cars, and so ended the GREAT DEBATE.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 29, 1858]

CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE

CHICAGO, August 23, 1858

The contest between Douglas and Lincoln seems to be the one matter of interest among the good people of Chicago at present; and the chances of either candidate form the reigning topic of conversation in every crowd. Saturday was a day of considerable excitement here, and little was talked of except the pitched battle between the two political champions at Ottawa. Early in the morning, large masses of the people gathered around the Rock Island depot, and the trains, both regular and extra, were crammed to their utmost capacity with excursionists to the great gathering.

Upon the arrival of the trains, it was estimated that there were present some four thousand people, all of whom came from their fields, workshops, counting rooms, and offices, to evince their interest in the great struggle of the two great parties for predominance. I presume no mass meeting of the present canvass has been composed of a more respectable class.

Douglas made the opening speech, which was a calm, deliberate and logical argument, of one hour, during which the people listened to him with much the same calmness which characterized the speech—all seeming much interested, but not excited.

Lincoln followed, in one of his characteristic efforts, interlarding his address with funny anecdotes, droll expressions and frequent witticisms, which soon put to flight the gravity which had reigned during the previous hour; and many were the outbursts of applause which his clever hits drew forth. He punched the "Little Giant" right and left, and dealt him many a well aimed thrust of keen satire, whereat, as your local man would say, "ye congregation did betray an unseemlie lack of gravitie." But the aforesaid "Giant" didn't seem to be otherwise affected than as a young bull by an attack of gad flies, which one whisk of his capacious tail can put to flight. Like the bull, he was sufficiently irritated by the infliction to rouse his pugnacity, and when it came to his turn to reply, "pre-haps" he didn't make the "har" fly! When "Uncle Abe," as the *Tribune* dubs him, rounded a sentence he was greeted with a merry outburst of humorous applause, but as blow after blow and thrust after thrust was dealt by the Judge, not ebullitions of merriment, but loud, long and sturdy shouts of triumph, rent the air, and when he concluded, the satisfaction which glowed upon the countenances of the hardy yeomen, who composed the principal part of the audience, testified that his last hour had been well occupied.

Yours,
PETER PINFEATHER

[*Peoria, Ill., Transcript*, August 24, 1858]

THE GREAT DEBATE AT OTTAWA

Twelve Thousand Persons Present.—Lincoln's Triumphant Vindication of Republican Principles.—The Giant Slain

(Editorial Correspondence of the *Transcript*)

OTTAWA, ILLS.,
Saturday Evening, Aug. 21

Such was the enthusiasm of the masses over Mr. Lincoln's triumph that as soon as the debate had closed and he had stepped from the platform, he was immediately by an immense crowd, numbering at least five thousand persons, lifted upon the shoulders of two stout men, and was borne about the streets, a band of music leading off with "Hail Columbia," while the vast multitude followed in broken column, shouting "Hurrah for Lincoln" as they went.

Such was the interest in this face-to-face encounter of Lincoln and Douglas, that the masses flocked here from every quarter of the State. The Chicago special train numbering *seventeen cars* arrived, all crammed with the crowd to the fullest capacity. Thousands of people came pouring into town in wagons, boats, &c., the various delegations bearing banners and accompanied by bands of music. The debate came off in a vacant square near the center of the city. When we arrived upon the ground the crowd, numbering at least 12,000 persons, was pressing towards the speaker's stand in great confusion. The stand itself was besieged by a boorish multitude whom the committee of arrangements were vainly endeavoring to drive off in order to make room for the speakers and reporters. Half an hour having been thus spent, Mr. Douglas took his position and commenced speaking. The whole speech was delivered in a coarse, vulgar, boisterous style, and excepting among a body-guard of roaring Irish Catholics, it was received with silent disgust.

Lincoln came forward and commenced his reply amid thunders of applause. He disposed of Douglas' questions and charges in the most summary manner, and then entered at once and with great earnestness of manner into a consideration of the real questions in issue. He brought up the charge of conspiracy against Mr. Douglas, drove it home upon him, and wedged it there. Lincoln's speech was an admirable effort. It was high-toned and honorable, bold, pungent and powerful. He made his antagonist wince at every turn, and the vast audience manifested their appreciation of his success by shouts of exultation and applause.—When he had finished, the universal feeling was that he had made a masterly effort—that he had, in fact, completely demolished the little giant.

Douglas sprung to his feet in reply, and it was evident that he felt that his case was a desperate one. I never looked upon a countenance so livid with excitement and brutal passions.—He looked and acted like a wild beast, and what he said resembled the ravings of a maniac more than the reasonings of a sane man.—The heavy charges of Lincoln were not disproved, nor attempted to be, but he bellowed the lie, fell back upon his forgery in relation to the Springfield resolutions, boasted that he had won the victory, threatened what he would hereafter do, and retired in a perfectly uncontrollable rage. As he went off of the platform, his Irish body-guard accompanied him to his hotel, and the crowd soon followed bearing Lincoln in triumph.

L. R. W.

[*Illinois State Register*, August 24, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN—THE DEBATE AT OTTAWA

12,000 People Witness the Rout of Lincoln!—Douglas Again Triumphant!—Lincoln on the Sick List!!—He Shirks the Republican Platform

We had the pleasure of being present at Ottawa on Saturday last, and hearing the opening debate between Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln.—

The assemblage of the people was an immense one—there being between ten and twelve thousand present. The two orators were received in town, by their respective friends, about noon.—Mr. Lincoln passed up the night before, to Morris, and came down by the railroad, with the crowd from Cook, Will, &c. Mr. Douglas left the road three miles west of the town, and came up in a carriage, escorted by the democratic committee. When about two miles from town he was met by an immense procession, bearing flags and banners, with eloquent mottoes, speaking the hearty welcome of the La Salle democracy, and attesting their loyalty to the good old cause.—This procession of carriages, wagons, buggies, horsemen and footmen was quite a mile and a half long, swelling in numbers as it approached the town. When the head of this procession reached the center of the town, the republican escort, with Mr. Lincoln, was met. Each wended its way, by different routes, through the principal streets. The democratic procession escorted Mr. Douglas to the Geiger House, where he was welcomed in a neat address by Hon. W. H. W. Cushman; the republicans escorted Mr. Lincoln to the Mansion House. The town was fairly alive with people, and with their shouts and hurras for their respective favorites, a constant roar was kept up. But there was no mistaking, notwithstanding the preponderance of the republican element in that quarter of the state, as shown by the election of '56, to whom popular attention was directed. Compared with the hearty welcome to Douglas the efforts of the republicans to make a show for Lincoln was a sickly affair.—There was no heart nor hope in it.

In addition to the large attendance from La Salle, the surrounding counties sent large delegations, and when the whole appeared upon the square, where the speakers' stand was erected, the crowd presented a most imposing appearance. Having dined, the two speakers were escorted to the stand by their party committees. Mr. Douglas commenced about 2½ o'clock and spoke an hour. It is not our intention to go over the line of his argument or that of Mr. Lincoln. We shall lay the whole debate before our readers. It is sufficient now to say that Judge D., after reviewing the general points he has previously made during the present canvass, took up the republican platform as first enunciated in this state, in state convention in this city in October 1854, which platform was reported by a committee of which Mr. Lincoln was a member, as shown by the convention's proceedings. On Thursday last we published the principal resolution of that platform—which declares for the repeal of the fugitive slave law; against the admission of any more slave states, and for extending "the Wilmot" over all the territories. Upon this Mr. Douglas descanted at length. He dissected the abolition thing, and showed up to his immense audience the infamous political heresies it embodied. Every word told, as the responses of the crowd fairly proved. He contrasted this platform of Mr. Lincoln with that of the democracy. Never was he more eloquent—never were his arguments more closely made or more pungently delivered.

We are inclined to the opinion that Mr. Lincoln was not prepared to get into the debate in this shape. He was crammed with a speech suited to a defensive one from Douglas, but he found himself with a fire not only in his front, but in his rear and on both flanks. He was surrounded, and driven on to his own narrow sectional platform, which was completely "honey-combed" by the heavy shots of his antagonist. This was too hot a place for our ambitious townsman. He denied being the author of the platform, stumbled, floundered, and, instead of the speech that he had prepared to make, bored his audience by using up a large portion of his time reading from a speech of 1854, of his own. He did not "face the music" upon the points made by Douglas. He neither confessed nor denied—he only blundered, and broke down, lacking fifteen minutes of making out the time allotted to him—an hour and a half. He evidently felt, himself, that he had signally failed, and exposed the weakness of his position. Certainly his hearers, including his own supporters, were satisfied of it.

The half hour reply of Mr. Douglas was a biting commentary upon the shuffling of Mr. Lincoln. From beginning to the end the wool flew. He riddled Lincoln's sophistries, ridiculed his evasions, and nailed him fast to the platform of '54, which Lincoln endeavored to creep out of.—Lincoln withered before the bold, lucid and eloquent argumentation, and writhed under the sharp invective of Douglas. So triumphant was the rejoinder, that, at the conclusion, almost as one man, the immense crowd thundered their appreciation of it. The cheers were absolutely deafening. As Mr. D. left the stand nearly the entire crowd pressed around him, and the living mass, with shouts and hurras bore him, in their midst, to the hotel, the cheering and shouting being kept up incessantly, until Mr. D., by dint of great exertion, got into the building. Just here a scene was enacted that would really have been a "study" for a Hogarth. After the great mass had left the ground, with Mr. Lincoln and his committee looking on, with the look of a boy who had "let a bird go," Mr. L. was seized upon by a dozen or more sturdy republicans, who put him on their shoulders, and, preceded by a band, and surrounded by a lonesome squad of fifty or a hundred, tailed in after the mass of people, who had halted, blocking up the street about the Geiger House. This funereal escort passed through the crowd and bore Mr. L., to his quarters, which were in another direction, with his long arms about his carriers' shoulders, his long legs dangling nearly to the ground, while his long face was an incessant contortion to wear a winning smile that succeeded in being only a ghastly one.—But the dust may have been productive of this effect. It was really not a pretty picture, though hugely an amusing one; but Mr. L., like ourself, is not good material for the former. We suppose that this farce was deemed necessary as an afterpiece to the three act tragedy on the stand. "The impalement of Hon. Abraham Lincoln."—It was in full keeping with that gentleman's tailing tactics since the commencement of the canvass.

The result of the debate at Ottawa, as the reader will admit on perusing it, was a most overwhelming overthrow of Mr. Lincoln. It places him in his true attitude before the people of the state, which no shuffling or pettifogging dodging can get him out of. He will be forced to stand square up to his abolition platform or back clear down. At Ottawa he beat an inglorious retreat, and shirked the issue at the first joust in the lists of his own suggestion.

We shall probably be able to give the debate in tomorrow's *Register*.

[*Chicago Times*, August 22, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN—DOUGLAS AMONG THE PEOPLE

Joint Discussion at Ottawa.—Lincoln Breaks Down.—Enthusiasm of the People!—The Battle Fought and Won.—Lincoln's Heart Fails Him!—Lincoln's Legs Fail Him!—Lincoln's Tongue Fails Him!—Lincoln's Arms Fail Him!—Lincoln Fails All Over!!—The People Refuse to Support Him!—The People Laugh at Him!—Douglas the Champion of the People!—Douglas Skins the "Living Dog."—The "Dead Lion" Frightens the Canine.—Douglas "Trotting" Lincoln Out.—Douglas "Concludes" on Abe

On Saturday, the first of the series of joint discussions between Lincoln and Douglas took place at Ottawa. Below we publish a full report of the speeches.

At an early hour Ottawa was alive with people. From daylight till three o'clock in the afternoon the crowds came in, by train, by canal-boat, and by wagon, carriage, buggy, and on horseback. Morris, Joliet, and all the towns on the railroad, above and below Ottawa, sent up their delegates. Lincoln on Friday night left Peoria, and passed up the road to Morris, where he staid over, in order that he might have the appearance of being escorted to Ottawa by the crowds who filled the special train on Saturday morning. Douglas left Peru in the morning in a carriage, escorted by a large delegation on horseback, and in vehicles. The procession as it passed along the road received new accessions at every cross-road and stopping place, and when it reached Ottawa it was nearly a mile in length. As it passed through the streets the people from the sidewalks, from windows, piazzas, house-tops, and every available standing point, cheered and welcomed him. Upon his arrival at the Geiger House he was welcomed by Wm. H. H. Cushman, in the following remarks:

. . . .

Mr. Douglas responded in a few appropriate remarks, and throughout the entire proceedings was cheered most enthusiastically.

At two o'clock the multitude gathered in the public square, the sun shining down with great intensity, and the few trees affording but little shade. It would seem that the most exposed part of the City was selected for the speaking. After a long delay, the discussion was opened by Judge Douglas, who spoke as follows:

. . . .

When Douglas had concluded the shouts were tremendous: his excoriation of Lincoln was so severe, that the Republicans hung their heads in shame. The Democrats, however, were loud in their vociferation. About two-thirds of the meeting at once surrounded Douglas, and with music, cheers, and every demonstration of enthusiastic admiration they escorted him to his quarters at the hotel, where for several minutes they made the welkin ring with their cheers, and applause.

Lincoln in the meantime seemed to have been paralyzed. He stood upon the stage looking wildly at the people as they surrounded the triumphant Douglas, and, with mouth wide open, he could not find a friend to say one word to him in his distress. It was a delicate point for Republicans who had witnessed his utter defeat, and who knew how severely he felt it, to offer him condolence, or bid him hope for better success again. The only thing they could say was that Lincoln ought not to travel round with Douglas, and had better not meet him any more. When Douglas and the Democrats had left the square, Lincoln essayed to descend from the stage, but his limbs refused to do their office. During Douglas' last speech Lincoln had suffered severely; alternately burning with fever, and then suddenly chilled with shame, his respiratory organs had become obstructed, his limbs got cold, and he was unable to walk. In this extremity, the Republican Marshall called half a dozen men, who, lifting Lincoln in their arms, carried him along. By some mismanagement the men selected for this office happened to be very short in stature, and the consequence was, that while Lincoln's head and shoulders towered above theirs, his feet dragged on the ground. Such an exhibition as the "toting" of Lincoln from the square to his lodgings was never seen at Ottawa before. It was one of the richest farces we have ever witnessed, and provoked the laughter of all, Democrats and Republicans, who happened to see it.

[*Peoria Transcript*, August 25, 1858]

The report made current by the *Chicago Times* and copied into the *Democrat* of this city, that Lincoln interrupted Douglas during the delivery of his closing speech, and was pulled back by the committee, is as silly as it is false. We stood close to Mr. Lincoln on the platform during the whole time, and no scene of the kind reported took place, nor nothing of the kind.

[*Chicago Journal*, August 23, 1858]

The Late Mr. Douglas.—Since the flailing Senator Douglas received at Ottawa on Saturday, we suggest that his friends hereafter address him as the late Mr. Douglas.

[*Louisville, Ky., Democrat*, August 26, 1858]

The *Louisville Journal* in speaking of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois, says: That when the former descended from the platform he was seized by the assemblage and borne off on their shoulders in the center of a crowd of thousands of shouting friends.

If they had foreseen how he would come out in the debate, they would have borne him off before it commenced.

[MR. HORACE WHITE in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*,
by permission of D. Appleton & Co.]

The next stage brought us to Ottawa, the first joint debate, August 21. Here the crowd was enormous. The weather had been very dry and the town was shrouded in dust raised by the moving populace. Crowds were pouring into town from sunrise till noon in all sorts of conveyances, teams, railroad trains, canal boats, cavalcades, and processions on foot, with banners and inscriptions, stirring up such clouds of dust that it was hard to make out what was underneath them. The town was covered with bunting, and bands of music were tooting around every corner, drowned now and then by the roar of cannon. Mr. Lincoln came by railroad and Mr. Douglas by carriage from La Salle. A train of seventeen passenger cars from Chicago attested the interest felt in that city in the first meeting of the champions. Two great processions escorted them to the platform in the public square. But the eagerness to hear the speaking was so great that the crowd had taken possession of the square and platform and had climbed on the wooden awning overhead to such an extent that the speakers and committees and reporters could not get to their places. Half an hour was consumed in a rough-and-tumble skirmish to make way for them, and when finally this was accomplished, a section of the awning gave way with its load of men and boys, and came down on the heads of the Douglas committee of reception. But, fortunately, nobody was hurt.

[*Peoria Transcript*, August 26, 1858]

The complete manner in which Lincoln used up Douglas at Ottawa is evinced by the desperation of the latter's newspaper organs. The *Chicago Times*, construing the enthusiasm of the Republicans in bearing Lincoln upon their shoulders after the debate in triumph through the city, says that he "broke down completely, and his friends were obliged to carry him from the ground!" That will do; the *Times* has touched the bottom!

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ills., August 26, 1858]

THE ELEGANCIES OF DOUGLAS

The character and disposition of Judge Douglas were pretty clearly exhibited in his speech at Ottawa, the other day. Among other equally elegant terms which he used on the occasion, were the following: In speaking of Mr. Lincoln he said he intended to "bring him to his milk"—that he advocated the doctrine that "*niggers* were equal to white men"—that he was going to "trot him (Lincoln) down to Egypt." And much more of the same sort.

Isn't this beautiful language to come from a United States Senator?

Mr. Douglas is as much a blackguard as he is a demagogue, and scarcely has an equal in either respect.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 24, 1858]

The interest in the debate at Ottawa is wide-spread. . . . . Our own extra edition of 2,000 copies was exhausted before 9 o'clock and a third edition printed and sold during the day.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, August 23, 1858]

THE RESULT OF THE FIRST LINCLON AND DOUGLAS DEBATE

The Republicans were in their glory at Ottawa on Saturday, the foolish statements and falsehoods of the *Chicago Times* to the contrary notwithstanding. At least two-thirds of the vast assemblage that was attracted thither to listen to the Lincoln and Douglas Debate, was composed of Republicans, and every candid man present whom we have seen, bears testimony to the fact that Lincoln "took down" Douglas most effectually, on every point of the debate. The genuine enthusiasm of the occasion was all on the side of Lincoln, and so pleased were his friends with his strong and crushing reply to the misrepresentations and sophistications of Douglas, that when he concluded his speech, they rushed up to the stand, took him upon their shoulders, and bore him in triumphal procession to the house of Mayor Glover, where he stopped.

In the evening the Republicans had a grand time. Preceded by a band of music, they marched in procession to Mayor Glover's, and escorted Messrs. Lincoln and Owen Lovejoy from thence to the Court House, where one of the most enthusiastic meetings that was ever gotten up, was held. Mr. Lovejoy made a telling speech—one of his characteristic sledge-hammer efforts,—after which, the masses—all Republicans—(for the Douglasites had hidden their heads in shame, at the, to them, inglorious result of the public debate,) formed a grand torch-light procession, and paraded the streets, with loud "hurrahs for Lincoln," until a late hour.

Every Republican present at this first regular tussle between Lincoln and Douglas, felt entirely satisfied, and the general opinion is that in the Third Congressional District, at least, Douglas is "a dead cock in the pit."

CHAPTER VI

THE FREEPORT DEBATE

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 26, 1858]

HO! FOR FREEPORT!

The usual fare from Chicago to Freeport and return, is $7.20. But excursion tickets will be sold to those who wish to leave this evening or tomorrow morning for the Lincoln and Douglas meeting at Freeport tomorrow, for $4.35, or 60 per cent of the usual fare. By starting on the 9½ train tomorrow morning, you reach Freeport at 3 P. M., an hour after the speaking commences. All should, therefore, leave by tonight's train, which starts from the Wells Street depot, North Side, at 45 minutes after 10 o'clock. Comfortable sleeping cars will be put on, and all can reach Freeport in season for the whole fun, without losing any time. Tickets for the excursion will be sold at the Wells Street Galena passenger depot alone.

[*Freeport, Ill., Journal*, August 26, 1858]

HOUR OF ARRIVAL

Lincoln spoke at Augusta, in Hancock County yesterday. He will probably arrive in town to-morrow forenoon, on the extra train from Dixon, which train will also bring up delegations from Ogle, Lee and Whiteside Counties.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 25, 1858]

LINCOLN AT FREEPORT

Our readers in the Western part of the State will bear in mind the fact that the second encounter between LINCOLN and DOUGLAS comes off at Freeport on Friday, the 27th. On that occasion it is expected that Douglas will try to "bring Mr. Lincoln to his milk," and all who are curious to know what the process used will be, and what will result therefrom, will not fail to be on hand.

SECOND JOINT DEBATE

Freeport, August 27, 1858

Mr. Lincoln was introduced by Hon. Thomas J. Turner, and was greeted with loud cheers. When the applause had subsided, he said:

Mr. Lincoln's Speech

Ladies and Gentlemen: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first hour to the scope of what was brought within the range of his half-hour speech at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope of[1] that half-hour's speech something of his own opening speech.

In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had *refused* to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say[2] that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; [applause] and after that I have done so, I shall propound mine to him. [Applause.]

[Owing to the press of people against the platform, our reporter did not reach the stand until Mr. Lincoln had spoken to this point. The previous remarks were taken by a gentleman in Freeport, who has politely furnished them to us.]

I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, in May, 1856, bound as a party man by the platforms of the party, then and since. If in any interrogatories which I shall answer I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself.

Having said thus much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the *Chicago Times*, and answer them *seriatim*. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the inter-

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[1] Reads: "in" for "of."

[2] Inserts: "to you" after "say."

"THIS GOVERNMENT CANNOT ENDURE PERMANENTLY HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE."
LINCOLN.
FREEPORT WOMAN'S CLUB.

SITE OF THE FREEPORT DEBATE

The granite boulder and tablets were placed by the Freeport Woman's Club to mark the site

rogatories in writing, and also my answers to it.[1] The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:—

Question 1.—"I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law?"

Answer.—I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. [Cries of "Good! good!"]

Q. 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

A. I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union.

Q. 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make. [Cries of "Good! good!"]

Q. 4. "I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

A. I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States?"

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different states.

Q. 6. "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories. [Great applause.]

Q. 7. "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate[1] the slavery question among ourselves. [Cries of "Good! good!"]

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[1] Reads: "them" for "it."

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly, that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive-Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive-Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive-Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; [applause] but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the Territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union. [Applause.]

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. [Cries of "Good! Good!"] I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation." [Loud applause.]

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[1] Reads: "agitate" for "aggravate."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade[1] among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power unless upon some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

Now in all this the Judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set

[1] Reads: "slavery" for "the slave trade."

of opinions for one place, and another set for another place; that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive[1] to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. [Laughter.] I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:—

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,—some ninety-three thousand,—will you vote to admit them? [Applause.]

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? [Renewed applause.]

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decree that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following, such decision as a rule of political action? [Loud applause.]

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question? [Cries of "Good! Good!"]

As introductory to these interrogatories which Judge Douglas propounded to me at Ottawa, he read a set of resolutions which he said Judge Trumbull and myself had participated in adopting, in the first Republican State Convention, held at Springfield in October, 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the entire Republican party, were responsible for the doctrines contained in the set of resolutions which he read, and I understand that it was from that set of resolutions that he deduced the interrogatories which he propounded to me, using these resolutions as a sort of authority for propounding those questions to me. Now, I say here to-day that I do not answer his interrogatories because of their springing at all from that set of resolutions which he read. I answered them because Judge Douglas thought fit to ask them. [Applause.] I do not now, nor never did, recognize any responsibility upon myself in that set of resolutions. When I replied to him on that occasion, I assured him that I never had anything to do with them. I repeat here to-day that I never in any possible form had anything to do with that set of resolutions.

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[1] Reads: "affirmed" for "offensive."

It turns out, I believe, that those resolutions were never passed in any convention held in Springfield. [Cheers and laughter.] It turns out that they were never passed at any convention or any public meeting that I had any part in. I believe it turns out, in addition to all this, that there was not, in the fall of 1854, any convention holding a session in Springfield, calling itself a Republican State Convention; yet it is true there was a convention, or assemblage of men calling themselves a convention, at Springfield, that did pass *some* resolutions. But so little did I really know of the proceedings of that convention, or what set of resolutions they had passed, though having a general knowledge that there had been such an assemblage of men there, that when Judge Douglas read the resolutions, I really did not know but they had been the resolutions passed then and there. I did not question that they were the resolutions adopted. For I could not bring myself to suppose that Judge Douglas could say what he did upon this subject without *knowing* that it was true. [Cheers and laughter.] I contented myself, on that occasion, with denying, as I truly could, all connection with them, not denying or affirming whether they were passed at Springfield. Now, it turns out that he had got hold of some resolutions passed at some convention or public meeting in Kane County. [Renewed laughter.] I wish to say here, that I don't conceive that in any fair and just mind this discovery relieves me at all. I had just as much to do with the convention in Kane County as that at Springfield. I am just as much responsible for the resolutions at Kane County as those at Springfield,—the amount of the responsibility being exactly nothing in either case; no more than there would be in regard to a set of resolutions passed in the moon. [Laughter and loud cheers.]

I allude to this extraordinary matter in this canvass for some further purpose than anything yet advanced. Judge Douglas did not make his statement upon that occasion as matters that he believed to be true, but he stated them roundly as *being true*, in such form as to pledge his veracity for their truth. When the whole matter turns out as it does, and when we consider who Judge Douglas is,—that he is a distinguished Senator of the United States; that he has served nearly twelve years as such; that his character is not at all limited as an ordinary Senator of the United States, but that his name has become of world-wide renown,—it is *most extraordinary* that he should so far forget all the suggestions of justice to an adversary, or of prudence to himself, as to venture upon the assertion of that which the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false. [Cheers.] I can only account for his having done so upon the supposition that that evil genius which has attended him through his life, giving to him an apparent astonishing prosperity, such as to lead very many good men to doubt there being any advantage in virtue over vice, [cheers and laughter]—I say I can only account for it on the supposition that that evil genius has at last made up its mind to forsake him. [Continued cheers and laughter.]

And I may add that another extraordinary feature of the Judge's conduct in this canvass—made more extraordinary by this incident—is, that he is in the habit, in almost all the speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, myself and others. I now ask whether he is able to find in anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, in this instance, for that sort of vulgarity. [Cries of "Good! Good! Good!"]

I have been in the habit of charging as a matter of belief on my part that, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill into Congress, there was a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and national. I have arranged from time to time the evidence which establishes and proves the truth of this charge. I recurred to this charge at Ottawa. I shall not now have time to dwell upon it at very great length; but inasmuch as Judge Douglas, in his reply of half an hour, made some points upon me in relation to it, I propose noticing a few or them.

The Judge insists that, in the first speech I made, in which I very distinctly made that charge, he thought for a good while I was in fun! that I was playful; that I was not sincere about it; and that he only grew angry and somewhat excited when he found that I insisted upon it as a matter of earnestness. He says he characterized it as a falsehood as far as I implicated his *moral character* in that transaction. Well, I did not know, till he presented that view, that I had implicated his moral character. He is very much in the habit, when he argues me up into a position I never thought of occupying, of very cosily saying he has no doubt Lincoln is "conscientious" in saying so. He should remember that I did not know but what *he* was ALTOGETHER "CONSCIENTIOUS" in that matter. [Great laughter.] I can conceive it was possible for men to conspire to do a good thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas's course or arguments that is contrary to, or inconsistent with, his belief of a conspiracy to nationalize and spread slavery as being a good and blessed thing; [continued laughter] and so I hope he will understand that I do not at all question but that in all this matter he is entirely "conscientious." [More laughter and cheers.]

But to draw your attention to one of the points I made in this case, beginning at the beginning. When the Nebraska bill was introduced, or a short time afterward, by an amendment, I believe, it was provided that it must be considered "the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." I have called his attention to the fact that when he and some others began arguing that they were giving an increased degree of liberty to the people in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the question of slavery, a question was raised whether the law was enacted to give such unconditional liberty to the people; and to test the sincerity of this mode of argument, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, introduced an amendment, in which he made the law—if the amendment were adopted—expressly declare that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit.

I have asked attention also to the fact that Judge Douglas and those who acted with him voted that amendment down, notwithstanding it expressed exactly the thing they said was the true intent and meaning of the law. I have called attention to the fact that in subsequent times a decision of the Supreme Court has been made, in which it has been declared that a Territorial Legislature has no constitutional right to exclude slavery. And I have argued and said that for men who did intend that the people of the Territory should have the right to exclude slavery absolutely and unconditionally, the voting down of Chase's amendment is wholly inexplicable. It is a puzzle, a riddle. But I have said that with men who did look forward to such a decision, or who had it in contemplation that such a decision of the Supreme Court would or might be made, the voting down of that amendment would be perfectly rational and intelligible. It would keep Congress from coming in collision with the decision when it was made.

Anybody can conceive that if there was an intention or expectation that such a decision was to follow, it would not be a very desirable party attitude to get into, for the Supreme Court—all or nearly all its members belonging to the same party—to decide one way, when the party in Congress had decided the other way. Hence it would be very rational for men expecting such a decision to keep the niche in that law clear for it. After pointing this out, I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me as though here was the reason why Chase's amendment was voted down. I tell him that, as he did it, and knows why he did it, if it was done for a reason different from this, *he knows what that reason was, and can tell us what it was.* I tell him, also, it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country for him to give some other plausible, intelligible, reason *why* it was voted down than to stand upon his dignity and call people liars. [Loud cheers.]

Well, on Saturday he did make his answer; and what do you think it was? He says if I had only taken upon myself to tell the whole truth about that amendment of Chase's, no explanation would have been necessary on his part,—or words to that effect. Now, I say here that I am quite unconscious of having suppressed anything material to the case, and I am very frank to admit if there is any sound reason other than that which appeared to me material, it is quite fair for him to present it. What reason does he propose?—That when Chase came forward with his amendment expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery from the limits of every Territory, General Cass proposed to Chase, if he (Chase) would add to his amendment that the people should have the power to *introduce* or exclude, they would let it go. (This is substantially all of his reply.) And because Chase would not do that, they voted his amendment down. Well, it turns out, I believe, upon examination, that General Cass took some part in the little running debate upon that amendment, and then ran away *and did not vote on it at all.* [Laughter.] Is not that the fact? So confident, as I think, was General Cass that there was a snake somewhere about, he chose to run away from the whole thing. This is an inference I draw from the fact that, though he took part in the debate, his name does not appear in the ayes and noes. But does Judge Douglas's reply amount to a satisfactory answer? [Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and "No," "No."] There is some little difference of opinion here. [Laughter.]

But I ask attention to a few more views bearing on the question of whether it amounts to a satisfactory answer. The men who were determined that that amendment should not get into the bill and spoil the place where the Dred Scott decision was to come in, sought an excuse to get rid of it somewhere. One of these ways—one of these excuses—was to ask Chase to add to his proposed amendment a provision that the people might *introduce* slavery if they wanted to. They very well knew Chase would do no such thing, that Mr. Chase was one of the men differing from them on the broad principle of his insisting that freedom was *better* than slavery,—a man who would not consent to enact a law, penned with his own hand, by which he was made to recognize slavery on the one hand, and liberty on the other, as *precisely equal;* and when they insisted on his doing this, they very well knew they insisted on that which he would not for a moment think of doing, and that they were only bluffing him. I believe (I have not, since he made his answer, had a chance to examine the journals or *Congressional Globe* and therefore speak from memory)—I believe the state of the bill at that time, according to parliamentary rules, was such that no member could propose an additional amendment to Chase's amendment. I rather think this is the truth,—the Judge shakes his head. Very well. I would like to know, then, *if they wanted Chase's amendment fixed over, why somebody else could not have offered to do it?* If they wanted it amended, why did they not offer the amendment? Why did they stand there taunting and quibbling at Chase? [Laughter.] Why did they not *put it in themselves?*

But to put it on the other ground: Suppose that there was such an amendment offered, and Chase's was an amendment to an amendment; until one is disposed of, by parliamentary law you cannot pile another on. Then all these gentlemen had to do was to vote Chase's on, and then, in the amended form in which the whole stood, add their own amendment to it, if they wanted to put it in that shape. This was all they were obliged to do, and the ayes and noes show that there were thirty-six who voted it down, against ten who voted in favor of it. The thirty-six held entire sway and control. They could in some form or other have put that bill in the exact shape they wanted. If there was a rule preventing their amending it at the time, they could pass that, and then, Chase's amendment being merged, put it in the shape they wanted. They did not choose to do so, but they went into a quibble with Chase to get him to add what they knew he would not add, and because he would not, they stand upon that flimsy pretext for voting down what they argued was the meaning and intent of their own bill. They left room thereby for this Dred Scott decision, which goes very far to make slavery national throughout the United States.

I pass one or two points I have, because my time will very soon expire; but I must be allowed to say that Judge Douglas recurs again, as he did upon one or two other occasions, to the enormity of Lincoln,—an insignificant individual like Lincoln,—upon his *ipse dixit* charging a conspiracy upon a large number of members of Congress, the Supreme Court, and two Presidents, to nationalize slavery. I want to say that, in the first place, I have made no charge of this sort upon my *ipse dixit*. I have only arrayed the evidence tending to prove it, and presented it to the understanding of others, saying what I think it proves, but giving you the means of judging whether it proves it or not. This is precisely what I have done. I have not placed it upon my *ipse dixit* at all.

On this occasion, I wish to recall his attention to a piece of evidence which I brought forward at Ottawa on Saturday, showing that he had made substantially the *same charge* against substantially the *same persons*, excluding his dear self from the category. I ask him to give some attention to the evidence which I brought forward that he himself had discovered a "fatal blow being struck" against the right of the people to exclude slavery from their limits, which fatal blow he assumed as in evidence in an article in the Washington *Union*, published "by authority." I ask by whose authority? He discovers a similar or identical provision in the Lecompton Constitution. Made by whom? The framers of that Constitution. Advocated by whom? By all the members of the party in the nation, who advocated the introduction of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution.

I have asked his attention to the evidence that he arrayed to prove that such a fatal blow was being struck, and to the facts which he brought forward in support of that charge,—being identical with the one which he thinks so villanous[1] in me. He pointed it, not at a newspaper editor merely, but at the President and his Cabinet and the members of Congress advocating the Lecompton Constitution and those framing that instrument. I must again be permitted to remind him that although my *ipse dixit* may not be as great as his, yet it somewhat reduces the force of his calling my attention to the *enormity* of my making a like charge against him. [Loud applause.]

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[1] Reads: "villainous."

Go on, Judge Douglas.

Mr. Douglas's Reply

Ladies and Gentlemen: The silence with which you have listened to Mr. Lincoln during his hour is creditable to this vast audience, composed of men of various political parties. Nothing is more honorable to any large mass of people assembled for the purpose of a fair discussion than that kind and respectful attention that is yielded, not only to your political friends, but to those who are opposed to you in politics.

I am glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed no disposition, no inclination, to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer, merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform and were in favor of the propositions, upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few moments I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but, in order to relieve his anxiety, I will first respond to these[1] which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity. ["That's a fact."]

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population

[1] Reads: "those" for "these."

for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. ["Good, good."] Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a Free State, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. ["That's it."] Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, Free or Slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field, fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. ["Good, put it to him," and cheers.]

But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a Slave State, she has people enough for a Free State. [Cheers.] I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. ["Sound," and "Hear, hear."] I hold it to be a sound rule, of universal application, to require a Territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas nor[1] any other Territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. [Cheers.] Either Kansas must come in as a Free State, with whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other Territories alike. [Cheers.] I therefore answer at once, that, it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a Slave State, I hold that she has enough for a Free State. ["Good," and applause.]

I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; ["He ought to be," and cheers.] and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory,—whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. ["Hit him again."] I want to know whether

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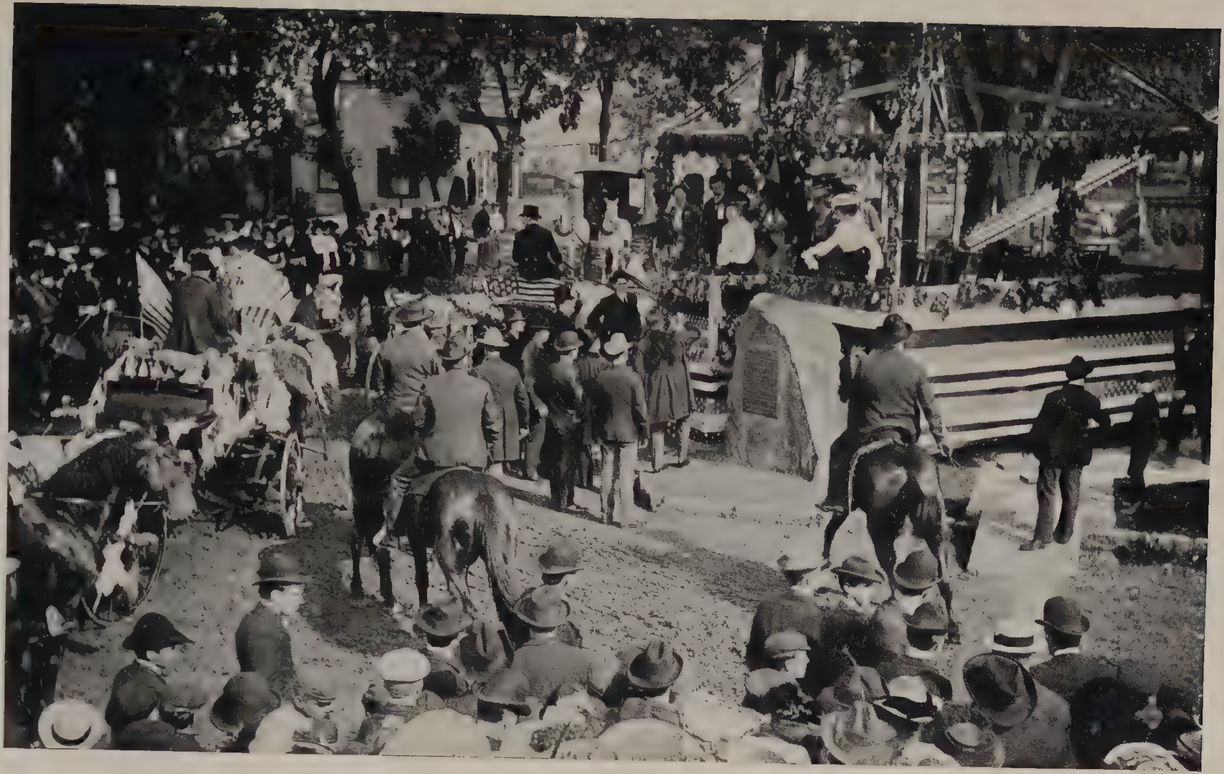
[1] Reads: "or" for "nor."



THE DEDICATION OF THE FREEPORT MARKER, 1903

President Roosevelt is approaching the stand

he will vote to admit Oregon before that Territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon, commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a Free State. ["You've got him," and cheers.] If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate, against the admission of Oregon because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. [Laughter.] If he differs with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me. ["Right, good, good," laughter and cheers.]

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. [Enthusiastic applause.] Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. ["Right, right."] Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

[Deacon Bross spoke.]

In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought that I had chased that amendment out of Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa; [laughter] but it seems that it still haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a member of Congress, and has occupied his time and amused you by telling you about parliamentary proceedings. He ought to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable impositions upon this intelligent audience. ["Good," and cheers.] The Nebraska bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the said Territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the organic act and the Constitution of the United States. It did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give, without violating the Constitution, to the Territorial legislature, with no exception or limitation on the subject of slavery at all. The language of that bill which I have quoted, gave the full power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, affirmatively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the Constitution of the United States would permit. What more could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it,—to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people. ["Good, hit him again," and cheers.]

[Deacon Bross spoke.]

His amendment was to this effect. It provided that the legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and General Cass suggested, "Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?" The answer was, They have the power already in the bill to do both. Chase was afraid his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition, and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. ["Good, good."] Lincoln knows that the Nebraska bill, without Chase's amendment, gave all the power which the Constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? ["No, no."] Could Congress go beyond the Constitution of the country? We gave all—a full grant, with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they pleased. I will not occupy my time on this question. I have argued it before, all over Illinois. I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt. [Cheers and laughter.]

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ["A schoolboy knows better."] Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the Washington *Union*, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The *Union* had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the Free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the Free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. [Cheers.]

And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice, and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any Slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, Suppose

Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would I sanction it, [laughter] and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. [Cheers.] It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act. ["Good, good."]

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the Slavery question?[1] This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

[Deacon Bross here spoke, *sotto voce*,—the reporter understanding him to say, "Now we've got him."]

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory, unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you [addressing Mr. Lincoln] opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee-fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. ["Good."] I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory as they prefer. [Here Deacon Bross spoke; the reporter believes that he said, "That's bold." It was said solemnly.] It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River; but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana Territory, from the West branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present;

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[1] Reads: "questions" for "question."

but this is a young and a growing nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. ["Good."]

In less than fifteen years, if the same progress that has distinguished this country for the last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific Ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, increase, and multiply, and expand, is the law of this nation's existence. ["Good."] You cannot limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger; and in order to prevent his growth, put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the old world to seek refuge[1] in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it; and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question. ["Good, good;" "hurrah for Douglas."]

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. [Laughter.] As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglass, he will frame and propound others. ["Good, good." Renewed laughter, in which Mr. Lincoln feebly joined, saying that he hoped with their aid to get seven questions, the number asked him by Judge Douglas, and so make *conclusions* even.] You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. ["White, white."]

I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage—and a magnificent one it was,—drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. [Laughter, cheers, cries of "right," "what have you to say against it," etc.] I saw this in your own town. ["What of it?"] All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. ["Good, good," and cheers, mingled with hooting and cries of "white, white."]

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[1] Reads: "Seek a refuge."

I am told that one of Fred Douglass's kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State, making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ["White men, white men," and "What have you[1] to say against it?" "That's right," etc.] All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln. ["Down with the negro," "no, no," etc.]

I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answer to the interrogatories contained in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has pretended to reply to here to-day. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at another place. Mr. Lincoln loses sight of the thing itself in his ecstasies over the mistake I made in stating the place where it was done. He thinks that that platform was not adopted on the right "spot."

When I put the direct questions to Mr. Lincoln to ascertain whether he now stands pledged to that creed,—to the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law, a refusal to admit any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot proviso, not only to all the territory, we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire,—he refused to answer; and his followers say, in excuse, that the resolutions upon which I based my interrogatories were not adopted at the "*right spot*." [Laughter and applause.] Lincoln and his political friends are great on "*spots*." [Renewed laughter.] In Congress, as a representative of this State, he declared the Mexican war to be unjust and infamous, and would not support it, or acknowledge his own country to be right in the contest, because he said that American blood was not shed on American soil in the "*right spot*." ["Lay on to him."] And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted at the "*right spot*." It may be possible that I was led into an error as to the *spot* on which the resolutions I then read were proclaimed, but I was not, and am not, in error as to the fact of their forming the basis of the creed of the Republican party when that party was[1] first organized. [Cheers.]

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[1] **Reads: "What have you got to say against it?"**

I will state to you the evidence I had, and upon which I relied for my statement that the resolutions in question were adopted at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854. Although I was aware that such resolutions had been passed in this district, and nearly all the Northern Congressional Districts and County Conventions, I had not noticed whether or not they had been adopted by any State Convention. In 1856, a debate arose in Congress between Major Thomas L. Harris, of the Springfield District, and Mr. Norton, of the Joliet District, on political matters connected with our State, in the course of which, Major Harris quoted those resolutions as having been passed by the first Republican State Convention that ever assembled in Illinois. I knew that Major Harris was remarkable for his accuracy, that he was a very conscientious and sincere man, and I also noticed that Norton did not question the accuracy of this statement. I therefore took it for granted that it was so; and the other day when I concluded to use the resolutions at Ottawa, I wrote to Charles L. Lanphier, editor of the *State Register* at Springfield, calling his attention to them, telling him that I had been informed that Major Harris was lying sick at Springfield, and desiring him to call upon him and ascertain all the facts concerning the resolutions, the time and the place where they were adopted. In reply, Mr. Lanphier sent me two copies of his paper, which I have here. The first is a copy of the *State Register*, published at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, on the 16th of October, 1854, only eleven days after the adjournment of the Convention, from which I desire to read the following—

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[1] Reads: "party first" for "party was first."

"During late discussions in this city, Lincoln made a speech, to which Judge Douglas replied. In Lincoln's speech he took the broad ground that, according to the Declaration of Independence, the whites and blacks are equal. From this he drew the conclusion, which he several times repeated, that the white man had no right to pass laws for the government of the black man without the nigger's consent. This speech of Lincoln's was heard and applauded by all the Abolitionists assembled in Springfield. So soon as Mr. Lincoln was done speaking, Mr. Codding arose, and requested all the delegates to the Black Republican Convention to withdraw into the Senate chamber. They did so; and after long deliberation, they laid down the following Abolition platform as the platform on which they stood. We cal the particular attention of all our readers to it."

Then follows the identical platform, word for word, which I read at Ottawa. [Cheers.] Now, that was published in Mr. Lincoln's own town, eleven days after the Convention was held, and it has remained on record up to this day never contradicted.

When I quoted the resolutions at Ottawa and questioned Mr. Lincoln in relation to them, he said that his name was on the committee that reported them, but he did not serve, nor did he think he served, because he was, or thought he was, in Tazewell County at the time the Convention was in session. He did not deny that the resolutions were passed by the Springfield Convention. He did not know better, and evidently thought that they were; but afterward his friends declared that they had discovered that they varied in some respects from the resolutions passed by that convention. I have shown you that I had good evidence for believing that the resolutions had been passed at Springfield. Mr. Lincoln ought to have known better; but not a word is said about his ignorance on the subject, whilst I, notwithstanding the circumstances, am accused of forgery.

Now, I will show you that if I have made a mistake as to the place where these resolutions were adopted,—and when I get down to Springfield I will investigate the matter, and see whether or not I have,—that the principles they enunciate were adopted as the Black Republican platform, ["White, white"] in the various counties and Congressional Districts throughout the north end of the State in 1854. This platform was adopted in nearly every county that gave a Black Republican majority for the Legislature in that year, and here is a man [pointing to Mr. Denio, who sat on the stand near Deacon Bross] who knows as well as any living man that it was the creed of the Black Republican party at that time. I would be willing to call Denio as a witness, or any other honest man belonging to that party. I will now read the resolutions adopted at the Rockford Convention on the 30th of August, 1854, which nominated Washburne for Congress. You elected him on the following platform:—

"*Resolved*, That the continued and increasing aggressions of slavery in our country are destructive of the best rights of a free people, and that such aggressions cannot be successfully resisted without the united political action of all good men.

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of the United States hold in their hands peaceful, constitutional, and efficient remedy against the encroachments of the slave power,—the ballot-box; and if that remedy is boldly and wisely applied, the principles of liberty and eternal justice will be established.

"*Resolved*, That we accept this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and, in defense of freedom, will co-operate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:—

"To bring the Administration of the Government back to the control of first principles; to restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of Free Territories; to repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive-Slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more Slave States into the Union; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the acquisition of any more Territories, unless the introduction of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

"*Resolved*, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office under the General or State Government who is not positively committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, and shall abjure all party allegiance and ties.

"*Resolved*. That we cordially invite persons of all former political parties whatever, in favor of the object expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect." [Senator Douglas was frequently interrupted in reading these resolutions by loud cries of "Good, good," "that's the doctrine," and vociferous applause.]

Well, you think that is a very good platform, do you not? ["Yes, yes, all right," and cheers.] If you do, if you approve it now, and think it is all right, you will not join with those men who say that I libel you by calling these your principles, will you? ["Good, good, hit him again," and great laughter and cheers.] Now, Mr. Lincoln complains; Mr. Lincoln charges that I did you and him injustice by saying that this was the platform of your party. [Renewed laughter.] I am told that Washburne made a speech in Galena last night, in which he abused me awfully for bringing to light this platform, on which he was elected to Congress. He thought that you had forgotten it, as he and Mr. Lincoln desires to. [Laughter.] He did not deny but that you had adopted it, and that he had subscribed to and was pledged by[1] it, but he did not think it was fair to call it up and remind the people that it was their platform. [Here Deacon Bross spoke.]

But I am glad to find that you are more honest in your Abolitionism than your leaders, by avowing that it is your platform, and right in your opinion. [Laughter, "You have them, good, good."]

In the adoption of that platform, you not only declared that you would resist the admission of any more Slave States, and work for the repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law, but you pledged yourselves not to vote for any man for State or Federal offices who was not committed to these principles. ["Exactly so, exactly so," cheers.] You were thus committed. Similar resolutions to those were adopted in your county Convention here, and now with your admissions that they are your platform and embody your sentiments now as they did then, what do you think of Mr. Lincoln, your candidate for the United States Senate, who is attempting to dodge the responsibility of this platform, because it was not adopted in the right spot. [Shouts of laughter, "Hurrah for Douglas."] I thought that it was adopted in Springfield; but it turns out it was not, that it was adopted at Rockford, and in the various counties which comprise this Congressional District. When I get into the next district, I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the State, until I nail the responsibility of it upon the back of the Black Republican party throughout the State. ["White, white," "three cheers for Douglas."]

A Voice.—Couldn't you modify, and call it brown? [Laughter.]

Mr. Douglas.—Not a bit. I thought that you were becoming a little brown when your members in Congress voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill; but since you have backed out from that position and gone back to Abolitionism you are black, and not brown. [Shouts of laughter, and a voice, "Can't you ask him another question?"]

Gentlemen, I have shown you what your platform was in 1854. You still adhere to it. The same platform was adopted by nearly all the counties where the Black Republican party had a majority in 1854. I wish now to call your attention to the action of your representatives in the Legislature when they assembled together at Springfield. In the first place, you must remember that this was the organization of a new party. It is so declared in the resolutions themselves, which say that you are going to dissolve all old party ties and call the new party Republican. The old Whig party was to have its throat cut from ear to ear, and the Democratic party was to be annihilated and blotted out of existence, whilst in lieu of these parties the Black Republican party was to be organized on this Abolition platform. You know who the chief leaders were in breaking up and destroying these two great parties. Lincoln on the one hand, and Trumbull on the other, being disappointed politicians, [laughter] and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency because of their political sins, formed a scheme to Abolitionize the two parties, and lead the Old Line Whigs and Old Line Democrats captive, bound hand and foot, into the Abolition camp. Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought in. [Great laughter.] Lincoln went to work to dissolve the Old Line Whig party. Clay was dead; and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great Compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified.

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[1] Reads: "to" for "by."

Up to 1854 the Old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery question was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, but we agreed on this slavery question, and the true mode of preserving the peace and harmony of the Union. The Compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Fillmore, and sanctioned by the National men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852 the Whig party, in its last National Convention at Baltimore, indorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the National Convention of the Democratic party held that same year. Thus the Old Line Whigs and the Old Line Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the part of the Whigs, undertook to Abolitionize the Whig party, by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp, and making them train under Giddings, Fred Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other Abolition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the Democratic party by taking old

Democrats into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State, your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. [Good fellow.] Trumbull was aided by many renegades from the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, [laughter] Tom Turner, and others, with whom you are familiar.

[Mr. Turner, who was one of the moderators, here interposed, and said that he had drawn the resolutions which Senator Douglas had read.]

Mr. Douglas.—Yes, and Turner says that he drew these resolutions. ["Hurrah for Turner," "Hurrah for Douglas."] That is right; give Turner cheers for drawing the resolutions if you approve them. If he drew those resolutions, he will not deny that they are the creed of the Black Republican party.

Mr. Turner.—They are our creed exactly. [Cheers.]

Mr. Douglas.—And yet Lincoln denies that he stands on them ["Good, good," and laughter.] Mr. Turner says that the creed of the Black Republican party is the admission of no more Slave States, and yet Mr. Lincoln declares that he would not like to be placed in a position where he would have to vote for them. All I have to say to friend Lincoln is, that I do not think there is much danger of his being placed in such a position. [More laughter.] As Mr. Lincoln would be very sorry to be placed in such an embarrassing position as to be obliged to vote on the admission of any more Slave States, I propose, out of mere kindness, to relieve him from any such necessity. [Renewed laughter and cheers.]

When the bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull was completed for Abolitionizing the Whig and Democratic parties, they "spread" over the State, Lincoln still pretending to be an Old Line Whig, in order to "rope in" the Whigs, and Trumbull pretending to be as good a Democrat as he ever was, in order to coax the Democrats over into the Abolition ranks. ["That's exactly what we want."] They played the part that "decoy ducks" play down on the Potomac River. In that part of the country they make artificial ducks, and put them on the water in places where the wild ducks are to be found, for the purpose of decoying them. Well, Lincoln and Trumbull played the part of these "decoy ducks," and deceived enough Old Line Whigs and Old Line Democrats to elect a Black Republican Legislature. When that

Legislature met, the first thing it did was to elect as Speaker of the House the very man who is now boasting that he wrote the Abolition platform on which Lincoln will not stand. ["Good," "Hit him again," and cheers.] I want to know of Mr. Turner whether or not, when he was elected, he was a good embodiment of Republican principles?

Mr. Turner.—I hope I was then, and am now.

Mr. Douglas.—He swears[1] that he hopes he was then, and is now. He wrote that Black Republican platform, and is satisfied with it now. ["Hurrah for Turner," "Good," etc.] I admire and acknowledge Turner's honesty. Every man of you knows that what he says about these resolutions being the platform of the Black Republican party is true, and you also know that each one of these men who are shuffling and trying to deny it are only trying to cheat the people out of their votes for the purpose of deceiving them still more after the election. ["Good," and cheers.] I propose to trace this thing a little further, in order that you can see what additional evidence there is to fasten this revolutionary platform upon the Black Republican party. When the Legislature assembled, there was a[2] United States Senator to elect in the place of General Shields, and before they proceeded to ballot, Lovejoy insisted on laying down certain principles by which to govern the party.

It has been published to the world and satisfactorily proven that there was, at the time the alliance was made between Trumbull and Lincoln to Abolitionize the two parties, an agreement that Lincoln should take Shields's place in the United States Senate, and Trumbull should have mine so soon as they could conveniently get rid of me. When Lincoln was beaten for Shields's place, in a manner I will refer to in a few minutes, he felt very sore and restive; his friends grumbled, and some of them came out and charged that the most infamous treachery had been practiced against him; that the bargain was that Lincoln was to have had Shields's place, and Trumbull was to have waited for mine, but that Trumbull, having the control of a few Abolitionized Democrats, he prevented them from voting for Lincoln, thus keeping him within a few votes of an election until he succeeded in forcing the party to drop him and elect Trumbull. Well, Trumbull having cheated Lincoln, his friends made a fuss, and in order to keep them and Lincoln quiet, the party were obliged to come forward, in advance, at the last

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[1] Reads: "Answers" for "swears."

[2] Reads: "an" for "a."

State election, and make a pledge that they would go for Lincoln and nobody else. Lincoln could not be silenced in any other way.

Now, there are a great many Black Republicans of you who do not know this thing was done. ["White, white," and great clamor.] I wish to remind you that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt him. [Great applause and cries of, "Hurrah for Douglas."] But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am clinching Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the result. [Cheers.] I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for joint discussions, and the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before, and defy your wrath. [Tremendous applause.] My friends, do not cheer, for I need my whole time. The object of the opposition is to occupy my attention in order to prevent me from giving the whole evidence and nailing this double dealing on the Black Republican party

As I have before said, Lovejoy demanded a declaration of principles on the part of the Black Republicans of the Legislature before going into an election for United States Senator. He offered the following preamble and resolutions which I hold in my hand:—

"WHEREAS, Human slavery is a violation of the principles of natural and revealed rights; and whereas the fathers of the Revolution, fully imbued with the spirit of these principles, declared freedom to be the inalienable birthright of all men; and whereas the preamble to the Constitution of the United States avers that that instrument was ordained to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and whereas, in furtherance of the above principles, slavery was forever prohibited in the old Northwest Territory, and more recently in all that Territory lying west and north of the State of Missouri, by the Act of the Federal Government; and whereas the repeal of the prohibition last referred to was contrary to the wishes of the people of Illinois, a violation of an implied compact long deemed[1] sacred by the citizens of the United States, and a wide departure from the uniform action of the General Government in relation to the extension of slavery; therefore,

"*Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested to introduce, if not otherwise introduced, and to vote for, a bill to restore such prohibition to the aforesaid Territories, and also to extend a similar prohibition to all territory which now belongs to the United States, or which may hereafter come under their jurisdiction.

"*Resolved,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote against the admission of any State into the Union, the Constitution of which does not prohibit slavery, whether the Territory out of which such State may have been formed shall have been acquired by conquest, treaty, purchase, or from original Territory of the United States.

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[1] Reads: "deemed and held.

"*Resolved,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to introduce and vote for, a bill to repeal an Act entitled 'an Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters;' and, failing in that, for such a modification of it as shall secure the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury before the regularly constituted authorities of the State, to all persons claimed as owing service or labor.'

[Cries of "good," "good," and cheers.] Yes, you say "good," "good," and I have no doubt you think so.

Those resolutions were introduced by Mr. Lovejoy immediately preceding the election of Senator. They declared, first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be applied to all territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. Secondly, that it must be applied to all territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. Thirdly, that it must be applied to all the territory now owned by the United States; and finally, that it must be applied to all territory hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The next resolution declares that no more Slave States shall be admitted into this Union under any circumstances whatever, no matter whether they are formed out of territory now owned by us or that we may hereafter acquire, by treaty, by Congress, or in any manner whatever. [A voice, "That is right."] You say that is right. We will see in a moment. The next resolution demands the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law, although its unconditional repeal would leave no provision for carrying out that clause of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees the surrender of fugitives. If they could not get an unconditional repeal, they demanded that that law should be so modified as to make it as nearly useless as possible.

Now, I want to show you who voted for these resolutions. When the vote was taken on the first resolution it was decided in the affirmative,—yeas, 41, nays 32. You will find that this is a strict party vote, between the Democrats on the one hand, and the Black Republicans on the other. [Cries of "White, white", and clamor.] I know your name and always call things by their right name. The point I wish to call your attention to is this: that these resolutions were adopted on the 7th day of February, and that on the 8th they went into an election for a United States Senator, and that day every man who voted for these resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted for Lincoln for the United States Senate. [Cries of "Good, good," and cheers. "Give us their names."] I will read the names over to you if you want them, but I believe your object is to occupy my time. [Cries of "That is it."]

On the next resolution the vote stood—yeas 33, nays 40; and on the third resolution,—yeas 35, nays 47. I wish to impress it upon you that every man who voted for those resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted on the next day for Lincoln for United States Senator. Bear in mind that the members who thus voted for Lincoln were elected to the Legislature pledged to vote for no man for office under the State or Federal Government who was not committed to this Black Republican platform. [Cries of "White, white," and "Good for you."] They were all so pledged. Mr. Turner, who stands by me, and who then represented you, and who says that he wrote those resolutions, voted for Lincoln, when he was pledged not to do so unless Lincoln was in favor of those resolutions. I now ask Mr. Turner [turning to Mr. Turner], did you violate your pledge in voting for Mr. Lincoln, or did he commit himself to your platform before you cast your vote for him? [Mr. Lincoln here started forward and grasping Mr. Turner shook him nervously and said "Don't answer, Turner, you have no right to answer."]

I could go through the whole list of names here, and show you that all the Black Republicans in the Legislature, ["White, white."] who voted for Mr. Lincoln, had voted on the day previous for these resolutions. For instance, here are the names of Sargent, and Little, of Jo Daviess and Carroll; Thomas J. Turner, of Stephenson; Lawrence, of Boone and Mc Henry; Swan, of Lake; Pinckney, of Ogle County; and Lyman, of Winnebago. Thus you see every member from your Congressional District voted for Mr. Lincoln, and they were pledged not to vote for him unless he was committed to the doctrine of no more Slave States, the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and the repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. Mr. Lincoln tells you to-day that he is not pledged to any such doctrine. Either Mr. Lincoln was then committed to these propositions, or Mr. Turner violated his pledges to you when he voted for him. Either Lincoln was pledged to each one of those propositions, or else every Black Republican [cries of "White, white"] Representative from this Congressional District violated his pledge of honor to his constituents by voting for him.

I ask you which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you hold Lincoln up to the platform of his party, or will you accuse every Representative you had in the Legislature of violating his pledge of honor to his constituents? [Voices: "We go for Turner," "We go for Lincoln;" "Hurrah for Douglas," "Hurrah for Turner."] There is no escape for you. Either Mr. Lincoln was committed to those propositions, or your members violated their faith. Take either horn of the dilemma you choose. There is no dodging the question; I want Lincoln's answer. He says he was not pledged to repeal the Fugitive-Slave law, that he does not quite like to do it; he will not introduce a law to repeal it, but thinks there ought to be some law; he does not tell what it ought to be; upon the whole he is altogether undecided, and don't know what to think or[1] do. That is the substance of his answer upon the repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. I put the question to him distinctly, whether he indorsed[2] that part of the Black Republican platform which calls for the entire abrogation and repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law. He answers, No! that he does not indorse[3] that; but he does not tell what he is for, or what he will vote for. His answer is, in fact, no answer at all. Why cannot he speak out, and say what he is for, and what he will do? [Cries of "That's right."]

In regard to there being no more Slave States, he is not pledged to that. He would not like, he says, to be put in a position where he would have to vote one way or another upon that question I pray you, do not put him in a position that would embarrass him so much. [Laughter.] Gentlemen, if he goes to the Senate, he may be put in that position, and then which way will he vote?

A Voice.—How will you vote?

Mr. Douglas.—I will vote for the admission of just such a State as by the form of their constitution the people show they want; if they want slavery, they shall have it; if they prohibit slavery, it shall be prohibited. They can form their institutions to please themselves, subject only to the Constitution; and I, for one, stand ready to receive them into the Union. ["Three cheers for Douglas."] Why cannot your Black Republican candidates talk out as plain as that when they are questioned? [Cries of "Good, good."]

[Here Deacon Bross spoke.]

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[1] Reads: "or to do" for "or do."

[2] Reads: "endorsed" for "indorsed."

[3] Reads: "endorse" for "indorse."

I do not want to cheat any man out of his vote. No man is deceived in regard to my principles if I have the power to express myself in terms explicit enough to convey my ideas.

Mr. Lincoln made a speech when he was nominated for the United States Senate which covers all these Abolition platforms. He there lays down a proposition so broad in its Abolitionism as to cover the whole ground.

> "In my opinion it [the slavery agitation] will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half Slave and half Free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States,—old as well as new, North as well as South."

There you find that Mr. Lincoln lays down the doctrine that this Union cannot endure divided as our fathers made it, with Free and Slave States. He says they must all become one thing, or all the other; that they must all be Free or all Slave, or else the Union cannot continue to exist; it being his opinion that to admit any more Slave States, to continue to divide the Union into Free and Slave States will dissolve it. I want to know of Mr. Lincoln whether he will vote for the admission of another Slave State. [Cries of "Bring him out."]

He tells you the Union cannot exist unless the States are all Free or all Slave; he tells you that he is opposed to making them all Slave and hence he is for making them all Free, in order that the Union may exist; and yet he will not vote against another Slave State, knowing that the Union must be dissolved if he votes for it. [Great laughter.] I ask you if that is fair dealing? The true intent and inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his first Springfield speech is, that he is opposed to the admission of any more Slave States under any circumstances.[1] If he is so opposed, why not say so? If he believes this Union cannot endure divided into Free and Slave States, that they must all become free in order to save the Union, he is bound as an honest man to vote against any more Slave States. If he believes it, he is bound to do it. Show me that it is my duty in order to save the Union, to do a particular act, and I will do it if the Constitution does not prohibit it. [Applause.] I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances. [Renewed applause.] I will pursue no course of conduct that will give just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world rests upon the perpetuity of this Union. The down-trodden and oppressed people who are suffering under European despotism all look with hope and anxiety to the American Union as the only resting place and permanent home of freedom and self-government.

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[1] Reads: "circumstance" for "circumstances."

Mr. Lincoln says that he believes that this Union cannot continue to endure with Slave States in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more Slave States, but says he would not like to be put to the test. [Laughter.] I do not think he will be put to the test. [Renewed laughter.] I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty [Cries of "Good."] I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United States when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests. ["That is so."] I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self-government here among you when Northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, [A voice, "That is so."] and I have defended that same great principle when Southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any test they put to me. I knew I was right; I knew my principles were sound; I knew that the people would see in the end that I had done right, and I knew that the God of heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty. [Cries of "Good," cheers and laughter.]

Mr. Lincoln makes a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court of the United States, and two Presidents of the United States, and attempts to bolster it up by saying that I did the same against the *Washington Union.* Suppose I did make that charge of corruption against the *Washington Union*, when it was true, does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others? That is the question I would put. He says that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, and before it was passed, there was a conspiracy between the Judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself, by that bill and the decision of the court, to break down the barrier and establish slavery all over the Union.

Does he not know that that charge is historically false as against President Buchanan? He knows that Mr. Buchanan was at that time in England, representing this country with distinguished ability at the Court of St. James, that he was there for a long time before, and did not return for a year or more after. He knows that to be true, and that fact proves his charge to be false as against Mr. Buchanan. [Cheers.] Then, again, I wish to call his attention to the fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the Supreme Court at all; it was not upon the docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there; and the Judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Thus the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them.

As to President Pierce, his high character as a man of integrity and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; [laughter and applause] and as to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie, whenever and wherever made, and by whomsoever made. I am willing that Mr. Lincoln should go and rake up every public act of mine, every measure I have introduced, report I have made, speech delivered, and criticise them; but when he charges upon me a corrupt conspiracy for the purpose of perverting the institutions of the country, I brand it as it deserves. I say the history of the country proves it to be false; and that it could not have been possible at the time.

But now he tries to protect himself in this charge, because I made a charge against the *Washington Union*. My speech in the Senate against the *Washington Union* was made because it advocated a revolutionary doctrine, by declaring that the Free States had not the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the *Washington Union*, Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge against Mr. Buchanan. Suppose it was: is Mr. Lincoln the peculiar defender of Mr. Buchanan? Is he so interested in the Federal Administration, and so bound to it that he must jump to the rescue and defend it from every attack that I may make against it? [Great laughter and cheers.] I understand the whole thing. The *Washington Union*, under that most corrupt of all men, Cornelius Wendell, is advocating Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the last Black Republican House of Representatives; he was a candidate before the present Democratic House, but was ignominiously kicked out; and then he took the money which he had made out of the public printing by means of the

Black Republicans, bought the *Washington Union*, and is now publishing it in the name of the Democratic party, and advocating Mr. Lincoln's election to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln therefore considers an attack upon Wendell and his corrupt gang as a personal attack upon him. [Immense cheering and laughter.] This only proves what I have charged,—that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters, and the Federal office-holders of this State, and Presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home. [A voice—"That is impossible," and cheering.]

Mr. Lincoln feels bound to come in to the rescue of the *Washington Union*. In that speech which I delivered in answer to the *Washington Union*, I made it distinctly against the *Union*, and against the *Union* alone. I did not choose to go beyond that. If I have occasion to attack the President's conduct, I will do it in language that will not be misunderstood. When I differed with the President, I spoke out so that you all heard me. ["That you did," and cheers.] That question passed away; it resulted in the triumph of my principle, by allowing the people to do as they please; and there is an end of the controversy. ["Hear, hear."] Whenever the great principle of self-government,—the right of the people to make their own Constitution, and come into the Union with slavery or without it, as they see proper,—shall again arise, you will find me standing firm in the defense[1] of that principle, and fighting whoever fights it. ["Right, right," "Good, good," and cheers.] If Buchanan stands, as I doubt not he will, by the recommendation contained in his Message, that hereafter all State constitutions ought to be submitted to the people before the admission of the State into the Union, he will find me standing by him firmly, shoulder to shoulder, in carrying it out I know Mr. Lincoln's object: he wants to divide the Democratic party, in order that he may defeat me and get to the Senate.

Mr. Douglas's time here expired, and he stopped on the moment.

Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder

As Mr. Lincoln arose he was greeted with vociferous cheers. He said:

My Friends: It will readily occur to you that I cannot, in half an hour, notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half; and I hope, therefore, if there be anything that he has said upon which you would like to hear something from me, but which I omit to comment upon, you will bear in mind that it would be expecting an impossibility for me to go over his whole ground. I can but take up some of the points that he has dwelt upon, and employ my half hour specially on them.

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[1] Reads: "in defence" for "in the defense"

The first thing I have to say to you is a word in regard to Judge Douglas's declaration about the "vulgarity and blackguardism" in the audience,—that no such thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat while I was speaking. Now, I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while *I* was speaking, *I* used no "vulgarity or blackguardism" toward any Democrat. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, my friends, I come to all this long portion of the Judge's speech,—perhaps half of it,—which he has devoted to the various resolutions and platforms that have been adopted in the different counties in the different Congressional Districts, and in the Illinois Legislature, which he supposes are at variance with the positions I have assumed before you to-day. It is true that many of these resolutions are at variance with the positions I have here assumed. All I have to ask is that we talk reasonably and rationally about it. I happen to know, the Judge's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, that I have never tried to conceal my opinions, nor tried to deceive any one in reference to them. He may go and examine all the members who voted for me for United States Senator in 1855, after the election of 1854. They were pledged to certain things here at home, and were determined to have pledges from me; and if he will find any of these persons who will tell him anything inconsistent with what I say now, I will resign, or rather retire from the race, and give him no more trouble. [Applause.]

The plain truth is this: At the introduction of the Nebraska policy, we believed there was a new era being introduced in the history of the Republic, which tended to the spread and perpetuation of slavery. But in our opposition to that measure we did not agree with one another in everything. The people in the north end of the State were for stronger measures of opposition than we of the central and southern portions of the State, but we were all opposed to the Nebraska doctrine. We had that one feeling and that one sentiment in common. You at the north end met in your Conventions and passed your resolutions. We in the middle of the State and further south did not hold such Conventions and pass the same resolutions, although we had in general a common view and a common sentiment. So that these meetings which the Judge has alluded to, and the resolutions he has read from, were local, and did not spread over the whole State. We at last met together in 1856, from all parts of the State, and we agreed upon a common platform. You who held more extreme notions, either yielded those notions, or, if not wholly yielding them, agreed to yield them practically, for the sake of embodying the opposition to the measures which the opposite party were pushing forward at that time. We met you then and if there was anything yielded, it was for practical purposes. We agreed then upon a platform for the party throughout the entire State of Illinois, and now we are all bound, as a party, *to that platform.* And I say here to you, if any one expects of me—in the case of my election—that I will do anything not signified by our Republican platform and my answers here to-day, I tell you very frankly that person will be deceived.

I do not ask for the vote of any one who supposes that I have secret purposes or pledges that I dare not speak out. Cannot the Judge be satisfied? If he fears, in the unfortunate case of my election, [laughter] that my going to Washington will enable me to advocate sentiments contrary to those which I expressed when you voted for and elected me, I assure him that his fears are wholly needless and groundless. Is the Judge really afraid of any such thing? [Laughter.] I'll tell you what he is afraid of. *He is afraid we'll all pull together.* [Applause and cries of "We will! we will!"] This is what alarms him more than anything else. [Laughter.] For my part, I do hope that all of us, entertaining a common sentiment in opposition to what appears to us a design to nationalize and perpetuate slavery, will waive minor differences on questions which either belong to the dead past or the distant future, and all pull together in this struggle. What are your sentiments? ["We will! We will!" loud cheers.] If it be true that on the ground which I occupy,—ground which I occupy as frankly and boldly as Judge Douglas does his,—my views, though partly coinciding with yours, are not as perfectly in accordance with your feelings as his are, I do say to you in all candor, go for him, and not for me. I hope to deal in all things fairly with Judge Douglas, and with the people of the State, in this contest. And if I should never be elected to any office, I trust I may go down with no stain of falsehood upon my reputation, notwithstanding the hard opinions Judge Douglas chooses to entertain of me. [Laughter.]

The Judge has again addressed himself to the Abolition tendencies of a speech of mine made at Springfield in June last. I have so often tried to answer what he is always saying on that melancholy theme that I almost turn with disgust from the discussion,—from the repetition of an answer to it. I trust that nearly all of this intelligent audience have read that speech. ["We have! We have!"] If you have, I may venture to leave it to you to inspect it closely, and see whether it contains any of those "bugaboos" which frighten Judge Douglas. [Laughter.]

The Judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have the sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I will do it;[1] but I aver I have not the sense to see how it is to be done. He says I do not declare I would in any event vote for the admission of a Slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported, he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories; I did not merely say that I would dislike to be put to the test, but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a Territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State constitution sanctioning slavery,—a most extraordinary thing, and wholly unlikely[2] to happen,—I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refuses to understand that I said so and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say so. Yet it will be so reported in the printed speech that he cannot help seeing it.

He says if I should vote for the admission of a Slave State I would be voting for a dissolution of the Union, because I hold that the Union cannot permanently exist half Slave and half Free. I repeat that I do not believe this Government *can* endure permanently half Slave and half Free; yet I do not admit, nor does it at all follow, that the admission of a single Slave State will permanently fix the character and establish this as a universal slave nation. The Judge is very happy indeed at working up these quibbles. [Laughter and cheers.] Before leaving the subject of answering questions, I aver as my confident belief, when you come to see our speeches in print, that you will find every question which he has asked me more fairly and boldly and fully answered than he has answered those which I put to him. Is not that so? [Cries of "Yes, yes."] The two speeches may be placed side by side, and I will venture to leave it to impartial judges whether his questions have not been more directly and circumstantially answered than mine.

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[1] "I will do it; but" omitted.

[2] "Ever" inserted after "unlikely."

Judge Douglas says he made a charge upon the editor of the Washington *Union*, *alone*, of entertaining a purpose to rob the States of their power to exclude slavery from their limits. I undertake to say, and I make the direct issue, that he did *not* make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. [Applause.] I will undertake to prove by the record here that he made that charge against more and higher dignitaries than the editor of the Washington *Union*. I am quite aware that he was shirking and dodging around the form in which he put it, but I can make it manifest that he levelled his "fatal blow" against more persons than this Washington editor. Will he dodge it now by alleging that I am trying to defend Mr. Buchanan against the charge? Not at all. Am I not making the same charge myself? [Laughter and applause.] I am trying to show that you, Judge Douglas, are a witness on my side. [Renewed laughter.] I am not defending Buchanan, and I will tell Judge Douglas that in my opinion, when he made that charge, he had an eye farther north than he has to-day. He was then fighting against people who called *him* a Black Republican and an Abolitionist. It is mixed all through his speech, and it is tolerably manifest that his eye was a great deal farther north than it is to-day. [Cheers and laughter.] The Judge says that though he made this charge, Toombs got up and declared there was not a man in the United States, except the editor of the *Union*, who was in favor of the doctrines put forth in that article. And thereupon I understand that the Judge withdrew the charge. Although he had taken extracts from the newspaper, and then from the Lecompton Constitution, to show the existence of a conspiracy to bring about a "fatal blow," by which the States were to be deprived of the right of excluding slavery, it all went to pot as soon as Toombs got up and told him it was not true. [Laughter.]

It reminds me of the story that John Phœnix, the California railroad surveyor, tells. He says they started out from the Plaza to the Mission of Dolores. They had two ways of determining distances. One was by a chain and pins taken over the ground. The other was by a "go-it-ometer,"—an invention of his own,—a three-legged instrument, with which he computed a series of triangles between the points. At night he turned to the chain-man to ascertain what distance they had come, and found that by some mistake he had merely dragged the chain over the ground, without keeping any record. By the "go-it-ometer" he found he had made ten miles. Being skeptical about this, he asked a drayman who was passing how far it was to the Plaza. The drayman replied it was just half a mile; and the surveyor put it down in his book,—just as Judge Douglas says, after he had made his calculations and computations, he took Toombs's statement. [Great laughter.] I have no doubt that after Judge Douglas had made his charge, he was as easily satisfied about its truth as the surveyor was of the drayman's statement of the distance to the Plaza. [Renewed laughter.] Yet it is a fact that the man who put forth all that matter which Douglas deemed a "fatal blow" at State sovereignty, was elected by the Democrats as public printer.

Now, gentlemen, you may take Judge Douglas's speech of March 22d, 1858, beginning about the middle of page 21, and reading to the bottom of page 24, and you will find the evidence on which I say that he did not make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. I cannot stop to read it, but I will give it to the reporters. Judge Douglas said:—

"Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the *Washington Union* editorially, and apparently *authoritatively*, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of persons and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the Government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

"Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article, giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton Constitution. It was in these words:—

''KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone—'

"And a column, nearly, of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union.* What is it?

"'ARTICLE 7, *Section* 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as invariable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.'

"Then in the schedule is a provision that the Constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"'But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves.'

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article in the *Washington Union* of the day previous to its indorsement of this Constitution.

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of the Union."

Here, he says, "Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly, and apparently *authoritatively.*" By whose authority, Judge Douglas? [Great cheers and laughter.] Again, he says in another place, "It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article." *By whose authority?* [Renewed cheers.] Who do you mean to say authorized the publication of these articles? He knows that the *Washington Union* is considered the organ of the Administration. *I* demand of Judge Douglas *by whose authority* he meant to say those articles were published, if not by the authority of the President of the United States and his Cabinet? I defy him to show whom he referred to, if not to these high functionaries in the Federal Government. More than this, he says the articles in that paper and the provisions of the Lecompton Constitution are "identical," and, being identical, he argues that the authors are co-operating and conspiring together. He does not use the word "conspiring," but what other construction can you put upon it? He winds up with this:—

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union."

I ask him if all this fuss was made over the editor of this newspaper.

[Laughter.] It would be a terribly "*fatal* blow" indeed which a single man could strike, when no President, no Cabinet officer, no member of Congress, was giving strength and efficiency to the movement. Out of respect to Judge Douglas's good sense I must believe he did not manufacture his idea of the "fatal" character of that blow out of such a miserable scapegrace as he represents that editor to be. But the Judge's eye is farther south now. [Laughter and cheers.] Then, it was very peculiarly and decidedly north. His hope rested on the idea of enlisting[1] the great "Black Republican" party, and making it the tail of his new kite. [Great laughter.] He knows he was then expecting from day to day to turn Republican, and place himself at the head of our organization. He has found that these despised "Black Republicans" estimate him by a standard which he was taught them only too well. Hence he is crawling back into his old camp, and you will find him eventually installed in full fellowship among those whom he was then battling, and with whom he now pretends to be at such fearful variance. [Loud applause, and cries of "Go on, go on."] I cannot, gentlemen, my time has expired.

[*Chicago Times*, August 29, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN.—THE DISCUSSION AT FREEPORT

Douglas and Lincoln.—15,000 Present!—Lincoln on Pledges.—Lincoln "Aint Pledged" to Anything! Lincoln Asks Questions! Lincoln Gets Answered!—A Leak Takes Place.—The "Lion" Frightened the "Dog"!—Lincoln Gets Weak! Lincoln a Fountain!!—Speeches of the Candidates

Friday was the day appointed for the joint discussion at Freeport between Douglas and Lincoln.

On Thursday night Judge Douglas reached Freeport from Galena, and was met at the depot by a vast multitude of persons. As he stepped upon the platform, he was greeted with tremendous shouts and cheers. A grand salute was fired at the same time, which, as it resounded through the city, gave notice to the people that the champion of popular rights had arrived, and thousands of persons flocked from the hotels and from all parts of the city, swelling the assemblage to not less than five thousand persons. A procession was formed, and, with not less than a thousand torches, music, the cheers of people, and the thunders of the cannon,

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[1] Reads: "visiting" for "enlisting."

Judge Douglas was escorted to the Brewster House. When the head of the procession reached the hotel, the ranks opened, and the carriage containing the people's guest drove up to the door. At this moment the scene was the grandest ever beheld in Freeport. The whole area of the streets in the vicinity of the hotel was densely packed; a few squares off, the cannon was belching forth its notes of welcome; a thousand torches blazed with brilliancy; the crowd cheered lustily, and from windows, balconies, house-tops, etc., there were to be seen the smiling faces and waving handkerchiefs of ladies.

. . . .

FRIDAY'S PROCEEDINGS

On Friday the day was heavy, and weather chilly and damp, yet, at two o'clock, there had assembled at the grove on the outskirts of the town, a multitude numbering not less than 15,000 persons, many of them ladies. Hon. Thomas J. Turner was moderator on the part of the Republicans, and Col. Mitchell on the part of the Democrats. At two o'clock the discussion commenced, and we give the speeches in the order that they were delivered.

A PRELIMINARY SCENE

Mr. Lincoln—*Fellow Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen*—

Deacon Bross—Hold on, Lincoln. You can't speak yet. Hitt ain't here, and there is no use of your speaking unless the *Press and Tribune* has a report.

Mr. Lincoln—Ain't Hitt here? Where is he?

A Voice.—Perhaps he is in the crowd.

Deacon Bross—(After adjusting the green shawl around his classic shoulders, after the manner of McVicker in Brutus, advanced to the front of the stand and spoke.) If Hitt is in this crowd he will please to come forward. Is Hitt in the crowd? If he is, tell him Mr. Bross of the Chicago *Press and Tribune* wants him to come up here on the stand to make a verbatim report for the only paper in the Northwest that has enterprise enough to publish speeches in full.

Joe Medill—That's the talk.

Herr Kriesman here wiped his spectacles and looked into the crowd to see if he could distinguish Hitt.

A Voice—If Hitt ain't here, I know a young man from our town that can make nearly a verbatim report, I guess. Shall I call him?

Deacon Bross—Is he here.

A Voice—"Yes, I see him, his name is Hitch."

Loud cries for "Hitch" were made, and messengers ran wildly about enquiring "where is Hitch?" "where is Hitch?"

After a delay, the moderator decided that the speaking must go on.

Deacon Bross—"Well, wait, (taking a chair) I'll report the speech. Lincoln you can go on now. I'll report you."

. . . .

Mr. Lincoln, though he had five minutes of his time left, then took his seat.

During the delivery of Douglas' speech Lincoln was very uneasy; he could not sit still, nor would his limbs sustain him while standing. He was shivering, quaking, trembling, and his agony during the last fifteen minutes of Judge Douglas' speech was positively painful to the crowd who witnessed his behavior. The weather was lowering, and occasionally showering, and this, together with the fearful blows of Douglas, had a terrible effect upon Lincoln. He lost all his natural powers, and it was discovered that wherever he moved about the stand there was a leak from the roof or elsewhere. The leak seemed to be confined to the "spot" where Lincoln stood; his boots glistened with the dampness, which seemed to have the attribute of mercy for

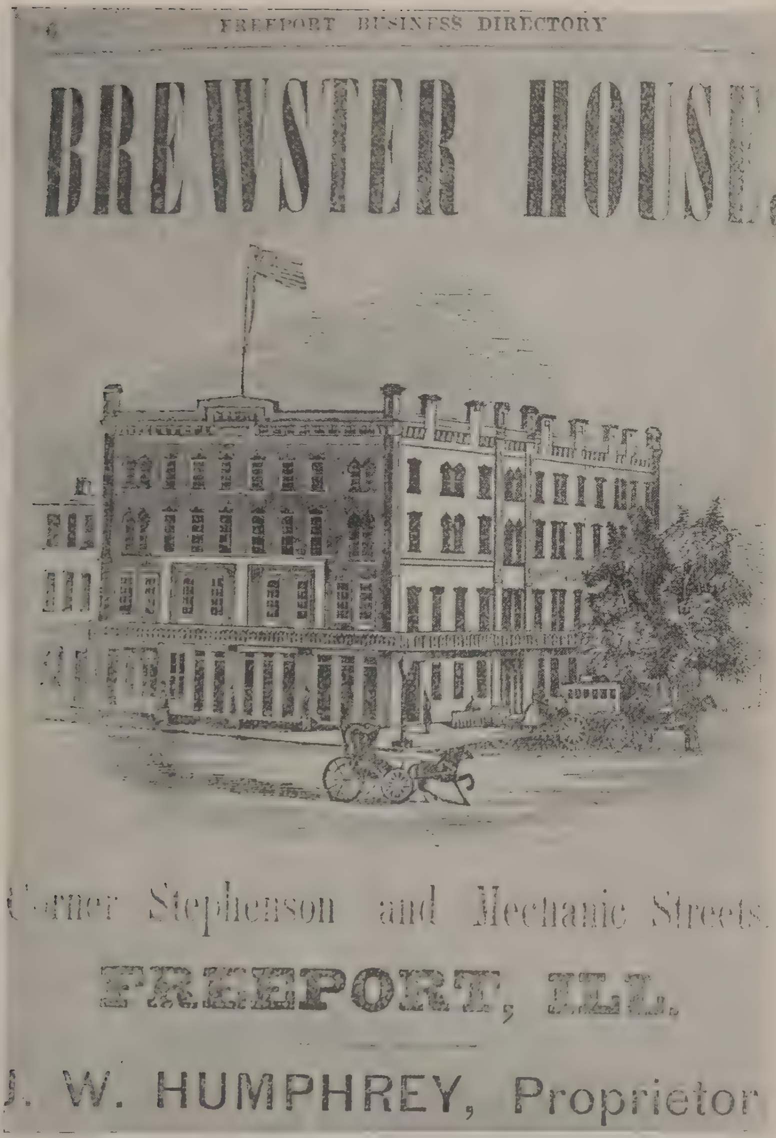
> It droppeth like the gentle *rain*
> Upon the *place beneath.*

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 30, 1858]

GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT FREEPORT

Fifteen Thousand Persons Present.—The Dred Scott Champion "Trotted Out" and "Brought to His Milk."—It Proves to Be Stump-Tailed.—Great Caving-in on the Ottawa Forgery.—He Was "Conscientious" about It.—Why Chase's Amendment Was Voted Down.—Lincoln Tumbles Him All over Stephenson County.—Verbatim Report of Lincoln's Speech.—Douglas' Reply and Lincoln's Rejoinder

The second great debate between Lincoln and Douglas came off at Freeport, on Friday afternoon. The day broke chilly, cloudy and lowering. Alternations of wind, and sunshine filled up the forenoon. At twelve o'clock the weather settled dismally, cold and damp, and the afternoon carried out the promise of the morning with the single exception of the rain.



6 FREEPORT BUSINESS DIRECTORY

BREWSTER HOUSE.

Corner Stephenson and Mechanic Streets.

FREEPORT, ILL.

J. W. HUMPHREY, Proprietor

FREEPORT, ILLINOIS—THE BREWSTER HOUSE, 1860

Lincoln was the guest of this hotel at the time of the debate

The crowd, however, was enormous. At nine o'clock the Carroll County delegation came in with a long procession headed by a band of music and a banner on which was inscribed:

CARROLL COUNTY
FOR
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

At ten o'clock a special train from Amboy, Dixon and Polo, arrived with twelve cars crowded full. Mr. Lincoln was on this train, and some two thousand citizens of Freeport and vicinity had assembled to escort him to the Brewster House. Six deafening cheers were given as our next Senator stepped from the cars; after which the whole company formed in procession and escorted him around the principal streets to the elegant hotel. Here the reception speech was delivered by Hon. Thomas J. Turner—to which Mr. Lincoln responded in a few appropriate remarks. Half an hour later a train of eight cars arrived from Galena. Another procession was formed, preceded by a banner on which was inscribed :

THE GALENA LINCOLN CLUB.

The delegation marched to the Brewster House and gave three rousing cheers for Abraham Lincoln. Mr. L. appeared on the balcony and returned his thanks amid a storm of applause. But the special train on the Galena road from Rockford, Marengo and Belvidere, eclipsed the whole—*consisting of sixteen cars and over a thousand persons*. They also marched to the Brewster House with a national flag bearing the words:

WINNEBAGO COUNTY
FOR
"OLD ABE"

Mr. Lincoln was again called out and received with loud cheers.

Douglas arrived in the town on Thursday evening and was escorted from the depot by what purported to be a torchlight procession. It was held to be a torchlight procession by a number of Dred Scottites who were in the secret, but with the mass of the community it passed for a small pattern, candle-box mob of Irishmen and street urchins. "Plenty of torches, *gentlemen!*" cried the chief lictor,—"plenty of torches; won't cost you a cent." "Don't be afraid of 'em." He succeeded in "passing" about seventy-five of them. The rest will be good for the next time.

At two o'clock the people rushed to the grove, a couple of squares in the rear of the Brewster House. The crowd was about one-third larger than that at Ottawa. It formed a vast circle around a pyramid of lumber in the center, which had been erected for the speakers and reporters.

. . . .

In the essence of billingsgate DOUGLAS transcended his Ottawa performance. He threw mud in great handfuls. So disgusting was his language that the people on the ground peremptorily hushed him up, three times. After a copious volley of phrases from the cock-pit, he bellowed out "You Black Republicans" to his audience, who stopped him right in his tracks, and ordered him to say "white," or to leave off the adjective entirely. Twice did he essay to go on, and twice did the people bring him to, and make him take a fresh start. Good for old Stephenson!

[*Evening Post*, New York, September 2, 1858]

THE SENATORIAL CONTEST IN ILLINOIS

[From our Special Correspondent]

FREEPORT, ILL., Friday, August 27, 1858

To-day was set apart as the occasion of the second discussion between Lincoln and Douglas, and Freeport has the distinguished honor. It is a day fruitful in debate, and abundantly refreshing to hotel and saloon keepers, who stand aghast at the multitudes to be fed. There is an immense throng here, larger than that at Ottawa, and larger, it is admitted, than that at the great Fremont demonstration here, two years ago. By the Illinois Central and the Chicago and Galena railroads, by boats on the Pecatonic, and by divers vehicles, the masses have come. The Rockford train brought eighteen cars filled. The Dixon train brought twelve, and others in proportion. All prairiedom has broken loose. Banners wave unyielding devotion to "Old Abe Lincoln," and unfettering faith in "Douglas and Popular Sovereignty." Cotton mottoes proclaim a similar creed, and small flags upon the horses announce a like truth. The town, which has a population of 7,000 has an outside delegation of many more, and the streets are fairly black with people. It would be uncomfortable, if it were hot and sunny; but the weather is cool and cloudy.

Mr. Douglas arrived last night, and was greeted with a turn-out of torches, a salvo of artillery, and a stunning illumination of the hotel.

Mr. Lincoln came in this morning by the Dixon train, and was received at the depot by a host of staunch friends, who roared themselves hoarse on his appearance. The forenoon was occupied with the receptions and levees of the distinguished orators, and by a free interchange of political views and speculation among the masses, that blocked up every avenue of approach to anywhere.

After dinner the crowd hurried to a grove near the hotel, where the speakers' stand and the seats for listeners has been arranged. Here also were confusion and disorder. They have a wretched way in Illinois of leaving the platform unguarded and exposed to the forcible entry of the mob, who seize upon it an hour or so before the notabilities arrive, and turn a deaf ear to all urgent appeals to evacuation. Hence orators, committee of reception, invited guests, and last, but not least, the newspaper gentry, have to fight a hand-to hand conflict for even the meagerest chance for standing room. This consumes half an hour or so, during which the crowd, taking their cue from those of high places, improvise a few scuffles for position among themselves.

. . . .

Yours truly,

Bayou

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 31, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

The Joint Discussion at Freeport.—Reception of Senator Douglas.—Torch-light Procession.—The Excitement Commencing.—The Lincoln Reception.—High Times

Freeport, Stephenson Co., Ill., August 27, 1858

The excitement which I had thought had run to its extremest intensity in this State, as connected with the canvass, is largely on the increase. In so far I was mistaken, for crowds which were heretofore great are now greater. If this displeases our friends of the Republican party, they can feel that it is to a great extent their own fault, whereat good Democrats may laugh, for the falsehoods and false reports which of late they have sent floating thick through the air, until there is a very murkiness of disorder around the districts infested by their evil cogitations, are commencing like curses and chickens to come home to roost. These lying reports have been devised by the Republican committee, which meets every evening at the office of the *Press and Tribune* for the purpose of squaring up the reports sent in by Lincoln's hired reporters, and to see that they tell the tale of his progress as Republican leaders can best afford to let the readers of their circulating mediums peruse them. I speak on no hypothesis, for it is beyond denial that the committee does so meet on nearly every evening, and that the Black Republican gubernatorial aspirant for 1860, Mr. Judd, is constantly running in to see that all goes on according to gunter.

Judge Douglas arrived at this place, the second on his second list of appointments, last evening, when he was made to be the recipient of honors which would well become the crowned head of a monarch. Napoleon or Victoria, passing to Cherbourg, through towns of equal size with this, followed by the proud pageantry of modern monarchical show, never fell in with such enthusiastic greeting, such cordial welcome of vociferous applause as fell to his share when he stepped from the railroad car into this, which is claimed to be a Black Republican town. There was no Mayor in scarlet robes, supported by potbellied Aldermen to deliver him keys of gold, no cringing and fawning employees, no standing multitudes gaping upon hereditary greatness, but there was a shout—oh, such a shout—as in times of yore they were wont to describe as making the "welkin ring." There were not multitudes of people obeying the behests of titled lords, or following the command of some flattering courtier, but there were thousands of men whose sovereignty is in their own hands, and whose votes are the tokens of their unbought and unpurchasable rights.

But a new feature has here been introduced into the reception. By the side of every main street there are flaming torches, each with a living bearer; a field piece is yielding from its unswelling and untiring throat the echo of those glorious shouts, banners are waving, and the gloom of the evening is dissipated by the flooding of light, and concealed by those waving colors, which, as the breeze sweeps by, stir and rustle in like tones of jubilee.

Such a shout and such an echo as that I have spoken of, could not but find the Senator at his feet, when he would have bowed his acknowledgment, had it not been that these people, in their glee, captured him, to make him first see how they welcomed the favorite son of Illinois. They took him to the carriage which was in waiting hard by to the line of procession, which they formed. First was the band, discoursing sweet sounds; then the committee of arrangements, with Mr. Douglas; then came the hosts of citizens who tendered the honor. On the left hand and on the right, in regular order, marched but a few paces apart, perhaps a thousand men, each carrying a lighted torch. As the procession passed through these lines of torches, they closed in and became part of the parading mass.

Thus escorted the Senator was taken to the Brewster House, a large and very fine hotel opened within the last few months. Here Mr. Mitchell a prominent Democrat of this place, and a man of large influence, having been delegated thereto, made him a reception speech.

. . . .

But let me hurry. There has been another reception. Lincoln arrived in town this morning and his political friends raking the earth all around have paraded their strength, having at that the benefit of all the delegations, Democrat and Abolition, that came in. Their cannon did as good service as did that for Douglas, it was likely the same piece, but they could not come the torches, nor could they make the cheers which the Black Republicans so much covet, rise above the yell of a defeated pack of "living dogs." The only flag they had among them had lost its color—it looked as though it had been of a variety trailed in the dust, as without doubt it was, when at Ottawa Lincoln on last Saturday stood and shivered at the side of Douglas as he exposed his nigger-loving propensities.

Well, these folks, numbering perchance a thousand men, got themselves into order, they walked in procession up the main street, where, of course, they were followed by the Democrats who had been compelled to come on the same cars. They took Lincoln to the Brewster House and then adjourned to meet the Rockford people and such others as should come by the cars from that region. These made quite a procession, they having filled some eleven cars; of course they all marched up to the house together and Lincoln was "toted" out to the balcony, when lo! these folks sent up a shout for Douglas, which showed how the wind blew in that quarter at any rate.

As I write it is estimated that there are upward of ten thousand people in town, but of this I shall be able better to inform you in my next.

B. B.

[*Freeport, Ill., Journal*, September 2, 1858]

THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

At Freeport, August 27th, 1858.—A Tremendous Crowd Present.—Douglas Abuses the Republicans!—Gets Paid off in His Own Coin! And Gets Mad about It!—Lincoln Too Much for Him!!

On Friday last this city witnessed one of the largest outpourings of the masses ever known in Northern Illinois. They commenced coming the day before, upon the regular trains, and from that time until noon of Friday, by regular trains and extra trains from every direction, and by teams from this and adjoining counties, the tide kept flowing in. Some of the trains came in with 18 passenger cars completely jammed full. The crowd in attendance is variously estimated. It could not have been less than 10,000, and it probably did not exceed 20,000 people.

Mr. Douglas reached the city on Thursday evening and was met at the depot by his friends, and made a brief reception speech at the Brewster House.

On Friday morning at 10 o'clock Lincoln arrived on an extra train from the South, and was welcomed at the depot by an immense assemblage of Republicans. He was saluted by the firing of cannons and escorted by a large procession headed by a Band of music, with banners, to the Brewster House, where a speech of welcome was made by Hon. T. J. Turner, to which Mr. Lincoln briefly responded in a happy style. All away along the route of the procession he was received with the most unbounded enthusiasm, cheer after cheer for the man of the people, the Champion of Free Labor, rending the air. It was plainly evident that a very large majority of the multitude present, had no sympathy with the party that endorsed Dred Scott, or with their unprincipled leader. Jo Daviess, Carroll, Winnebago and Ogle Counties were all represented by enthusiastic Republicans, bearing banners with appropriate inscriptions, and evincing an enthusiasm and zeal which betokens auspicious results. But we have not room for the particulars we should be glad to give. Want of space compels us to omit much that might be said.

At a little before two o'clock the speakers were escorted to the speaking stand—Arrangements had been made by the Douglasites to escort their champion over in a splendid carriage, drawn by white horses. The Republicans chose a more appropriate conveyance for "Old Abe," he being a man of the people and not an aristocrat, and chartered a regular old-fashioned Pennsylvania wagon, to which were attached six horses, all with the old "strap" harness, and the driver riding one of the wheel horses. Abe was seated in the wagon, together with about a dozen good, solid, old-fashioned farmers, the "bone and sinew" of the land, and they were greeted with hearty rounds of cheers as they passed along. The Douglasites concluded that the "white horse" arrangement wouldn't be popular after such a truly democratic display, and backed out of it. At two o'clock the speaking commenced, Mr. Lincoln being introduced by Hon. T. J. Turner, Moderator on the part of the Republicans, Mr. Lincoln spoke for one hour.

DOUGLAS' MANNERS—During the whole of Mr. Lincoln's opening speech at the discussion on Friday last, Mr. Douglas sat near him smoking a cigar, and puffing out its fumes for the benefit of the Speaker and the Ladies who were so unfortunate as to be in the immediate vicinity of this "Shortboy Senator." Take this in connection with the ridiculous exhibition he made of himself when in his "mad" fit, and what a specimen does he afford of an American Statesman! A libel upon the race of heroes. . . . .

[*Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, September 3, 1858]

PROGRESS OF THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN

Second Meeting of the Rival Senatorial Candidates.—Debate between Lincoln and Douglas at Freeport.—Fifteen Thousand Persons Present

Notwithstanding the combined drawbacks of wind and rain, the second debate between Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas, which took place at Freeport, Illinois on Friday last, attracted even a larger crowd than that which greeted the contestants at Ottawa, on the Saturday preceding. About 15,000 persons were present, a gain of one-third on the former attendance.

At their first meeting the advantage of opening and closing the discussion was enjoyed by Douglas, while at the second, Lincoln in turn had the first and last word.

In a repeated consideration of the same topics, there must of necessity be in general, a rehearsal of the same arguments, although circumstances will exert more or less influence in reproducing them in new lights and connections.

In some respects the debate at Freeport was more interesting than that at Ottawa. Having once measured their own strength, and felt the full weight of their antagonist's attacks, the combatants were respectively more at ease, and were prepared to enforce their strong points with greater zeal, to correct their mistakes, supply their deficiencies, and bring to bear new aids upon what had been too lightly touched on.

[*Chicago Journal*, August 28, 1858]

THE LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS DEBATE AT FREEPORT

From 15,000 to 20,000 People Present.—Lincoln Answers and Asks Some Questions.—Douglas Gets into a Passion

There was an immense assemblage of the people of Northern Illinois at Freeport yesterday. They came down from above, and came up from below, in scores and hundreds. All the regular railroad trains and one or two special excursion trains, both on Thursday afternoon and on Friday morning, brought in great crowds, and hundreds of others came in with teams from all directions.

Senator Douglas reached Freeport the evening previous, and was honored with the show of a public reception by his friends, and made a short address from the Brewster House balcony.

Mr. Lincoln arrived by the Illinois Central train at about 9 o'clock Friday morning and was saluted by the cannon and received by a large procession of Republicans, on whose behalf Hon. T J. Turner of Freeport, made the speech of welcome. He was conducted to the Brewster House, where he made a most happy speech of acknowledgment. From the moment he came out of the cars till he entered his room in the hotel, the streets were made perfectly clamorous with shouts and hurrahs for Lincoln. He tried in vain to enjoy a few hours of retirement at the hotel; the multitude insisted upon his "showing himself" again on the balcony, and of greeting him with hearty shakes of his right hand. The *people*, on this occasion, were Lincoln men—there being four Republicans present to every Douglasite. Northern Illinois is "all right," and no mistake.

At two o'clock, the mass of people had surrounded the platform that had been erected in a large vacant lot in the rear of the Brewster House, and the debate commenced, Mr. Lincoln opening in a speech of an hour; Douglas following in a reply of an hour and a half; and Mr. Lincoln concluding in a half hour speech.

[*Illinois State Register*, September 1, 1858]

THE FREEPORT DEBATE.—SECOND ROUT OF LINCOLN

We give today, from the report of the *Chicago Times*, the first half of the second debate between Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas, at Freeport We shall complete it to-morrow. We regret that our space prevents our giving the whole in a single issue of our daily. In this bout Mr. Lincoln led off, and, consequently, had the conclusion. Mr. L., did not recover any of the ground lost at Ottawa. He was only involved deeper in the intricate mazes of his inconsistency. He seems to have learned a "Yankee trick" during his northern tour—of asking questions in response to those put to him. In this he was foiled. Douglas promptly replied, while Lincoln again shuffled and quibbled upon the leading points of the black republican creed. We have given the Ottawa debate in full, and shall give the Freeport. In these our readers can judge for themselves as to the merits of the debates, which afford their own comment. With such a succession of disasters, it is no wonder that the sachems of his party sit here in secret conclave three or four days debating as to what had better be done with their candidate, and the best means of getting him from before the public, who are daily witnessing his discomfiture and the withering contrast between himself and Douglas.

We invite the special attention of our readers to Lincoln's speech, and Douglas' reply. We suggest to them to lay away the paper for future reference. The *Journal* will, probably, keep this debate from its readers, as it did the Ottawa debate. The editors prefer giving their lying versions of the contest between the two men to the verbatim report of their debates. Keep the debate by you, to refute the lies and misrepresentations in regard to it which the lying organs of Lincoln will put forth.

[*Illinois State Journal*, August 30, 1858]

THE GREAT DEBATE AT FREEPORT BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

Carroll county mustered several thousand strong. Jo Daviess sent over nine carloads including the Lincoln Club of Galena. Large delegations came in from Rockford and other points, and all with their banners and bands of music.

Douglas arrived the night before the discussion but met with a poor reception. Lincoln came in on the morning train from Amboy at 10 o'clock. Full five thousand strong received him at the depot, and escorted him to the hotel where he made a short speech which set the crowd in a blaze of enthusiasm. He was several times afterwards called out by the various delegations, who as they arrived, paraded in quest of his quarters to pay their respects to him.

At two o'clock P. M., he was wheeled to the place appointed for the speaking in a cannestoga wagon, drawn by six white horses. A tremendous hurrah went up as the crowd joined in the procession and march, the music playing and the flags and banners waving in all directions. Douglas was to have been driven out in his splendid six-horse coach, but when he saw Lincoln's equipments, he backed out of the arrangement.

[*New York Daily Tribune*, September 9, 1858]

FROM CHICAGO

Douglas and Lincoln.—Blunders Corrected

[Correspondence of the *N. Y. Tribune*]

CHICAGO, Sept. 1, 1858

Douglas and Lincoln have had two encounters before the people. The first was at Ottawa, in La Salle County, where the strong point of the Judge's speech was a forgery, set off and illustrated by the most virulent abuse of his opponents. Trumbull in particular came in for a large share of these compliments, which the Judge dispenses with a grace all his own. "Liar," "sneak," "coward," these are some of the Douglassian flowers of rhetoric.

He is rather more cautious how he talks about Lincoln, "Long Abe" being a man of Kentucky raising, and one who might fight—and "Little Dug" is well known to be a bully who only insults peaceable men. He could talk in the Senate about kicking Charles Sumner; but J. J. Crittenden shut him up very quickly when he tried to play off his arrogance upon the old Kentuckian.

The second meeting was at Freeport, Stephenson County, and the largest part of the audience being Republicans, Douglas adopted the same tactics which he used at Chicago some years ago. He deliberately insulted the audience, in order to provoke them to interrupt him, so that he might make capital for himself by the cry of persecution and unfairness. On both occasions Lincoln made the best impression. He is an earnest, fluent speaker, with a very good command of language, and he ran the Judge so hard that the latter quite lost his temper.

Douglas is no beauty, but he certainly has the advantage of Lincoln in looks. Very tall and awkward, with a face of grotesque ugliness, he presents the strongest possible contrast to the thick set, burly bust and short legs of the Judge. They tell this story of Lincoln in Southern Illinois, where he resides:

Being out in the woods hunting, he fell in with a most truculent looking hunter, who immediately took a sight on him with his rifle.

"Halloo!" says Lincoln. "What are you going to do, stranger!"

"See here, friend; the folks in my settlement told me if ever I saw a man uglier than I was, then I must shoot him; and I've found him at last."

"Well," said Lincoln, after a good look at the man, "shoot away; for if I am really uglier than you are, I don't want to live any longer!"

But you will see him in Washington, and then you can form your own opinion as to his looks. We mean to send him there.

. . . .

SAUGANASH

[*Evening Post*, New York, September 7, 1858]

THE SENATORIAL CANVASS OF ILLINOIS

[From our Special Correspondent.]

CHICAGO, ILL., September 2, 1858

. . . .

On the other hand, it was very evident that Mr. Douglas was "cornered" by the questions put to him by Mr. Lincoln. He claimed to be the upholder of the Dred Scott decision, and also of popular sovereignty. He was asked to reconcile the two. He said that the people of a territory had the right to exclude slavery before the territory comes in as a state, and that whatever the Supreme Court might decide, it made no difference, for the people of a territory need not pass the needful local laws and police regulations to protect and enforce the right to slaves. This is opposed to the language of the Supreme Court, "that no tribunal, whether legislative, executive or judicial, has a right to deny to it (slavery) the benefit of the provisions and guaranties which have been provided for private property against the encroachments of the government;" while Mr. Buchanan, in his New Haven letter, says that "slavery exists in Kansas under the constitution of the United States," a point "settled by the highest tribunal known to our laws."

Senator Douglas, in his speech, came directly in collision with the Dred Scott decision, with Mr. Buchanan, and with the sentiment of democrats "pure and undefiled," who walk in Administration paths and are warmed by a southern sun.

. . . .

The next joint discussion between Lincoln and Douglas is at Jonesboro, (Egypt), near Cairo, on the 15th. It is at this place that Mr. Douglas said he would "trot Lincoln out." In that hitherto thoroughly democratic district Mr. Douglas thinks that Mr. Lincoln dares not avow his sentiments. There he can prove, to his own content and to the entire satisfaction of his hearers, that Lincoln is an "amalgamationist." There, too—and the knife has a double edge—he must be wary how he calls a Supreme Court decision an "abstraction," and how he prates of popular sovereignty as taught by him in 1854, and before the later discoveries and improvements in democratic science. Away down there, "on Egypt's dark sea," there floats but occasionally a Republican bark; but Lincoln will nail his colors to the mast, and proclaim his Freeport doctrines as earnestly and as freely as if he stood surrounded by the constituents of Washburne or Lovejoy.

. . . .

Yours, &c.,

BAYOU

[*Chicago Times*, October 1, 1858]

BLACK REPUBLICAN OUTRAGES

The Black Republicans evidently intend to be consistent in one thing—and for that one thing, unfortunately, they have fixed on ruffianism.—Until the joint discussion at Freeport, when Lincoln was proven to be no match of Douglas, the contest was free from any overt insults; but the mortification of the Black Republicans was then so overwhelming, that it only found relief in violence towards the man who occasioned it.—It will be remembered that after Lincoln had been listened to attentively, and when Douglas went upon the stand, some villain threw at the latter a melon, hitting him on one shoulder. Nor was that the only indecent act perpetrated by the enemies of the Democracy at that place; but the Democratic speakers, preferring to deal in argumentation rather than with bludgeons, suffered the affronts to pass unredressed. From that day to this the ruffianism of the Black Republicans has steadily increased, and has been applied on all occasions. . . .

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, September 1, 1858]

☞Speaking of Judge Douglas' reception at Freeport on Thursday night, one of his hired puffers, writing an account to the *Times* says:

> A grand salute was fired at the same time, which, as it resounded through the city, gave notice to the people that the champion of popular right had arrived, and thousands of people flocked from the hotels and from all parts of the city, swelling the assemblage to not less than five thousand persons. A procession was formed, and, with not less than a thousand torches, music, the cheers of the people, and the thunders of the cannon, Judge Douglas was escorted to the Brewster House.

We happened to stand on the balcony of the Brewster House all the time embraced in the above fancy picture, and the naked truth is this:

1st. The gun squad fired off their piece some half a dozen times, because they were paid for so doing, to give notice that the champion of Dred Scottism had come to town.

2d. The greatest number of persons did not exceed eight hundred to one thousand at any one time that night.

3d. The "procession," counting loafers and boys, did not number two hundred and fifty persons, and of that number, by actual count, only *seventy-four* carried torches.

[*Chicago Sunday Tribune*, May 9, 1895]

A REMINISCENCE OF LINCOLN

By Joseph Medill

Lincoln's Cunning Questions Put to Douglas at the Freeport Debate

I traveled around with Mr. Lincoln after the Ottawa discussion to Freeport. He addressed three or four meetings during that time, one of them at Galesburg, where he had an immense audience; another at Macomb in McDonough county, where the crowd was comparatively small. As I recollect it we proceeded directly from Macomb to Freeport on the morning of Aug. 27. On the way north on the cars Mr. Lincoln beckoned to me to take a seat beside him—I was sitting a few seats behind him at the time—which I did. He took a half sheet of writing paper out of his pocket and handing it to me said: "I am going to answer Mr. Douglas' questions today in our discussion which he put to me at Ottawa and I intend to ask him a few questions in return, and I jotted them down this morning at the hotel before I left there. I wish you to read them over and tell me what you think of my questions." I did so, reading one of them several times. After a considerable pause he said: "Well, how do those interrogatories strike you?" I replied: "Mr. Lincoln, I do not like the second question." "What's the objection to it?" Mr. Lincoln asked. I replied: "It opens the door through which Senator Douglas will be enabled to escape from the tight place in which he finds himself on the slavery question in this State since he succeeded in getting the Missouri compromise repealed (which excluded slavery from the territories north of 36° 30′, and that included, of course, Kansas and Nebraska)."

We argued at some further length, but I could make no impression whatever on Mr. Lincoln's mind. He said that he wouldn't change the form of the question, and that he intended "to spear it at Douglas that afternoon." In due time we arrived at Freeport and there was a great crowd of Lincoln's friends at the depot with a carriage to take him up to his hotel. The town was swarming with people, great numbers coming from all the adjoining counties. I found at the hotel the Republican member of Congress from that district, E. B. Washburne, with whom I was intimately acquainted, and Norman B. Judd, of Chicago, who was chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

I took each of them aside and related what passed between Lincoln and myself on the cars, and repeated the language of the second question which he intended to propound to Douglas, and both of them said that they feared the ill effects from it, and they would try and persuade Lincoln to leave it out or modify its language. They followed Mr. Lincoln up stairs into his apartments, where he was making his toilet for dinner, as the road had been dusty on the way up, and they spent a considerable time with him. When they came down stairs I saw both of them again, and they informed me that they had argued the impolicy of putting question two to Douglas as strongly as they could, but were not able to change his purpose. Other leaders saw Mr. Lincoln before the debate began and urged him not to give Douglas such an opportunity to get out of the tight place it was believed he was in before the people of Illinois on the slavery question.

Mr. Lincoln opened the discussion in the afternoon, and first replied to Douglas' seven questions put to him at Ottawa, and then said:

"I now proceed to propound to the Judge interrogatories so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward today an installment, only to number four, and reserve the other questions to our next debate."

And thereupon he read his four questions, including the No. 2, to which I have referred. He went on and finished his speech, and Mr. Douglas arose in reply and proceeded to answer the four questions. When he came to No. 2 he realized in his reply my worst fears. He said in substance:

"It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract questions whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the constitution; a majority of the people thereof have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations. These police regulations can only be established by the local Legislature and if the majority of the people of the Territory are opposed to Slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation, effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for Slavery, their Legislature will favor its admission and extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."

That was Senator Douglas' reply to Mr Lincoln's sharp question, and it so pleased the thousands of Democrats present that they cheered and shouted and kept it up so long it was with difficulty the chairman of the meeting, aided by Mr. Douglas himself, could induce them to stop applauding in order that he might proceed with his speech, while Republicans maintained an absolute silence.

The Democratic papers all over Northern Illinois quoted and applauded Douglas' triumphant reply to Mr. Lincoln's interrogatory.

Two or three days after the election of 1860, learning that the active workers of the Republican party in the State were calling on Mr. Lincoln in Springfield from all Illinois to congratulate him on his triumphant election to the Presidency, I concluded to make the same pilgrimage and went down to the Alton cars with a number of other Chicagoans reaching there in the morning. After breakfast I walked up to the old State House in the public square of that city, where Mr. Lincoln was holding his levee in the office of the Secretary of State. He bent his head down to my ear and said in low tones, something like this: "Do you recollect the argument we had on the way up to Freeport two years ago over my question that I was going to ask Judge Douglas about the power of squatters to exclude slavery from territories?" And I replied—that I recollected it very well. "Now," said he, "don't you think I was right in putting that question to him?" I said: "Yes Mr. Lincoln, you were, and we were both right. Douglas' reply to that question undoubtedly hurt him badly for the Presidency but it re-elected him to the Senate at that time as I feared it would."

Lincoln then gave me a broad smile and said—"Now I have won the place that he was playing for" We both laughed and the matter was never again referred to.

REMINISCENCES OF THE FREEPORT DEBATE

Ingalls Carleton, of 1414 East State Street, Freeport, Ill., who is one of the few survivors of the multitude who heard the historic Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport in 1858, has a distinct recollection of it.

The people from this county who heard the debate went from Rockford on the Galena & Chicago Union railroad on a special train which ran from Chicago to Freeport. We got there in the afternoon a while before the hour for speaking. From the railroad depot the train crowd marched to the Brewster Hotel, or rather struggled to it, in pretty fast time, for we all wanted to see Lincoln and Douglas as soon as we could. The street in front of the hotel was full of people, shouting for both of the men, and we joined in the shouting.

Presently Lincoln and Douglas came out on the balcony of the hotel. They stepped out arm in arm and the crowd cheered and cheered. Neither Lincoln or Douglas attempted to say anything. They just stood there for a minute and bowed again and again to the crowd and every time they bowed a bigger shout went up. I must say that Douglas made the most graceful bow. It seemed to be natural for him to bow. Lincoln bowed awkwardly and appeared to be more awkward in comparison with the gracefulness and ease of Douglas. Douglas accepted the plaudits of the people as one who felt that they belonged to him or at least that was the way it seemed.

It was a remarkable contrast that these two men furnished as they stood there, not only in physique but in manner and in attire. Lincoln was tall and ungainly with a lean face, homely and sorrowful looking, while Douglas was short and fat, easy in manner and his full face appeared to be that of a man whose life had been one of success and sunshine. Douglas was dressed in what might have been called plantation style. He was richly dressed. He wore a ruffled shirt much in style in wealthy and aristocratic circles those days, a dark blue coat buttoned close with shiny buttons, light trousers and shiny shoes, with a wide brimmed soft hat like the prosperous politicians of the southern part of Illinois wear to this day. He made a picture fitted for the stage. Lincoln wore that old high stovepipe hat with a coarse looking coat with sleeves far too short, and baggy looking trousers that were so short that they showed his rough boots. The Douglas men laughed at him and said he would be a nice looking object to put into the senate and to tell the truth the Lincoln men couldn't brag much on their man for exhibition purposes.

When it came to the debate, however, the Lincoln men had the laugh on the Douglas men. Of course each crowd thought his man did the best, but it was a fact that the whole crowd felt that Lincoln had Douglas on the hip and that the latter was doing his best under the circumstances. The debate took place not far from the Brewster House and I believe I could walk right to the spot now. The platform wasn't much of an affair. It was three or four feet high and there was just about room on it for the debaters and the reporters. Bob Hitt was one of them. He didn't look much like he does now. He looked like a boy then, which he was, and he was slimly built. The crowd was a big one, but I saw a larger crowd than that in the campaign of 1840. You see no one recognized the importance of that day besides Lincoln.

[HON. CLARK E. CARR, of Galesburg, in an Address before the
Illinois Bar Association, July 11, 1907:]

It was stated, as has been said, that Mr. Lincoln drove Senator Douglas into a corner and forced him to make that reply as the only possible way to save himself from defeat and that he was thus "driven into a corner" and forced to make that reply by Mr. Lincoln for the purpose of defeating him for the Presidency.

On the sixteenth day of July, six weeks before this Freeport debate, Senator Douglas spoke at Bloomington and the speech was published and spread broadcast. Mr. Lincoln was present, sat upon the platform, and heard every word. It was the senator's own meeting and there was no one to reply, no one to ask him a question, no one to drive him into a corner, or to force him to make a statement in order to save himself from defeat. In that speech, before thousands of people, including Mr. Lincoln, Senator Douglas said:

"Slavery will never exist one day, or one hour in any territory against the unfriendly legislation of an unfriendly people. I care not how the Dred Scott discussion may have settled the abstract question, so far as the practical result is concerned, for to use the language of an eminent southern senator on this question:

"'I do not care a fig which way the decision shall be, for it is of no particular consequence; slavery cannot exist a day, nor an hour, in any territory or state, unless it has affirmative laws sustaining and supporting it, furnishing police remedies and regulations and an omission to furnish them would be as fatal as a constitutional prohibition. Without affirmative legislation in its favor, slavery could not exist any longer than a new-born infant could survive under the heat of the sun on a barren rock without protection.'"

After making this quotation from "an eminent southern senator," Douglas proceeded. "Hence, if the people of a territory want slavery they will encourage it, by passing affirmative laws, and the necessary, police regulations, patrol laws, and slave code; if they do not want it, they will withhold that legislation and by withholding it slavery is as dead as if it was prohibited by constitutional prohibition, especially if, in addition, their legislation is unfriendly as it would be if they were opposed to it."

On the next day, Senator Douglas spoke at Springfield and repeated what he had said on this occasion at Bloomington. Mr. Lincoln was not present; but the speech was published in full and Mr. Lincoln, no doubt read it as he read everything said by the senator.

Can anyone believe for a moment that Mr. Lincoln, after hearing Senator Douglas so expound this doctrine, was in doubt as to how he would answer that second interrogatory? Can anyone believe that he thought he was driving his adversary into a corner and forcing him to say what he did in order to save himself from defeat? Can anyone believe Abraham Lincoln to have been so insincere as to have pretended, when talking with friends at Mendota, upon a railway train, or at Freeport, that he was in doubt as to Senator Douglas's position or that he could drive him into a corner?

Senator Douglas was never driven into a corner during all his long career of public life. In all his debates with the greatest American statesman, running through a quarter of a century, he was never driven into a corner. His views in regard to slavery were wrong, radically wrong, as we Republicans then believed and as we still believe, but there was no concealment of them. He was always outspoken and it is an unwarrantable and an outrageous imputation against him to say that he was forced to take a position through being "driven into a corner."

[William Askey, Who Was Present, States Recollection of Event.]

I was an ardent supporter of Mr. Douglas. I was twenty-one years of age at that period and in attendance at the Rock River seminary at Mt. Morris. I came to Freeport in company with others in a hack with four horses attached. We were all enthusiastic and anxious to hear the discussion. We started early and arrived in Freeport before the arrival of the Illinois Central train from the south which brought Mr. Lincoln, and I was one of a number that awaited his arrival. Mr. Martin P. Sweet mounted a box car when the train came in sight and in a loud voice said, "Make the welkin ring when the train arrives," which they did with a vengeance worthy of the memorable occasion.

Mr. Lincoln was taken from the train by his friends. He towered above the crowd, slightly stooping forward, the crowd following, cheering him as though bedlam had an outing. On his arrival at the Brewster House he held a reception, as did Mr. Douglas who arrived the preceding evening.

Just as they were about ready to start to the place of speaking with Mr. Lincoln, who was in a high old English wagon box, the kind used by the Pennsylvania Dutch farmers to haul flour and merchandise in early days, before the time of railroads—as I was taking it in on the opposite side of the street from the Brewster House, I was accosted by Colonel George Walker of Dakota, Ill., also a Douglas man, who asked me whether I had been introduced to Mr. Douglas. I said no, I had not. "Come with me" said he and "I will see that you get an introduction."

I went and being ushered into Mr. Douglas' reception room saw Mr. Douglas in company with Colonel Mitchell and others getting ready to start for the place of speaking. I believe that I was the last person that Mr. Douglas took by the hand before making his memorable trip to the stand. Someone (I think Colonel Mitchell) told him how they were taking Mr. Lincoln.

It had been previously arranged to take Mr. Douglas in a carriage, but when he was told how they were taking Mr. Lincoln he turned to Colonel Mitchell and said, "We will walk," and we started for the place of speaking around the corner of the Brewster House on Mechanic street. Mr. Douglas and Colonel Mitchell walked side by side and others, including Colonel Walker and myself, followed closely. As near as I can remember we walked two blocks and crossed the street diagonally to near or on the spot where the bowlder is placed. There was a platform built in the shadow of two trees which were covered with branches to keep off the sun. My impression is that in speaking to the immense crowd the speakers faced toward where the Stephenson bridge now is. I stood close to the platform during the whole discussion an interested listener I can assure you.

I have seen it stated that Mr. Douglas was stylishly, even foppishly, dressed. To my recollection he was simply and plainly dressed as was also Mr. Lincoln. They both looked to me as men on a political tour trying to make a favorable impression before the people.

[Recollection of General Smith D. Atkins, of Freeport]

At Freeport, Mr. F. W. S. Brawley, postmaster, entertained Mr. Douglas and secured for him the only fine carriage for hire at that time in the village. It was drawn by an elegant span of well-matched dapple grey horses. Learning that it was the intention to convey the Democratic champion in this splendid equipage from Mr. Brawley's residence to the place of speaking, the Republican Committee sent over into Lancaster township for Uncle John Long to come to Freeport with his splendid team of six enormous horses and his Conestoga wagon in which he had recently driven from Pennsylvania. When the vehicle reached the Brewster House and Mr. Lincoln was informed of the plan, he stoutly protested, but eventually consented. Amidst the cheers of Republicans and Democrats alike, he climbed into the wagon, followed by a dozen of his enthusiastic supporters from the farming contingent, and was drawn the short distance to the place of speaking. The driver of the teams sat on the nigh wheel horse and drove the six horses with a single rein. When Douglas saw the evident burlesque on his fine conveyance, he refused to ride in the carriage and walked to the grove, accompanied by his cheering supporters.

CHAPTER VII

THE JONESBORO DEBATE

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, September 15, 1858]

THE DEBATE AT JONESBORO

The third debate between Lincoln and Douglas takes place today at Jonesboro. Douglas has boasted that when he got Lincoln down into Egypt he would "bring him to his milk." Jonesboro is in the heart of Egypt, and here, if ever, the little giant will exhibit himself in the character of milk maid. It is altogether probable that both himself and his milking arrangements will come out of the trial badly damaged. We hope to have full intelligence from the "milk pen" on Friday morning.

[*Chicago Journal*, September 16, 1858]

LETTERS FROM SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

(Special Correspondence of the *Journal*)

Just as we were going to press, we received a letter from Southern Illinois, a portion only of which we can publish today:

CAIRO, Sept. 14, 1858

. . . . Senator Douglas with his cannon arrived here yesterday and made a speech to the assembled Cairoites. Linder, Judge Marshall and John Logan also had their say. We did not get here in time to hear the speeches. In the morning, Douglas and his cannon proceed to Jonesboro, where he meets Mr. Lincoln in debate before the Egyptians, for the first time, tomorrow afternoon. Mr. Lincoln is already there, having come down on the same train which brought us to Cairo. He was received by a number of friends at the Depot, and is the guest of Mr. Dresser.

He feels well, looks strong, and is full of courage, as he has every reason to be. A warm time is expected tomorrow, and we hear some whispers of a proposed attempt on the part of Missourians and Kentuckians, who are coming over to shout for Douglas, to "put down" Lincoln. But we cannot believe that the attempt will be made. Mr. Lincoln will not be without friends at the meeting. We find that he is personally popular even here in Egypt.

THIRD JOINT DEBATE

Jonesboro, September 15, 1858

Mr. Douglas's Speech

Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear before you to-day in pursuance of a previous notice, and have made arrangements with Mr. Lincoln to divide time, and discuss with him the leading political topics that now agitate the country.

Prior to 1854 this country was divided into two great political parties known as Whig and Democratic. These parties differed from each other on certain questions which were then deemed to be important to the best interests of the Republic. Whigs and Democrats differed about a bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury. On those issues we went before the country and discussed the principles, objects, and measures of the two great parties. Each of the parties could proclaim its principles in Louisiana as well as in Massachusetts, in Kentucky as well as in Illinois. Since that period, a great revolution has taken place in the formation of parties, by which they now seem to be divided by a geographical line, a large party in the North being arrayed under the Abolition or Republican banner, in hostility to the Southern States, Southern people, and Southern institutions. It becomes important for us to inquire how this transformation of parties has occurred, made from those of national principles to geographical factions.

You remember that in 1850—this country was agitated from its center to its circumference about this slavery question—it became necessary for the leaders of the great Whig party and the leaders of the great Democratic party to postpone, for the time being, their particular disputes, and unite first to save the Union before they should quarrel as to the mode in which it was to be governed. During the Congress of 1849–'50, Henry Clay was the leader of the Union men, supported by Cass and Webster, and the leaders of the Democracy and the leaders of the Whigs, in opposition to Northern Abolitionists or Southern Disunionists. That great contest of 1850 resulted in the establishment of the Compromise measures of that year, which measures rested on the great principle that the people of each State and each Territory of this Union ought to be permitted to regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject to no other limitation than that which the Federal Constitution imposes.

I now wish to ask you whether that principle was right or wrong which guaranteed to every State and every community the right to form and regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves. These measures were adopted, as I have previously said, by the joint action of the Union Whigs, and Union Democrats in opposition to Northern Abolitionists and Southern Disunionists. In 1852, when the Whig party assembled, at Baltimore, in National Convention for the last time, they adopted the principle of the Compromise Measures of 1850 as their rule of party action in the future. One month thereafter the Democrats assembled at the same place to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, and declared the same great principle as the rule of action by which the Democracy would be governed. The Presidential election of 1852 was fought on that basis. It is true that the Whigs claimed special merit for the adoption of those measures, because they asserted that their great Clay originated them, their god-like Webster defended them, and their Fillmore signed the bill making them the law of the land; but, on the other hand, the Democrats claimed special credit for the Democracy, upon the ground that we gave twice as many votes in both houses of Congress for the passage of these measures as the Whig party.

Thus you see that in the Presidential election of 1852, the Whigs were pledged by their platform and their candidate to the principle of the Compromise Measures of 1850, and the Democracy were likewise pledged by our principles, our platform, and our candidate to the same line of policy, to preserve peace and quiet between the different sections of this Union. Since that period the Whig party has been transformed into a sectional party, under the name of the Republican party, whilst the Democratic party continues the same national party it was at that day. All sectional men, all men of Abolition sentiments and principles, no matter whether they were old Abolitionists or had been Whigs or Democrats, rally under the sectional Republican banner, and consequently all National men, all Union-loving men, whether Whigs, Democrats, or by whatever name they have been known, ought to rally under the Stars and Stripes in defense of the Constitution as our fathers made it, and of the Union as it has existed under the Constitution.

How has this departure from the faith of the Democracy and the faith of the Whig party been accomplished? In 1854, certain restless, ambitious, and disappointed politicians throughout the land took advantage of the temporary excitement created by the Nebraska bill to try and dissolve the old Whig party, and the old Democratic party, to Abolitionize their members, and lead them, bound hand and foot, captives into the Abolition camp. In the State of New York a convention was held by some of these men, and a platform adopted, every plank of which was as black as night, each one relating to the negro, and not one referring to the interests of the white man. That example was followed throughout the Northern States, the effort being made to combine all the Free States in hostile array against the Slave States. The men who thus thought that they could build up a great sectional party, and through its organization control the political destinies of this country, based all their hopes on the single fact that the North was the stronger division of the nation, and hence, if the North could be combined against the South, a sure victory awaited their efforts.

I am doing no more than justice to the truth of history when I say that in this State, Abraham Lincoln, on behalf of the Whigs, and Lyman Trumbull, on behalf of the Democrats, were the leaders who undertook to perform this grand scheme of Abolitionizing the two parties to which they belonged. They had a private arrangement as to what should be the political destiny of each of the contracting parties before they went into the operation. The arrangement was that Mr. Lincoln was to take the Old Line Whigs with him, claiming that he was still as good a Whig as ever, over to the Abolitionists, and Mr. Trumbull was to run for Congress in the Belleville District, and claiming to be a good Democrat, coax the old Democrats into the Abolition camp, and when, by the joint efforts of the Abolitionized Whigs, the Abolitionized Democrats, and the Old Line Abolition and Free-soil party of this State, they should secure a majority in the Legislature. Lincoln was then to be made United States Senator in Shields's place, Trumbull remaining in Congress until I should be accommodating enough to die or resign, and give him a chance to follow Lincoln. [Laughter, applause and cries of "Don't die."] That was a very nice little bargain so far as Lincoln and Trumbull were concerned, if it had been carried out in good faith, and friend Lincoln had attained to senatorial dignity according to the contract.

They went into the contest in every part of the State, calling upon all disappointed politicians to join in the crusade against the Democracy, and appealed to the prevailing sentiments and prejudices in all the northern counties of the State. In three Congressional Districts in the north end of the State they adopted, as the platform of this new party thus formed by Lincoln and Trumbull in[1] connection with the Abolitionists, all of those principles which aimed at a warfare on the part of the North against the South. They declared in that platform that the Wilmot Proviso was to be applied to all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of 36 deg. 30 min., and not only to all the territory we then had, but all that we might hereafter acquire; that hereafter no more Slave States should be admitted into this Union, even if the people of such State desired slavery; that the Fugitive-Slave law should be absolutely and unconditionally repealed; that slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia; that the slave trade should be abolished between the different states; and, in fact, every article in their creed related to this slavery question, and pointed to a Northern geographical party in hostility to the Southern States of this Union.

Such were their principles in Northern Illinois. A little farther[2] south they became bleached, and grew paler just in proportion as public sentiment moderated and changed in this direction. They were Republicans or Abolitionists in the North, anti-Nebraska men down about Springfield, and in this neighborhood they contented themselves with talking about the inexpediency of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. [Shouts of laughter.] In the extreme northern counties they brought out men to canvass the State whose complexion suited their political creed; and hence Fred Douglass, the negro, was to be found there, following General Cass, and attempting to speak on behalf of Lincoln, Trumbull, and Abolitionism, against that illustrious senator. [Renewed laughter.] Why, they brought Fred Douglass to Freeport, when I was addressing a meeting there, in a carriage driven by the white owner, the negro sitting inside with the white lady and her daughter. ["Shame."] When I got through canvassing the northern counties that year, and progressed as far south as Springfield, I was met and opposed in discussion by Lincoln, Lovejoy, Trumbull and Sidney Breese, who were on one side. [Laughter.] Father Giddings, the high-priest of Abolitionism, had just been there, and Chase came about the time

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[1] Inserts "the" after "in."

[2] Reads: "further" for "farther."

I left. [Voice: "Why didn't you shoot him?"] I did take a running shot at them; but as I was single-handed against the white, black, and mixed drove, I had to use a shot-gun[1] and fire into the crowd, instead of taking them off singly with a rifle. [Great laughter and cheers.]

Trumbull had for his lieutenants, in aiding him to Abolitionize the Democracy, such men as John Wentworth of Chicago, Governor Reynolds, of Belleville, Sidney Breese of Carlisle, and John Dougherty of Union ["Good, "Good," "Give it to them," etc.], each of whom modified his opinions to suit the[2] locality he was in. Dougherty, for instance, would not go much further than to talk about the inexpediency of the Nebraska bill, whilst his allies at Chicago advocated negro citizenship and negro equality, putting the white man and the negro on the same basis under the law. ["Never, never."] Now, these men, four years ago, were engaged in a conspiracy to break down the Democracy; to-day they are again acting together for the same purpose! They do not hoist the same flag, they do not own the same principles or profess the same faith, but conceal their union for the sake of policy. In the northern counties, you find that all the conventions are called in the name of the Black Republican party; at Springfield they dare not call a Republican Convention, but invite all the enemies of the Democracy to unite; and when they get down into Egypt, Trumbull issues notices calling upon the "*Free Democracy*" to assemble and hear him speak. I have one of the handbills calling a Trumbull meeting at Waterloo the other day, which I received there, which is in the following language:—

> A meeting of the Free Democracy will take place in Waterloo, on Monday, Sept. 13th inst., whereat Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Hon. Jehu[3] Baker and others will address the people upon the different political topics of the day. Members of all parties are cordially invited to be present, and hear and determine for themselves.
>
> THE MONROE FREE DEMOCRACY

What is that name of "Free Democrats" put forth for, unless to deceive the people, and make them believe that Trumbull and his followers are not the same party as that which raises the black flag of Abolitionism in the northern part of this State, and makes war upon the Democratic party throughout the State? When I put that question to them at Waterloo on Saturday last, one of them rose and stated that they had changed their name for political effect, in order to get votes. There was a candid admission. Their object in changing their party organization and principles in different localities was avowed to be an attempt to cheat and deceive some portion of the people until after the election. Why cannot a political party that is conscious of the rectitude of its purposes and the soundness of its principles declare them everywhere alike? I would disdain to hold any political principles that I could not avow in the same terms in Kentucky that I declared in Illinois, in Charleston as well as in Chicago, in New Orleans as well as in New York. [Cheers.] So long as we live under a Constitution common to all the States, our political faith ought to be as broad, as liberal, and just as that Constitution itself, and should be proclaimed alike in every portion of the Union. ["Hear, hear."]

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[1] Reads: "short gun."

[2] Inserts "particular."

[3] Reads: "John" for "Jehu."

But it is apparent that our opponents find it necessary, for partisan effect, to change their colors in different counties in order to catch the popular breeze, and hope with these discordant materials combined together to secure a majority in the Legislature for the purpose of putting down the Democratic party. This combination did succeed in 1854 so far as to elect a majority of their confederates to the Legislature; and the first important act which they performed was to elect a Senator in the place of the eminent and gallant Senator Shields. His term expired in the United States Senate at that time, and he had to be crushed by the Abolition coalition for the simple reason that he would not join in their conspiracy to wage war against one-half of the Union. That was the only objection to General Shields. He had served the people of the State with ability in the Legislature, he had served you with fidelity and ability as Auditor, he had performed his duties to the satisfaction of the whole country at the head of the Land Department at Washington, he had covered the State and the Union with immortal glory on the bloody fields of Mexico in defense of the honor of our flag, and yet he had to be stricken down by this unholy combination. And for what cause? Merely because he would not join a combination of one half of the States to make war upon the other half, after having poured out his heart's blood for all the States in the Union. Trumbull was put in his place by Abolitionism.

How did Trumbull get there? Before the Abolitionists would consent to go into an election for United States Senator they required all the members of this new combination to show their hands upon this question of Abolitionism. Lovejoy, one of their high-priests, brought in resolutions defining the Abolition creed, and required them to commit themselves on it by their votes,—yea or nay. In that creed, as laid down by Lovejoy, they declared, first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be put on all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of 36 deg. 30.,[1] and that no more territory should ever be acquired unless slavery was at first prohibited therein; second, that no more States should ever be received into the Union unless slavery was first prohibited, by Constitutional provision, in such States; third, that the Fugitive-Slave law must be immediately repealed, or, failing in that, then such amendments were to be made to it as would render it useless and inefficient for the objects for which it was passed, etc. The next day after these resolutions were offered they were voted upon, part of them carried, and the others defeated, the same men who voted for them, with only two exceptions, voting soon after for Abraham Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate. He came within one or two votes of being elected, but he could not quite get the number required, for the simple reason that his friend Trumbull, who was a party to the bargain by which Lincoln was to take Shields's place, controlled a few Abolitionized Democrats in the Legislature, and would not allow them all to vote for him, thus wronging Lincoln by permitting him on each ballot to be almost elected, but not quite, until he forced them to drop Lincoln and elect him (Trumbull), in order to unite the party. [Immense laughter.]

Thus you find that although the Legislature was carried that year by the bargain between Trumbull, Lincoln, and the Abolitionists, and the union of these discordant elements in one harmonious party, yet Trumbull violated his pledge, and played a Yankee trick on Lincoln when they came to divide the spoils. [Laughter and cheers. Mr. Lincoln greatly agitated, his face buried in his hands.] Perhaps you would like a little evidence on this point. If you would, I will call Colonel James H. Matheny, of Springfield, to the stand, Mr. Lincoln's especial confidential friend for the last twenty years, and see what he will say upon the subject of this bargain. Matheny is now the Black Republican, or Abolition, candidate for Congress in the Springfield District against the gallant Colonel Harris, and is making speeches all over that part of the State against me and in favor of Lincoln, in concert with Trumbull. He ought to be a good witness, and I will read an extract from a speech which he made in 1856, when he was mad because his friend

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[1] Inserts: "min." after "30."

Lincoln had been cheated. It is one of numerous speeches of the same tenor that were made about that time, exposing this bargain between Lincoln, Trumbull, and the Abolitionists. Matheny then said:—

> "The Whigs, Abolitionists, Know-Nothings, and renegade Democrats made a solemn compact for the purpose of carrying this State against the Democracy, on this plan: 1st. That they would all combine and elect Mr. Trumbull to Congress, and thereby carry his district for the Legislature, in order to throw all the strength that could be obtained into that body against the Democrats. 2d. That when the Legislature should meet, the officers of that body, such as Speaker, clerks, door-keepers, etc., would be given to the Abolitionists; and 3d. That the Whigs were to have the United States Senator. That, accordingly, in good faith, Trumbull was elected to Congress, and his district carried for the Legislature, and, when it convened, the Abolitionists got all the officers of that body; and, thus far, the 'bond' was fairly executed. The Whigs, on their part, demanded the election of Abraham Lincoln to the United States Senate, that the bond might be fulfilled, the other parties to the contract having already secured to themselves all that was called for. But, in the most perfidious manner, they refused to elect Mr. Lincoln, and the mean, low-lived, sneaking Trumbull succeeded, by pledging all that was required by any party, in thrusting Lincoln aside, and foisting himself, an excrescence from the rotten bowels of the Democracy, into the United States Senate: and thus it has ever been, that an *honest* man makes a bad bargain when he conspires or contracts with rogues."

Matheny thought that his friend Lincoln made a bad bargain when he conspired and contracted with such rogues as Trumbull and his Abolition associates in that campaign. [Great cheers and laughter; Lincoln looking very miserable.] Lincoln was shoved off the track, and he and his friends all at once began to mope, became sour and mad, [laughter] and disposed to tell, but dare not; [shouts of laughter] and thus they stood for a long time, until the Abolitionists coaxed and flattered him back by their assurances that he should certainly be a senator in Douglas's place. [Roars of laughter, Lincoln looking as if he had not a friend on earth, although Herr Kriesman whispered, "Never mind" into his ear.] In that way the Abolitionists have been enabled to hold Lincoln to the alliance up to this time, and now they have brought him into a fight against me, and he is to see if he is again to be cheated by them. Lincoln this time, though, required more of them than a promise, and holds their bond, if not security, that Lovejoy shall not cheat him as Trumbull did. [Renewed shouts of laughter.]

When the Republican Convention assembled at Springfield, in June last, for the purpose of nominating State officers only, the Abolitionists could not get Lincoln and his friends into it until they would pledge themselves that Lincoln should be their candidate for the Senate; and you will find, in proof of this, that that Convention passed a resolution unanimously declaring that Abraham Lincoln was the "first, last, and only choice" of the Republicans for United States Senator. He was not willing to have it understood that he was merely their first choice, or their last choice, but their *only* choice. The Black Republican party had nobody else. Browning was nowhere; Governor Bissell was of no account; Archie Williams was not to be taken into consideration; John Wentworth was not worth mentioning; John M. Palmer was degraded; and their party presented the extraordinary spectacle of having but one,—the first, the last, and only choice for the Senate. [Laughter.]

Suppose that Lincoln should die, what a horrible condition the Republican party would be in! [A groan from Lincoln, and great laughter.] They would have nobody left. They have no other choice, and it was necessary for them to put themselves before the world in this ludicrous, ridiculous attitude of having no other choice, in order to quiet Lincoln's suspicions, and assure him that he was not to be cheated by Lovejoy, and the trickery by which Trumbull outgeneraled him. Well, gentlemen, I think they will have a nice time of it before they get through. I do not intend to give them any chance to cheat Lincoln at all this time. [Cheers.] I intend to relieve him[1] of all anxiety upon that subject, and spare them the mortification of more exposures of contracts violated, and the pledged honor of rogues forfeited. [Great applause.]

But I wish to invite your attention to the chief points at issue between Mr. Lincoln and myself in this discussion. Mr. Lincoln, knowing that he was to be the candidate of his party, on account of the arrangement of which I have already spoken, knowing that he was to receive the nomination of the Convention of the United States Senate, had his speech, accepting that nomination, all written and committed to memory, ready to be delivered the moment the nomination was announced. Accordingly, when it was made, he was in readiness, and delivered his speech, a portion of which I will read in order that I may state his political principles fairly, by repeating them in his own language:—

"We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was instituted for the avowed object, and with the confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation; under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. I believe it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half Slave and half Free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, North as well as South."

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[1] Reads: "to relieve him and them from."

There you have Mr. Lincoln's first and main proposition, upon which he bases his claims, stated in his own language. He tells you that this Republic cannot endure permanently divided into Slave and Free States, as our fathers made it. He says that they must all become Free or all become Slave, that they must all be one thing or all be the other, or this Government cannot last. Why can it not last, if we will execute the Government in the same spirit and upon the same principles upon which it is founded? Lincoln, by his proposition, says to the South: "If you desire to maintain your institutions as they are now, you must not be satisfied with minding your own business, but you must invade Illinois and all the other Northern States, establish slavery in them, and make it universal;" and in the same language he says to the North: "You must not be content with regulating your own affairs and minding your own business, but if you desire to maintain your freedom, you must invade the Southern States, abolish slavery there and everywhere, in order to have the States all one thing or all the other.

I say that this is the inevitable and irresistible result of Mr. Lincoln's argument, inviting a warfare between the North and the South, to be carried on with ruthless vengeance until the one section or the other shall be driven to the wall, and become the victim of the rapacity of the other. What good would follow such a system of warfare? Suppose the North should succeed in conquering the South, how much would she be the gainer? Or suppose the South should conquer the North, could the Union be preserved in that way? Is this sectional warfare to be waged between the[1] Northern States and Southern States until they all shall become uniform in their local and domestic institutions, merely because Mr. Lincoln says that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and pretends that this scriptural quotation, this language of our Lord and Master, is applicable to the American Union and the American Constitution?

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[1] "The" omitted.

Washington and his compeers, in the Convention that framed the Constitution, made this Government divided into Free and Slave States. It was composed then of thirteen sovereign and independent States, each having sovereign authority over its local and domestic institutions, and all bound together by the Federal Constitution. Mr. Lincoln likens that bond of the Federal Constitution, joining Free and Slave States together, to a house divided against itself, and says that it is contrary to the law of God, and cannot stand. When did he learn, and by what authority does he proclaim, that this Government is contrary to the law of God and cannot stand? It has stood thus divided into Free and Slave States from its organization up to this day. During that period we have increased from four millions to thirty millions of people; we have extended our territory from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; we have acquired the Floridas and Texas, and other territory sufficient to double our geographical extent; we have increased in population, in wealth, and in power beyond any example on earth; we have risen from a weak and feeble power to become the terror and admiration of the civilized world; and all this has been done under a Constitution which Mr. Lincoln, in substance, says is in violation of the law of God, and under a Union divided into Free and Slave States, which Mr. Lincoln thinks, because of such division, cannot stand.

Surely Mr. Lincoln is a wiser man than those who framed the Government. Washington did not believe, nor did his compatriots, that the local laws and domestic institutions that were well adapted to the Green Mountains of Vermont were suited to the rice plantations of South Carolina; they did not believe at that day that in a Republic so broad and expanded as this, containing such a variety of climate, soil, and interest, that uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions was either desirable or possible. They believed then, as our experience has proved to us now, that each locality, having different interests, a different climate, and different surroundings, required different local laws, local policy, and local institutions, adapted to the wants of that locality. Thus our Government was formed on the principle of diversity in the local institutions and laws, and not on that of uniformity.

As my time flies, I can only glance at these points, and not present them as fully as I would wish, because I desire to bring all the points in controversy between the two parties before you, in order to have Mr. Lincoln's reply. He makes war on the decision of the Supreme Court, in the case known as the Dred Scott case. I wish to say to you, fellow-citizens, that I have no war to make on that decision, or any other ever rendered by the Supreme Court. I am content to take that decision as it stands delivered by the highest judicial tribunal on earth,—a tribunal established by the Constitution of the United States for that purpose; and hence that decision becomes the law of the land, binding on you, on me, and on every other good citizen, whether we like it or not. Hence I do not choose to go into an argument to prove, before this audience, whether or not Chief Justice Taney understood the law better than Abraham Lincoln. [Laughter.]

Mr. Lincoln objects to that decision, first and mainly because it deprives the negro of the right[1] of citizenship. I am as much opposed to his reason for that objection as I am to the objection itself. I hold that a negro is not and never ought to be a citizen of the United States. ["Good, good," and tremendous cheers.] I hold that this Government was made on the white basis, by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men and none others. I do not believe that the Almighty made the negro capable of self-government. I am aware that all the Abolition lecturers that you find traveling about through the country are in the habit of reading the Declaration of Independence to prove that all men were created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which were[2] life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Mr. Lincoln is very much in the habit of following in the track of Lovejoy in this particular, by reading that part of the Declaration of Independence to prove that the negro was endowed by the Almighty with the inalienable right of equality with white men.

Now, I say to you, my fellow-citizens, that in my opinion the signers of the Declaration had no reference to the negro whatever when they declared all men to be created equal. They desired to express by that phrase white men, men of European birth and European descent, and had no reference either to the negro, the savage Indians, the Fijian,[3] the Malay, or any other inferior and degraded race, when they spoke of the equality of men. One great evidence that such was their understanding is to be found in the fact that at that time every one of the thirteen colonies was a slave-holding colony, every signer of the Declaration represented a slaveholding constituency, and we know that no one of them emancipated his slaves, much less offered citizenship to them, when they signed the Declaration; and yet, if they[1] intended to declare that the negro was the equal of the white man, and entitled by divine right to an equality with him, they were bound, as honest men, that day and hour to have put their negroes on an equality with themselves. [Cheers.] Instead of doing so, with uplifted eyes to Heaven they implored the divine blessing upon them, during the seven years' bloody war they had to fight to maintain that Declaration, never dreaming that they were violating divine law by still holding the negroes in bondage and depriving them of equality.

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[1] Reads: "rights" for "right."

[2] Reads: "are" for "were."

[3] Reads: "Fejee" for "Fijian."

My friends, I am in favor of preserving this Government as our fathers made it. It does not follow by any means that because a negro is not your equal or mine, that hence he must necessarily be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow that we ought to extend to the negro every right, every privilege, every immunity, which he is capable of enjoying, consistent with the good of society. When you ask me what these rights are, what their nature and extent is, I tell you that that is a question which each State of this Union must decide for itself. Illinois has already decided the question. We have decided that the negro must not be a slave within our limits, but we have also decided that the negro shall not be a citizen within our limits; that he shall not vote, hold office, or exercise any political rights. I maintain that Illinois, as a sovereign State, has a right thus to fix her policy with reference to the relation between the white man and the negro; but while we had that right to decide the question for ourselves, we must recognize the same right in Kentucky and in every other State to make the same decision, or a different one. Having decided our own policy with reference to the black race, we must leave Kentucky and Missouri and every other State perfectly free to make just such a decision as they see proper on that question.

Kentucky has decided that question for herself. She has said that within her limits a negro shall not exercise any political rights, and she has also said that a portion of the negroes under the laws of that

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[1] Inserts "had" after "they."

State shall be slaves. She had as much right to adopt that as her policy as we had to adopt the contrary for our policy. New York has decided that in that State a negro may vote if he has $250 worth of property, and if he owns that much he may vote upon an equality with the white man. I, for one, am utterly opposed to negro suffrage anywhere and under any circumstances; yet, inasmuch as the Supreme Court have decided in the celebrated Dred Scott case that a State has a right to confer the privilege of voting upon free negroes, I am not going to make war upon New York because she has adopted a policy repugnant to my feelings. ["That's good."] But New York must mind her own business, and keep her negro suffrage to herself, and not attempt to force it upon us. [Great applause.]

In the State of Maine they have decided that a negro may vote and hold office on an equality with a white man. I had occasion to say to the senators from Maine, in a discussion last session, that if they thought that the white people within the limits of their State were no better than negroes, I would not quarrel with them for it, but they must not say that my white constituents of Illinois were no better than negroes, or we would be sure to quarrel. [Cheers.]

The Dred Scott decision covers the whole question, and declares that each State has the right to settle this question of suffrage for itself, and all questions as to the relations between the white man and the negro. Judge Taney expressly lays down the doctrine. I receive it as law, and I say that while those States are adopting regulations on that subject disgusting and abhorrent, according to my views, I will not make war on them if they will mind their own business and let us alone. ["Bravo," and cheers.]

I now come back to the question, Why cannot this Union exist forever, divided into Free and Slave States, as our fathers made it? It can thus exist if each State will carry out the principles upon which our institutions were founded; to wit, the right of each State to do as it pleases, without meddling with its neighbors. Just act upon that great principle, and this Union will not only live forever, but it will extend and expand until it covers the whole continent, and makes this confederacy one grand ocean-bound Republic. We must bear in mind that we are yet a young nation, growing with a rapidity unequalled in the history of the world, that our national increase is great, and that the emigration from the Old World is increasing, requiring us to expand

and acquire new territory from time to time, in order to give our people land to live upon. If we live up to the principle of State rights and State sovereignty, each State regulating its own affairs and minding its own business, we can go on and extend indefinitely, just as fast and as far as we need the territory. The time may come, indeed has now come, when our interests would be advanced by the acquisition of the Island of Cuba. [Terrific applause.] When we get Cuba we must take it as we find it, leaving the people to decide the question of slavery for themselves, without interference on the part of the Federal Government or of any State of this Union.

So, when it becomes necessary to acquire any portion of Mexico or Canada, or of this continent or the adjoining islands, we must take them as we find them, leaving the people free to do as they please,—to have slavery or not, as they choose. I never have inquired and never will inquire whether a new State, applying for admission, has slavery or not for one of her institutions. If the Constitution that is presented be the act and deed of the people, and embodies their will, and they have the requisite population, I will admit them, with slavery or without it, just as that people shall determine. ["That's good," "That's right," and cheers.] My objection to the Lecompton Constitution did not consist in the fact that it made Kansas a Slave State. I would have been as much opposed to its admission under such a Constitution as a Free State as I was opposed to its admission under it as a Slave State. I hold that that was a question which that people had a right to decide for themselves, and that no power on earth ought to have interfered with that decision. In my opinion, the Lecompton Constitution was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas, and did not embody their will; and the recent election in that Territory, at which it was voted down by nearly ten to one, shows conclusively that I was right in saying, when the Constitution was presented, that it was not the act and deed of the people, and did not embody their will.

If we wish to preserve our institutions in their purity, and transmit them unimpaired to our latest posterity, we must preserve with religious good faith that great principle of self-government which guarantees to each and every State, old and new, the right to make just such constitutions as they desire, and come into the Union with their own constitution, and not one palmed upon them. [Cheers.] Whenever you sanction the doctrine that Congress may crowd a constitution down the throats of an unwilling people, against their consent, you will subvert the great fundamental principle upon which all our free institutions rest. In the future I have no fear that the attempt will ever be made. President Buchanan declared in his annual message that hereafter the rule adopted in the Minnesota case, requiring a constitution to be supmitted to the people, should be followed in all future cases; and if he stands by that recommendation there will be no division in the Democratic party on that principle in the future. Hence, the great mission of the Democracy is to unite the fraternal feeling of the whole country, restore peace and quiet, by teaching each State to mind its own business, and regulate its own domestic affairs, and all to unite in carrying out the Constitution as our fathers made it, and thus to preserve the Union and render it perpetual in all time to come.

Why should we not act as our fathers who made the Government? There was no sectional strife in Washington's army. They were all brethren of a common confederacy; they fought under a common flag that they might bestow upon their posterity a common destiny; and to this end they poured out their blood in common streams, and shared, in some instances, a common grave. [Three hearty cheers for Douglas.]

Mr. Lincoln's Reply

Mr. Lincoln was then introduced to the audience by D. L. Phillips, Esq., and was greeted with three cheers, and then three more; after which he said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: There is very much in the principles that Judge Douglas has here enunciated that I most cordially approve, and over which I shall have no controversy with him. In so far as he has insisted that all the States have the right to do exactly as they please about all their domestic relations, including that of slavery, I agree entirely with him. He places me wrong in spite of all I can tell him, though I repeat it again and again, insisting that I have no difference with him upon this subject. I have made a great many speeches, some of which have been printed, and it will be utterly impossible for him to find anything that I have ever put in print contrary to what I now say upon this subject. I hold myself under Constitutional obligations to allow the people in all the States, without interference, direct or indirect, to do exactly as they please; and I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them, even if there were no such Constitutional obligation.

I can only say again that I am placed improperly—altogether improperly, in spite of all I can say—when it is insisted that I entertain any other view or purpose in regard to that matter.

While I am upon this subject, I will make some answers briefly to certain propositions that Judge Douglas has put. He says, "Why can't this Union endure permanently, half Slave and half Free?" I have said that I supposed it could not, and I will try, before this new audience, to give briefly some of the reasons for entertaining that opinion. Another form of his question is, "Why can't we let it stand as our fathers placed it?" That is the exact difficulty between us. I say that Judge Douglas and his friends have changed it[1] from the position in which our fathers originally placed it. I say, in the way our fathers originally left the slavery question, the institution was in the course of ultimate extinction, and the public mind rested in the belief that it *was* in the course of ultimate extinction. I say, when this Government was first established, it was the policy of its founders to prohibit the spread of slavery into the new Territories of the United States, where it had not existed. But Judge Douglas and his friends have broken up that policy, and placed it upon a new basis, by which it is to become national and perpetual. All I have asked or desired anywhere is that it should be placed back again upon the basis that the fathers of our Government originally placed it upon. I have no doubt that it *would* become extinct, for all time to come, if we but re-adopted the policy of the fathers, by restricting it to the limits it has already covered,—restricting it from the new Territories.

I do not wish to dwell at great length on this branch of the subject at this time, but allow me to repeat one thing that I have stated before. Brooks—the man who assaulted Senator Sumner on the floor of the Senate, and who was complimented with dinners, and silver pitchers, and gold-headed canes, and a good many other things for that feat— in one of his speeches declared that when this Government was originally established, nobody expected that the institution of slavery would last until this day. That was but the opinion of one man, but it was such an opinion as we can never get from Judge Douglas or anybody in favor of slavery in the North at all. You *can* sometimes get it from a Southern man. He said at the same time that the framers of our Government did not have the knowledge that experience has taught us; that experience and the invention of the cotton-gin have taught us that the perpetuation of slavery is a necessity. He insisted, therefore, upon its being changed from the basis upon which the fathers of the Government left it to the basis of its perpetuation and nationalization.

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[1] Reads: "them" for "it."

I insist that this is the difference between Judge Douglas and myself, —that Judge Douglas is helping that change along. I insist upon this Government being placed where our fathers originally placed it.

I remember Judge Douglas once said that he saw the evidences on the statute books of Congress of a policy in the origin of the Government to divide slavery and freedom by a geographical line; that he saw an indisposition to maintain that policy, and therefore he set about studying up a way to settle the institution on the right basis,—the basis which he thought it ought to have been placed upon at first; and in that speech he confesses that he seeks to place it, not upon the basis that the fathers placed it upon, but upon one gotten up on "original principles." When he asks me why we cannot get along with it in the attitude where our fathers placed it, he had better clear up the evidences that he has himself changed it from that basis, that he has himself been chiefly instrumental in changing the policy of the fathers. [Applause.] Any one who will read his speech of the 22d of last March will see that he there makes an open confession, showing that he set about fixing the institution upon an altogether different set of principles. I think I have fully answered him when he asks me why we cannot let it alone upon the basis where our fathers left it, by showing that he has himself changed the whole policy of the Government in that regard.

Now, fellow-citizens, in regard to this matter about a contract that was made between Judge Trumbull and myself, and all that long portion of Judge Douglas's speech on this subject,—I wish simply to say what I have said to him before, that he cannot know whether it is true or not, and I *do know* that there is not a word of truth in it. [Applause.] And I have told him so before. [Continued applause. "That's right." "Hit him again."] I don't want any harsh language indulged in, but I do not know how to deal with this persistent insisting on a story that I know to be utterly without truth. It used to be a fashion amongst men that when a charge was made, some sort of proof was brought forward to establish it, and if no proof was found to exist, the charge was dropped. I don't know how to meet this kind of an argument. I don't want to have a fight with Judge Douglas, and I have no way of making an argument up into the consistency of a corn-cob and stopping his mouth with it. [Laughter and applause.] All I can do is, good-humoredly to say that, from the beginning to the end of all that story about a bargain between Judge Trumbull and myself, *there is not a word of truth in it.* [Applause.]

I can only ask him to show some sort of evidence of the truth of his story. He brings forward here and reads from what he contends is a speech by James H. Matheny, charging such a bargain between Trumbull and myself. My own opinion is that Matheny did do some such immoral thing as to tell a story that he knew nothing about. I believe he did. I contradicted it instantly, and it has been contradicted by Judge Trumbull, while nobody has produced any proof, because there is none. Now, whether the speech which the Judge brings forward here is really the one Matheny made, I do not know, and I hope the Judge will pardon me for doubting the genuineness of this document, since his production of those Springfield resolutions at Ottawa. [Laughter and cheers.] I do not wish to dwell at any great length upon this matter. I can say nothing when a long story like this is told, except it is not true, and demand that he who insists upon it shall produce some proof. That is all any man can do, and I leave it in that way, for I know of no other way of dealing with it.

The Judge has gone over a long account of the old Whig and Democratic parties, and it connects itself with this charge against Trumbull and myself. He says that they agreed upon a compromise in regard to the slavery question in 1850; that in a National Democratic Convention resolutions were passed to abide by that compromise as a finality upon the slavery question. He also says that the Whig party in National Convention agreed to abide by and regard as a finality the Compromise of 1850. I understand the Judge to be altogether right about that; I understand that part of the history of the country as stated by him to be correct. I recollect that I, as a member of that party, acquiesced in that compromise. I recollect in the Presidential election which followed, when we had General Scott up for the Presidency, Judge Douglas was around berating us Whigs as Abolitionists, precisely as he does to-day,—not a bit of difference. I have often heard him. We could do nothing when the old Whig party was alive that was not Abolitionism; but it has got an extremely good name since it has passed away. [Laughter.]

When that Compromise was made it did not repeal the old Missouri

Compromise. It left a region of the United States territory half as large as the present territory of the United States, north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, in which slavery was prohibited by Act of Congress. This Compromise did not repeal that one. It did not affect or propose to repeal it. But at last it became Judge Douglas's duty, as he thought (and I find no fault with him), as Chairman of the Committee on Territories, to bring in a bill for the organization of a Territorial Government,—first of one, then of two Territories north of that line. When he did so, it ended in his inserting a provision substantially repealing the Missouri Compromise. That was because the Compromise of 1850 *had not* repealed it.

And now I ask why he could not have let that Compromise alone? We were quiet from the agitation of the slavery question. We were making no fuss about it. All had acquiesced in the Compromise measures of 1850. We never had been seriously disturbed by any Abolition agitation before that period. When he came to form governments for the Territories north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, why could he not have let that matter stand as it was standing? [Applause.] Was it necessary to the organization of a Territory? Not at all. Iowa lay north of the line, and had been organized as a Territory and[1] come into the Union as a State without disturbing that Compromise. There was no sort of necessity for destroying it to organize these Territories.

But, gentlemen, it would take up all my time to meet all the little quibbling arguments of Judge Douglas to show that the Missouri Compromise was repealed by the Compromise of 1850. My own opinion is, that a careful investigation of all the arguments to sustain the position that that Compromise was virtually repealed by the Compromise of 1850 would show that they are the merest fallacies. I have the Report that Judge Douglas first brought into Congress at the time of the introduction of the Nebraska bill, which in its original form *did not* repeal the Missouri Compromise, and he there expressly stated that he had forborne to do so *because it had not been done by the Compromise of 1850.* I close this part of the discussion on my part by asking him the question again, "Why, when we had peace under the Missouri Compromise, could you not have let it alone?"

In complaining of what I said in my speech at Springfield, in which he says I accepted my nomination for the senatorship (where, by the way, he is at fault, for if he will examine it, he will find no acceptance in it), he again quotes that portion in which I said that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Let me say a word in regard to that matter.

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[1] Inserts "had" after "and."

He tries to persuade us that there must be a variety in the different institutions of the States of the Union; that that variety necessarily proceeds from the variety of soil, climate, of the face of the country, and the difference in the natural features of the States. I agree to all that. Have these very matters ever produced any difficulty amongst us? Not at all. Have we ever had any quarrel over the fact that they have laws in Louisiana designed to regulate the commerce that springs from the production of sugar? Or because we have a different class relative to the production of flour in this State? Have they produced any differences? Not at all. They are the very cements of this Union. They don't make the house a house divided against itself. They are the props that hold up the house and sustain the Union.

But has it been so with this element of slavery? Have we not always had quarrels and difficulties over it? And when will we cease to have quarrels over it? Like causes produce like effects. It is worth while to observe that we have generally had comparative peace upon the slavery question, and that there has been no cause for alarm until it was excited by the effort to spread it into new territory. Whenever it has been limited to its present bounds, and there has been no effort to spread it, there has been peace. All the trouble and convulsion has proceeded from efforts to spread it over more territory. It was thus at the date of the Missouri Compromise. It was so again with the annexation of Texas; so with the territory acquired by the Mexican war; and it is so now. Whenever there has been an effort to spread it, there has been agitation and resistance.

Now, I appeal to this audience (very few of whom are my political friends), as national men, whether we have reason to expect that the agitation in regard to this subject will cease while the causes that tend to reproduce agitation are actively at work? Will not the same cause that produced agitation in 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was formed,—that which produced the agitation upon the annexation of Texas, and at other times,—work out the same results always? Do you think that the nature of man will be changed? that the same causes that produced agitation at one time will not have the same effect at another?

This has been the result so far as my observation of the slavery question and my reading in history extends. What right have we then to hope that the trouble will cease,—that the agitation will come to an end,—until it shall either be placed back where it originally stood, and where the fathers originally placed it, or, on the other hand, until it shall entirely master all opposition? This is the view I entertain, and this is the reason why[1] I entertained it, as Judge Douglas has read from my Springfield speech.

Now, my friends, there is one other thing that I feel myself under some sort of obligation to mention. Judge Douglas has here to-day—in a very rambling way, I was about saying—spoken of the platforms for which he seeks to hold me responsible. He says, "Why can't you come out and make an open avowal of principles in all places alike?" and he reads from an advertisement that he says was used to notify the people of a speech to be made by Judge Trumbull at Waterloo. In commenting on it he desires to know whether we cannot speak frankly and manfully, as he and his friends do. How, I ask, do his friends speak out their own sentiments? A Convention of his party in this State met on the 21st of April at Springfield, and passed a set of resolutions which they proclaim to the country as their platform. This does constitute their platform, and it is because Judge Douglas claims it is his platform—that these are his principles and purposes—that he has a right to declare he speaks his sentiments "frankly and manfully." On the 9th of June, Colonel John Dougherty, Governor Reynolds, and others, calling themselves National Democrats, met in Springfield and adopted a set of resolutions which are as easily understood, as plain and as definite in stating to the country and to the world what they believed in and would stand upon, as Judge Douglas's platform. Now what is the reason that Judge Douglas is not willing that Colonel Dougherty and Governor Reynolds should stand upon their own written and printed platform as well as he upon his? Why must he look farther than their platform when he claims himself to stand by his platform?

Again, in reference to our platform: On the 16th of June the Republicans had their Convention and published their platform, which is as clear and distinct as Judge Douglas's. In it they spoke their principles as plainly and as definitely to the world. What is the reason that Judge Douglas is not willing I should stand upon that platform?

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[1] Omits "why."

Why must he go around hunting for some one who is supporting me,—or has supported me at some time in his life, and who has said something at some time contrary to that platform? Does the Judge regard that rule as a good one? If it turn out that the rule is a good one for me, that I am responsible for any and every opinion that any man has expressed who is my friend,—then it is a good rule for him. I ask, Is it not as good a rule for him as it is for me? In my opinion it is not a good rule for either of us. Do you think differently, Judge?

Mr. Douglas.—I do not.

Mr. Lincoln.—Judge Douglas says he does not think differently. I am glad of it. Then can he tell me why he is looking up resolutions of five or six years ago, and insisting that they were my platform, notwithstanding my protest that they are not, and never were my platform, and my pointing out the platform of the State Convention which he delights to say nominated me for the Senate? I cannot see what he means by parading these resolutions, if it is not to hold me responsible for them in some way. If he says to me here that he does not hold the rule to be good, one way or the other, I do not comprehend how he could answer me more fully if he answered me at greater length.

I will therefore put in as my answer to the resolutions that he has hunted up against me, what I, as a lawyer, would call a good plea to a bad declaration. I understand that it is a maxim of law that a poor plea may be a good plea to a bad declaration. [Laughter.] I think that the opinions the Judge brings from those who support me, yet differ from me, are[1] a bad declaration against me; but if I can bring the same things against him, I am putting in a good plea to that kind of declaration, and now I propose to try it.

At Freeport, Judge Douglas occupied a large part of his time in producing resolutions and documents of various sorts, as I understood, to make me somehow responsible for them; and I propose now doing a little of the same sort of thing for him. In 1850 a very clever gentleman by the name of Thompson Campbell, a personal friend of Judge Douglas and myself, a political friend of Judge Douglas and opponent of mine, was a candidate for Congress in the Galena District. He was interrogated as to his views on this same slavery question. I have here before me the interrogatories, and Campbell's answers to them. I will read them:—

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[1] Reads: "is" for "are."

INTERROGATORIES

1. Will you, if elected, vote for and cordially support a bill prohibiting slavery in the Territories of the United States?

2. Will you vote for and support a bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia?

3. Will you oppose the admission of any Slave States which may be formed out of Texas or the Territories?

4. Will you vote for and advocate the repeal of the Fugitive-Slave law passed at the recent session of Congress?

5. Will you advocate and vote for the election of a Speaker of the House of Representatives who shall be willing to organize the committees of that House so as to give the Free States their just influence in the business of legislation?

6. What are your views, not only as to the constitutional right of Congress to prohibit the slave trade between the States, but also as to the expediency of exercising that right immediately?

CAMPBELL'S REPLY

To the first and second interrogatories, I answer unequivocally in the affirmative.

To the third interrogatory I reply, that I am opposed to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, that may be formed out of Texas or any other Territory.

To the fourth and fifth interrogatories I unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative.

To the sixth interrogatory I reply, that so long as the Slave States continue to treat slaves as articles of commerce, the Constitution confers power on Congress to pass laws regulating that peculiar COMMERCE, and that the protection of Human Rights imperatively demands the interposition of every constitutional means to prevent this most inhuman and iniquitous traffic.

T. CAMPBELL

I want here to say that Thompson Campbell was elected to Congress on that platform, as the Democratic candidate in the Galena District, against Martin P. Sweet.

Judge Douglas.—Give me the date of the letter.

Mr. Lincoln.—The time Campbell ran was in 1850. I have not the exact date here. It was sometime in 1850 that these interrogatories were put and the answer given. Campbell was elected to Congress, and served out his term. I think a second election came up before he served out his term, and he was not re-elected. Whether defeated or not nominated, I do not know. [Mr. Campbell was nominated for re-election by the Democratic party, by acclamation.] At the end of his term his very good friend Judge Douglas got him a high office from President Pierce, and sent him off to California. Is not that the fact? Just at the end of his term in Congress it appears that our mutual friend Judge

Douglas got our mutual friend Campbell a good office, and sent him to California upon it. And not only so, but on the 27th of last month, when Judge Douglas and myself spoke at Freeport in joint discussion, there was his same friend Campbell, come all the way from California, to help the Judge beat me; and there was poor Martin P. Sweet standing on the platform, trying to help poor me to be elected. [Laughter.] That is true of one of Judge Douglas's friends.

So again, in the same race of 1850, there was a Congressional Convention assembled at Joliet, and it nominated R. S. Molony for Congress, and unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

"*Resolved*, That we are uncompromisingly opposed to the extension of slavery; and while we would not make such opposition a ground of interference with the interests of the States where it exists, yet we moderately but firmly insist that it is the duty of Congress to oppose its extension into Territory now free, by all means compatible with the obligations of the Constitution, and with good faith to our sister States; that these principles were recognized by the Ordinance of 1787, which received the sanction of Thomas Jefferson, who is acknowledged by all to be the great oracle and expounder of our faith."

Subsequently the same interrogatories were propounded to Dr. Molony which had been addressed to Campbell, as above, with the exception of the 6th, respecting the interstate slave trade, to which Dr. Molony the Democratic nominee for Congress, replied as follows:—

I received the written interrogatories this day, and, as you will see by the La Salle *Democrat* and Ottawa *Free Trader* I took at Peru on the 5th, and at Ottawa on the 7th, the affirmative side of interrogatories 1st and 2d; and in relation to the admission of any more Slave States from Free Territory, my position taken at these meetings, as correctly reported in said papers, was *emphatically* and *distinctly* opposed to it. In relation to the admission of any more Slave States from Texas, whether I shall go against it or not will depend upon the opinion that I may hereafter form of the true meaning and nature of the resolutions of annexation. If, by said resolutions, the honor and good faith of the nation is pledged to admit more Slave States from Texas when she (Texas) may apply for the admission of such States, then I should, if in Congress, vote for their admission. But if not so PLEDGED and bound by sacred contract, then a bill for the admission of more Slave States from Texas will[1] *never* receive my vote.

To your fourth interrogatory I answer *most decidedly* in the affirmative, and for reasons set forth in my reported remarks at Ottawa last Monday.

To your fifth interrogatory I also reply in the affirmative *most cordially*, and that I will use my utmost exertions to secure the nomination and election of a man who will accomplish the objects of said interrogatories. I most cordially approve of the resolutions adopted at the union meeting held at Princeton on the 27th September ult.

Yours, etc. R. S. MOLONY

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[1] Reads: "would" for "will."

All I have to say in regard to Dr. Molony is, that he was the regularly nominated Democratic candidate for Congress in his district; was elected at that time, at the end of his term was appointed to a land-office at Danville. (I never heard anything of Judge Douglas's instrumentality in this.) He held this office a considerable time, and when we were at Freeport the other day, there were handbills scattered about notifying the public that after our debate was over, R. S. Molony would make a Democratic speech in favor of Judge Douglas. That is all I know of my own personal knowledge. It is added here to this resolution, and I truly believe, that—

"Among those who participated in the Joliet Convention, and who supported its nominee, with his platform as laid down in the resolution of the Convention and in his reply as above given, we call at random the following names, all of which are recognized at this day as leading Democrats:—

Cook County: E. B. Williams, Charles Mc Donnell, Arno Voss, Thomas Hoyne, Isaac Cook."

I reckon we ought to except Cook.

"F. C. Sherman.
"Will: Joel A. Matteson, S. W. Bowen.
"Kane: B. F. Hall, G. W. Renwick, A. M. Herrington, Elijah Wilcox.
"Mc Henry: W. M. Jackson, Enos W. Smith, Neil Donnelly.
"La Salle: John Hise, William Reddick."

William Reddick! another one of Judge Douglas's friends that stood on the stand with him at Ottawa, at the time the Judge says my knees trembled so that I had to be carried away. The names are all here:—

"Du Page: Nathan Allen.
"De Kalb: Z. B. Mayo."

Here is another set of resolutions which I think are apposite to the matter in hand.

On the 28th of February of the same year, a Democratic District Convention was held at Naperville to nominate a candidate for Circuit Judge. Among the delegates were Bowen and Kelly, of Will; Captain Naper, H. H. Cody, Nathan Allen, of Du Page; W. M. Jackson, J. M. Strode, P. W. Platt [*sic*], and Enos W. Smith, of McHenry; J. Horsman and others, of Winnebago. Colonel Strode presided over the Convention. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted,—the first on motion of P. W. Pratt [*sic*], the second on motion of William M. Jackson:—

"*Resolved*, That this Convention is in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, both in *Principle* and *Practice* and that we know of no good reason why any *person* should oppose the largest latitude in *Free Soil*, *Free Territory* and *Free Speech*.

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the time has arrived when *all men should be free*, whites as well as others."

Judge Douglas.—What is the date of those resolutions?

Mr. Lincoln.—I understand it was in 1850, but I do not *know* it. I do not state a thing and say I know it, when I do not. But I have the highest belief that this is so. I know of no way to arrive at the conclusion that there is an error in it. I mean to put a case no stronger than the truth will allow. But what I was going to comment upon is an extract from a newspaper in De Kalb County; and it strikes me as being rather singular, I confess, under the circumstances. There is a Judge Mayo in that county, who is a candidate for the Legislature, for the purpose, if he secures his election, of helping to re-elect Judge Douglas. He is the editor of a newspaper [DeKalb County *Sentinel*], and in that paper I find the extract I am going to read. It is part of an editorial article in which he was electioneering as fiercely as he could for Judge Douglas and against me. It was a curious thing, I think, to be in such a paper. I will agree to that, and the Judge may make the most of it:—

"Our education has been such that we have ever been rather *in favor of the equality of the blacks; that is, that they should enjoy all the privileges of the whites where they reside*. We are aware that this is not a very popular doctrine. We have had many a confab with some who are now strong 'Republicans,' we taking the broad ground of equality, and they the opposite ground.

"We were brought up in a State where blacks were voters, and we do not know of any inconvenience resulting from it, though perhaps it would not work as well where the blacks are more numerous. We have no doubt of the right of the whites to guard against such an evil, if it is one. Our opinion is that it would be best for all concerned to have the colored population in a State by themselves [in this I agree with him]; but if within the jurisdiction of the United States, *we say by all means they should have the right to have their Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to vote for President*. With us 'worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow.' We have seen many a 'nigger' that we thought more of than some white men."

That is one of Judge Douglas's friends. Now, I do not want to leave myself in an attitude where I can be misrepresented, so I will say I do not think the Judge is responsible for this article: but he is quite as responsible for it as I would be if one of my friends had said it. I think that is fair enough. [Cheers.]

I have here also a set of resolutions passed by a Democratic State Convention in Judge Douglas's own good old State of Vermont, that I think ought to be good for him too:—

> "*Resolved*, That liberty is a right inherent and inalienable in man, and that herein *all men are equal.*
>
> "*Resolved*, That we claim no authority in the Federal Government to abolish slavery in the several States, but we do claim for it Constitutional power perpetually to prohibit the introduction of slavery into territory now free, and abolish it wherever, under the jurisdiction of Congress, it exists.
>
> "*Resolved*, That this power ought immediately to be exercised in prohibiting the introduction and existence of slavery in New Mexico and California, in abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, on the high seas, and wherever else, under the Constitution, it can be reached.
>
> "*Resolved*, That no more Slave States should be admitted into the Federal Union.
>
> "*Resolved*, That the Government ought to return to its ancient policy, not to extend, nationalize, or encourage, but to limit, localize, and discourage slavery."

At Freeport I answered several interrogatories that had been propounded to me by Judge Douglas at the Ottawa meeting. The Judge has not yet seen fit to find any fault with the position that I took in regard to those seven interrogatories, which were certainly broad enough, in all conscience, to cover the entire ground. In my answers, which have been printed, and all have had the opportunity of seeing, I take the ground that those who elect me must expect that I will do nothing which will not be[1] in accordance with those answers. I have some right to assert that Judge Douglas has no fault to find with them. But he chooses to still try to thrust me upon different ground, without paying any attention to my answers, the obtaining of which from me cost him so much trouble and concern. At the same time I propounded four interrogatories to him, claiming it as a right that he should answer as many interrogatories for me as I did for him, and I would reserve myself for a future installment when I got them ready. The Judge, in answering me upon that occasion, put in what I suppose he intends as answers to all four of my interrogatories. The first one of these interrogatories I have before me, and it is in these words:—

> "*Question* 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,—some ninety-three thousand,—will you vote to admit them? '

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[1] Reads: "is" for "will be.'

As I read the Judge's answer in the newspaper, and as I remember it as pronounced at the time, he does not give any answer which is equivalent to yes or no,—I will or I won't. He answers at very considerable length, rather quarreling with me for asking the question, and insisting that Judge Trumbull had done something that I ought to say something about, and finally getting out such statements as induce me to infer that he means to be understood he will, in that supposed case, vote for the admission of Kansas. I only bring this forward now for the purpose of saying that if he chooses to put a different construction upon his answer he may do it. But if he does not, I shall from this time forward assume that he will vote for the admission of Kansas in disregard of[1] the English bill. He has the right to remove any misunderstanding I may have. I only mention it now, that I may hereafter assume this to be the true construction of his answer, if he does not now choose to correct me.

The second interrogatory that I propounded to him was this:—

> "*Question* 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?"

To this Judge Douglas answered that they can lawfully exclude slavery from the Territory prior to the formation of a Constitution. He goes on to tell us how it can be done. As I understand him, he holds that it can be done by the Territorial Legislature refusing to make any enactments for the protection of slavery in the Territory, and especially by adopting unfriendly legislation to it. For the sake of clearness, I state it again: that they can exclude slavery from the Territory, 1st, by withholding what he assumes to be an indispensable assistance to it in the way of legislation; and, 2d, by unfriendly legislation. If I rightly understand him, I wish to ask your attention for a while to his position.

In the first place, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that any Congressional prohibition of slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; that they have reached this proposition as a conclusion from their former proposition, that the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and from that other Constitutional provision, that no person shall be deprived of property without due process of law. Hence they reach the conclusion that as the Constitution of the United States expressly recognizes property in slaves, and prohibits any person from being deprived of property without due process of law, to pass an Act of Congress by which a man who owned a slave on one side of a line would be deprived of him if he took him on the other side, is depriving him of that property without due process of law. That I understand to be the decision of the Supreme Court. I understand also that Judge Douglas adheres most firmly to that decision; and the difficulty is, how is it possible for any power to exclude slavery from the Territory, unless in violation of that decision? That is the difficulty.

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[1] Reads: "according to" for "in disregard of."

In the Senate of the United States, in 1856, Judge Trumbull, in a speech substantially, if not directly, put the same interrogatory to Judge Douglas, as to whether the people of a Territory had the lawful power to exclude slavery prior to the formation of a constitution. Judge Douglas then answered at considerable length, and his answer will be found in the *Congressional Globe*, under date of June 9th, 1856. The Judge said that whether the people could exclude slavery prior to the formation of a constitution or not *was a question to be decided by the Supreme Court.* He put that proposition, as will be seen by the *Congressional Globe*, in a variety of forms, all running to the same thing in substance,—that it was a question for the Supreme Court. I maintain that when he says, after the Supreme Court have decided the question, that the people may yet exclude slavery by any means whatever, he does virtually say that it is *not* a question for the Supreme Court. [Applause.]

He shifts his ground. I appeal to you whether he did not say it was a question for the Supreme Court? Has not the Supreme Court decided that question? When he now says the people *may* exclude slavery, does he not make it a question for the people? Does he not virtually shift his ground and say that it is *not* a question for the court, but for the people? This is a very simple proposition,—a very plain and naked one. It seems to me that there is no difficulty in deciding it. In a variety of ways he said that it was a question for the Supreme Court. He did not stop then to tell us that whatever the Supreme Court decides, the people can by withholding necessary "police regulations" keep slavery out. He did not make any such answer. I submit to you now whether the new state of the case has not induced the Judge to sheer away from his original ground. [Applause.] Would not this be the impression of every fair-minded man?

I hold that the proposition that slavery cannot enter a new country without police regulations is historically false. It is not true at all.

I hold that the history of this country shows that the institution of slavery was originally planted upon this continent *without* these "police regulations" which the Judge now thinks necessary for the actual establishment of it. Not only so, but is there not another fact: how came this Dred Scott decision to be made? It was made upon the case of a negro being taken and actually held in slavery in Minnesota Territory, claiming his freedom because the Act of Congress prohibited his being so held there. *Will the Judge pretend that Dred Scott was not held there without police regulations?* There is at least one matter of record as to his having been held in slavery in the Territory, not only without police regulations, but in the teeth of Congressional legislation supposed to be valid at the time. This shows that there is vigor enough in slavery to plant itself in a new country even against unfriendly legislation. It takes not only law, but the *enforcement* of law to keep it out. That is the history of this country upon the subject.

I wish to ask one other question. It being understood that the Constitution of the United States guarantees property in slaves in the Territories, if there is any infringement of the right of that property, would not the United States courts, organized for the government of the Territory, apply such remedy as might be necessary in that case? It is a maxim held by the courts that there is no wrong without its remedy; and the courts have a remedy for whatever is acknowledged and treated as a wrong.

Again: I will ask you, my friends, if you were elected members of the Legislature, what would be the first thing you would have to do before entering upon your duties? *Swear to support the Constitution of the United States.* Suppose you believe, as Judge Douglas does, that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to your neighbor the right to hold slaves in that Territory; that they are his property: how can you clear your oaths unless you give him such legislation as is necessary to enable him to enjoy that property? What do you understand by supporting the Constitution of a State, or of the United States? Is it not to give such constitutional helps to the rights established by that Constitution as may be practically needed? Can you, if you swear to support the Constitution, and believe that the Constitution establishes a right, clear your oath, without giving it support? Do you support the Constitution if, knowing or believing there is a right established under it which needs specific legislation, you withhold that legislation? Do you not violate and disregard your oath? I can conceive of nothing plainer in the world. There can be nothing in the words "support the Constitution," if you may run counter to it by refusing support to any right established under the Constitution. And what I say here will hold with still more force against the Judge's doctrine of "unfriendly legislation." How could you, having sworn to support the Constitution, and believing it guaranteed the right to hold slaves in the Territories, assist in legislation *intended to defeat that right?* That would be violating your own view of the Constitution. Not only so, but if you were to do so, how long would it take the courts to hold your votes unconstitutional and void? Not a moment.

Lastly, I would ask: Is not Congress itself under obligation to give legislative support to any right that is established under the United States Constitution? I repeat the question: Is not Congress itself bound to give legislative support to any right that is established in the United States Constitution? A member of Congress swears to support the Constitution of the United States; and if he sees a right established by that Constitution which needs specific legislative protection, can he clear his oath without giving that protection? Let me ask you why many of us who are opposed to slavery upon principle give our acquiescence to a Fugitive-Slave law? Why do we hold ourselves under obligations to pass such law, and abide by it when it is passed? Because the Constitution makes provision that the owners of slaves shall have the right to reclaim them. It gives the right to reclaim slaves; and that right is, as Judge Douglas says, a barren right, unless there is legislation that will enforce it.

The mere declaration, "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due," is powerless without specific legislation to enforce it. Now, on what ground would a member of Congress who is opposed to slavery in the abstract, vote for a Fugitive-Slave law, as I would deem it my duty to do? Because there is a constitutional right which needs legislation to enforce it. And although it is distasteful to me, I have sworn to support the Constitution; and having so sworn, I cannot conceive that I do support it if I withhold from that right any necessary legislation to make it practical. And if that is true in regard to a Fugitive-Slave law, is the right to have fugitive slaves reclaimed any better fixed in the Constitution than the right to hold slaves in the Territories? For this decision is a just exposition of the Constitution, as Judge Douglas thinks. Is the one right any better than the other? Is there any man who, while a member of Congress, would give support to the one any more than the other? If I wished to refuse to give legislative support to slave property in the Territories, if a member of Congress, I could not do it, holding the view that the Constitution establishes that right. If I did it at all, it would be because I deny that this decision properly construes the Constitution. But if I acknowledge, with Judge Douglas, that this decision properly construes the Constitution, I cannot conceive that I would be less than a perjured man if I should refuse in Congress to give such protection to that property as in its nature it needed.

At the end of what I have said here I propose to give the Judge my fifth interrogatory, which he may take and answer at his leisure. My fifth interrogatory is this:—

If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

Judge Douglas.—Will you repeat that? I want to answer that question.

Mr. Lincoln.—If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?

I am aware that in some of the speeches Judge Douglas has made he has spoken as if he did not know or think that the Supreme Court had decided that a Territorial legislature cannot exclude slavery. Precisely what the Judge would say upon the subject,—whether he would say definitely that he does not understand they have so decided, or whether he would say he does understand that the court have so decided,—I do not know; but I know that in his speech at Springfield he spoke of it as a thing they had not decided yet; and in his answer to me at Freeport, he spoke of it, so far, again, as I can comprehend it, as a thing that had not yet been decided.

Now, I hold that if the Judge does entertain that view, I think that[1] he is not mistaken in so far as it can be said that the court has not decided anything save the mere question of jurisdiction. I know the legal arguments that can be made,—that after a court has decided that it cannot take jurisdiction in[1] a case, it then has decided all that is before it, and that is the end of it. A plausible argument can be made in favor of that proposition; but I know that Judge Douglas has said in one of his speeches that the court went forward, like honest men as they were, and decided all the points in the case. If any points are really extra-judicially decided because not necessarily before them, then this one as to the power of the Territorial legislature to exclude slavery is one of them, as also the one that the Missouri Compromise was null and void. They are both extra-judicial, or neither is, according as the court held that they had no jurisdiction in the case between the parties, because of want of capacity of one party to maintain a suit in that court.

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[1] Omits "that."

I want, if I have sufficient time, to show that the court did pass its opinion; but that is the only thing actually done in the case. If they did not decide, they showed what they were ready to decide whenever the matter was before them. What is that opinion? After having argued that Congress had no power to pass a law excluding slavery from a United States Territory, they then used language to this effect: That inasmuch as Congress itself could not exercise such a power, it followed as a matter of course that it could not authorize a Territorial government to exercise it; for the Territorial legislature can do no more than Congress could do. Thus it expressed its opinion emphatically against the power of a Territorial legislature to exclude slavery, leaving us in just as little doubt on that point as upon any other point they really decided.

Now, my fellow-citizens, I will detain you only a little while longer; my time is nearly[2] out. I find a report of a speech made by Judge Douglas at Joliet, since we last met at Freeport,—published, I believe, in the *Missouri Republican*,—on the 9th of this month, in which Judge Douglas says:—

> "You know at Ottawa I read this platform, and asked him if he concurred in each and all of the principles set forth in it. He would not answer these questions. At last I said frankly, I wish you to answer them, because when I get them up here where the color of your principles are[3] a little darker than in Egypt, I

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[1] Reads: "of" for "in."

[2] Inserts, "very" before "nearly."

[3] Reads: "is" for "are."

intend to trot you down to Jonesboro. The very notice that I was going to take him down to Egypt made him tremble in the knees so that he had to be carried from the platform. He laid up seven days, and in the meantime held a consultation with his political physicians; they had Lovejoy and Farnsworth and all the leaders of the Abolition party; they consulted it all over, and at last Lincoln came to the conclusion that he would answer; so he came up to Freeport last Friday."

Now, that statement altogether furnishes a subject for philosophical contemplation. [Laughter.] I have been treating it in that way, and I have really come to the conclusion that I can explain it in no other way than by believing the Judge is crazy. [Renewed laughter.] If he was in his right mind, I cannot conceive how he would have risked disgusting the four or five thousand of his own friends who stood there, and knew, as to my having been carried from the platform, that there was not a word of truth in it.

Judge Douglas.—Didn't they carry you off?

Mr. Lincoln.—There! that question illustrates the character of this man Douglas exactly. He smiles now, and says, "Didn't they carry you off?" But he said then "*he had to be carried off;*" and he said it to convince the country that he had so completely broken me down by his speech that I had to be carried away. Now he seeks to dodge it, and asks, "Didn't they carry you off?" Yes, they did. *But Judge Douglas why didn't you tell the truth?* [Great laughter and cheers.] I would like to know why you didn't tell the truth about it. [Continued laughter.] And then again, "He laid up seven days." He puts this in print for the people of the country to read as a serious document. I think if he had been in his sober senses he would not have risked that barefacedness in the presence of thousands of his own friends, who knew that I made speeches within six of the seven days at Henry, Marshall County; Augusta, Hancock County; and Macomb, McDonough County; including all the necessary travel to meet him again at Freeport at the end of the six days. Now, I say there is no charitable way to look at that statement, except to conclude that he is actually crazy. [Laughter.]

There is another thing in that statement that alarmed me very greatly as he states it,—that he was going to "trot me down to Egypt." Thereby he would have you infer that I would not come down to Egypt unless he forced me,—that I could not be got here, unless he, giant-like, had hauled me down here. [Laughter.] That statement he makes, too, in the teeth of the knowledge that I had made the stipulation to come down here, *and that he himself had been very reluctant to enter into that stipulation.* [Cheers and laughter.] More than all this, Judge Douglas, when he made that statement, must have been crazy, and wholly out of his sober senses, or else he would have known that when he got me down here, that promise—that windy promise—of his powers to annihilate me, wouldn't amount to anything. Now, how little do I look like being carried away trembling? Let the Judge go on; and after he is done with his half hour, I want you all, if I can't go home myself to let me stay and rot here; and if anything happens to the Judge, if I cannot carry him to the hotel and put him to bed, let me stay here and rot. [Great laughter.]

I say, then, there is something *extraordinary* in this statement. I ask you if you know any other living man who would make such a statement? [Cries of "No, no;" "Yes, yes."] I will ask my friend Casey over there if he would do such a thing? [Casey dropped his head and said nothing.] Would he send that out, and have his men take it as the truth? Did the Judge talk of trotting me down to Egypt to scare me to death? Why, I know this people better than he does. I was raised just a little east of here. I am a part of this people. But the Judge was raised further north, and perhaps he has some horrid idea of what this people might be induced to do. [Roars of laughter and cheers.] But really I have talked about this matter perhaps longer than I ought, for it is no great thing; and yet the smallest are often the most difficult things to deal with. The Judge has set about seriously trying to make the impression that when we meet at different places I am literally in his clutches—that I am a poor, helpless, decrepit mouse, and that I can do nothing at all. This is one of the ways he has taken to create that impression. I don't know any other way to meet it, except this. I don't want to quarrel with him,—to call him a liar; but when I come square up to him I don't know what else to call him, if I must tell the truth out. [Cheers and laughter.] I want to be at peace, and reserve all my fighting powers for necessary occasions. My time, now, is nearly out, and I give up the trifle that is left to the Judge, to let him set my knees trembling again, if he can.

Mr. Douglas's Rejoinder

Mr. Douglas on again taking the stand was greeted with thundering applause. He said:

My friends, while I am very grateful to you for the enthusiasm which you show for me, I will say in all candor, that your quietness will be much more agreeable than your applause, inasmuch as you deprive me of some part of my time whenever you cheer. ["All right, go ahead, we won't interrupt," etc.]

I will commence where Mr. Lincoln left off, and make a remark upon this serious complaint of his about my speech at Joliet. I did say there in a playful manner that when I put these questions to Mr. Lincoln at Ottawa he failed to answer, and that he trembled and had to be carried off the stand, and required seven days to get up his reply. [Laughter.] That he did not walk off from that stand he will not deny. That when the crowd went away from the stand with me, a few persons carried him home on their shoulders and laid him down he will admit. [Shouts of laughter.] I wish to say to you that whenever I degrade my friends and myself by allowing them to carry me on their backs along through the public streets, when I am able to walk, I am willing to be deemed crazy ["All right, Douglas," laughter and applause. Lincoln chewing his nails in a rage in a back corner.]

I did not say whether I beat him or he beat me in the argument. It is true I put these questions to him, and I put them, not as mere idle questions, but showed that I based them upon the creed of the Black Republican party as declared by their conventions in that portion of the State which he depends upon to elect him, and desired to know whether he indorsed that creed. He would not answer. When I reminded him that I intended bringing him into Egypt and renewing my questions if he refused to answer, he then consulted, and did get up his answers one week after,—answers which I may refer to in a few minutes, and show you how equivocal they are. My object was to make him avow whether or not he stood by the platform of his party; the resolutions I then read, and upon which I based my questions, had been adopted by his party in the Galena Congressional District, and the Chicago and Bloomington Congressional Districts, composing a large majority of the counties in this State that give Republican or Abolition majorities. Mr. Lincoln cannot and will not deny that the doctrines laid down in these resolutions were in substance put forth in Lovejoy's resolutions, which were voted for by a majority of his party, some of them, if not all, receiving the support of every man of his party. Hence, I laid a foundation for my questions to him before I asked him whether that was or was not the platform of his party.

He says that he answered my questions. One of them was whether he would vote to admit any more Slave States into the Union. The creed of the Republican party as set forth in the resolutions of their various conventions was, that they would under no circumstances vote to admit another Slave State. It was put forth in the Lovejoy resolutions in the Legislature; it was put forth and passed in a majority of all the counties of this State which give Abolition or Republican majorities, or elect members to the Legislature of that school of politics. I had a right to know whether he would vote for or against the admission of another Slave State, in the event the people wanted it. He first answered that he was not pledged on the subject, and then said:—

> "In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in the position of having to pass on that question. ["No doubt,—" and laughter. Mr. Lincoln looks savagely into the crowd for the man who said "no doubt."] I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the Territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people, having a fair chance and clean field when they come to adopt a Constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union."

Now analyze that answer. In the first place, he says he would be exceedingly sorry to be put in a position where he would have to vote on the question of the admission of a Slave State. Why is he a candidate for the Senate if he would be sorry to be put in that position? I trust the people of Illinois will not put him in a position which he would be so sorry to occupy. ["There's no danger," etc.] The next position he takes is that he would be glad to know that there would never be another Slave State, yet, in certain contingencies, he might have to vote for one. What is that contingency? "If Congress keeps slavery out by law while it is a Territory, and then the people should have a fair chance and should adopt slavery, uninfluenced by the presence of the institution," he supposed he would have to admit the State.

Suppose Congress should not keep slavery out during their Territorial existence, then how would he vote when the people applied for admission into the Union with a slave constitution? That he does not answer; and that is the condition of every Territory we have now got. Slavery is not kept out of Kansas by act of Congress; and when I put the question to Mr. Lincoln, whether he will vote for the admission with or without slavery, as her people may desire, he will not answer, and you have not got an answer from him. In Nebraska, slavery is not prohibited by Act of Congress, but the people are allowed, under the Nebraska bill, to do as they please on the subject; and when I ask him whether he will vote to admit Nebraska with a slave constitution if her people desire it, he will not answer. So with New Mexico, Washington Territory, Arizona, and the four new States to be admitted from Texas.

You cannot get an answer from him to these questions. His answer only applies to a given case, to a condition,—things which he knows do not exist in any one Territory in the Union. He tries to give you to understand that he would allow the people to do as they please, and yet he dodges the question as to every Territory in the Union. I now ask why cannot Mr. Lincoln answer to each of these Territories? He has not done it, and he will not do it. The Abolitionists up north understand that this answer is made with a view of not committing himself on any one Territory now in existence. It is so understood there, and you cannot expect an answer from him on a case that applies to any one Territory, or applies to the new States which by compact we are pledged to admit out of Texas, when they have the requisite population and desire admission. I submit to you whether he has made a frank answer, so that you can tell how he would vote in any one of these cases. "He would be sorry to be put in the position." Why would he be sorry to be put in this position if his duty required him to give the vote? If the people of a Territory ought to be permitted to come into the Union as a State, with Slavery or without it, as they pleased, why not give the vote admitting them cheerfully? If in his opinion they ought not to come in with slavery, even if they wanted to, why not say that he would cheerfully vote against their admission? His intimation is that conscience would not let him vote "No," and he would be sorry to do that which his conscience would compel him to do as an honest man. [Laughter and cheers.]

In regard to the contract, or bargain, between Trumbull, the Abolitionists, and him, which he denies, I wish to say that the charge can be proved by notorious historical facts. Trumbull, Lovejoy, Giddings, Fred Douglass, Hale, and Banks were traveling the State at that time, making speeches on the same side and in the same cause with him. He contents himself with the simple denial that no such thing occurred.

Does he deny that he, and Trumbull, and Breese, and Giddings, and Chase, and Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy, and all those Abolitionists and deserters from the Democratic party did make speeches all over this State in the same common cause? Does he deny that Jim Matheny was then, and is now, his confidential friend, and does he deny that Matheny made the charge of the bargain and fraud in his own language, as I have read it from his printed speech? Matheny spoke of his own personal knowledge of that bargain existing between Lincoln, Trumbull, and the Abolitionists. He still remains Lincoln's confidential friend, and is now a candidate for Congress, and is canvassing the Springfield District for Lincoln. I assert that I can prove the charge to be true in detail if I can ever get it where I can summon and compel the attendance of witnesses. I have the statement of another man to the same effect as that made by Matheny, which I am not permitted to use yet; but Jim Matheny is a good witness on that point, and then[1] the history of the country is conclusive upon it. That Lincoln up to that time had been a Whig, and then undertook to Abolitionize the Whigs and bring them into the Abolition camp, is beyond denial; that Trumbull up to that time had been a Democrat, and deserted, and undertook to Abolitionize the Democracy, and take them into the Abolition camp, is beyond denial; that they are both now active, leading, distinguished members of this Abolition Republican party in full communion, is a fact that cannot be questioned or denied.

But Lincoln is not willing to be responsible for the creed of his party He complains because I hold him responsible; and in order to avoid the issue, he attempts to show that individuals in the Democratic party, many years ago, expressed Abolition sentiments. It is true that Tom Campbell, when a candidate for Congress in 1850, published the letter which Lincoln read. When I asked Lincoln for the date of that letter, he could not give it. The date of the letter has been suppressed by other speakers who have used it, though I take if for granted that Lincoln did not know the date. If he will take the trouble to examine, he will find that the letter was published only two days before the election, and was never seen until after it, except in one county. Tom Campbell would have been beat to death by the Democratic party if that letter had been made public in his district. As to Molony, it is true he uttered sentiments of the kind referred to by Mr. Lincoln, and the best Demo-

[1] Omits "then."

crats would not vote for him for that reason. I returned from Washington after the passage of the Compromise Measures in 1850, and when I found Molony running under[1] Wentworth's tutelage and on his platform, I denounced him, and declared that he was no Democrat.

In my speech at Chicago, just before the election that year, I went before the infuriated people of that city and vindicated the Compromise Measures of 1850. Remember the city council had passed resolutions nullifying Acts of Congress and instructing the police to withhold their assistance from the execution of the laws; and as I was the only man in the city of Chicago who was responsible for the passage of the Compromise Measures, I went before the crowd, justified each and every one of those measures; and let it be said, to the eternal honor of the people of Chicago, that when they were convinced by my exposition of those measures that they were right, and they had done wrong in opposing them, they repealed their nullifying resolutions, and declared that they would acquiesce in and support the laws of the land. These facts are well known, and Mr. Lincoln can only get up individual instances, dating back to 1849-'50, which are contradicted by the whole tenor of the Democratic creed.

But Mr. Lincoln does not want to be held responsible for the Black Republican doctrine of no more Slave States. Farnsworth is the candidate of his party to-day in the Chicago District, and he made a speech in the last Congress in which he called upon God to palsy his right arm if he ever voted for the admission of another Slave State, whether the people wanted it or not. Lovejoy is making speeches all over the State for Lincoln now, and taking ground against any more Slave States. Washburne, the Black Republican candidate for Congress in the Galena District, is making speeches in favor of this same Abolition platform declaring no more Slave States. Why are men running for Congress in the northern districts, and taking that Abolition platform for their guide, when Mr. Lincoln does not want to be held to it down here in Egypt and in the center of the State, and objects to it so as to get votes here? ["He can't get any."] Let me tell Mr. Lincoln that his party in the northern part of the State hold to that Abolition platform, and that if they do not in the south and in the center, they present the extraordinary spectacle of a "house divided against itself," and hence, "cannot stand." ["Hurrah."] I now bring down upon him the vengeance of his own scriptural quotation, and give it a more appropriate application than he did, when I say to him that his party, Abolition in one end of the State, and opposed to it in the other, is a house divided against itself, and cannot stand, and ought not to stand, for it attempts to cheat the American people out of their votes by disguising its sentiments. [Cheers.]

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[1] Inserts "John."

Mr. Lincoln attempts to cover up and get over his Abolitionism by telling you that he was raised a little east of you, [laughter] beyond the Wabash in Indiana, and he thinks that makes a mighty sound and good man of him on all these questions. I do not know that the place where a man is born or raised has much to do with his political principles. The worst Abolitionists I have ever known in Illinois have been men who have sold their slaves in Alabama and Kentucky, and have come here and turned Abolitionists whilst spending the money got for the negroes they sold; ["that's so," and laughter] and I do not know that an Abolitionist from Indiana or Kentucky ought to have any more credit because he was born and raised among slaveholders. ["Not a bit," "not as much," etc.] I do not know that a native of Kentucky is more excusable because, raised among slaves, his father and mother having owned slaves, he comes to Illinois, turns Abolitionist, and slanders the graves of his father and mother, and breathes curses upon the institutions under which he was born, and his father and mother bred.

True, I was not born out west here. I was born away down in Yankee land, ["good"] I was born in a valley in Vermont, ["all right"] with the high mountains around me. I love the old green mountains and valleys of Vermont where I was born, and where I played in my childhood. I went up to visit them some seven or eight years ago, for the first time for twenty odd years. When I got there they treated me very kindly. They invited me to the Commencement of their college, placed me on the seats with their distinguished guests, and conferred upon me the degree of LL.D. in Latin (doctor of laws),—the same as they did[1] Old Hickory, at Cambridge, many years ago; and I give you my word and honor I understood just as much of the Latin as he did. [Laughter.] When they got through conferring the honorary degree, they called upon me for a speech; and I got up, with my heart full and swelling with gratitude for their kindness, and I said to them, "My friends, Vermont is the most glorious spot on the face of this globe for a man to be born in, *provided* he emigrates when he is very young." [Uproarious shouts of laughter.]

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[1] Inserts "on."

I emigrated when I was very young. I came out here when I was a boy, and I found my mind liberalized, and my opinions enlarged, when I got on these broad prairies, with only the heavens to bound my vision, instead of having them circumscribed by the little narrow ridges that surrounded the valley where I was born. But I discard all flings at[1] the land where a man was born. I wish to be judged by my principles, by those great public measures and constitutional principles upon which the peace, the happiness, and the perpetuity of this Republic now rest.

Mr. Lincoln has framed another question, propounded it to me, and desired my answer. As I have said before, I did not put a question to him that I did not first lay a foundation for, by showing that it was a part of the platform of the party whose votes he is now seeking; adopted in a majority of the counties where he now hopes to get a majority; and supported by the candidates of his party now running in those counties. But I will answer his question. It is as follows: "If the slaveholding citizens of a United States Territory should need and demand Congressional legislation for the protection of their slave property in such Territory, would you, as a member of Congress, vote for or against such legislation?" I answer him that it is a fundamental article in the Democratic creed that there should be non-interference and non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States or Territories. [Immense cheering.] Mr. Lincoln could have found an answer to his question in the Cincinnati platform, if he had desired it. The Democratic party have always stood by that great principle of non-interference and non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories alike, and I stand on that platform now. [Cheer after cheer was here given for Douglas.]

Now, I desire to call your attention to the fact that Lincoln did not define his own position in his own question. ["He can't; it's too far South," and laughter.] How does he stand on that question? He put the question to me at Freeport whether or not I would vote to admit Kansas into the Union before she had 93,420 inhabitants. I answered him at once that, it having been decided that Kansas had now population enough for a Slave State, she had population enough for a Free State. ["Good; that's it;" and cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "of" for "at."

I answered the question unequivocally; and then I asked him whether he would vote for or against the admission of Kansas before she had 93,420 inhabitants, and he would not answer me. To-day he has called attention to the fact that, in his opinion, my answer on that question was not quite plain enough, and yet he has not answered it himself. [Great laughter.] He now puts a question in relation to Congressional interference in the Territories to me. I answer him direct, and yet he has not answered the question himself. I ask you whether a man has any right, in common decency, to put questions in these public discussions, to his opponent, which he will not answer himself, when they are pressed home to him. I have asked him three times whether he would vote to admit Kansas whenever the people applied with a constitution of their own making and their own adoption, under circumstances that were fair, just, and unexceptionable; but I cannot get an answer from him. Nor will he answer the question which he put to me, and which I have just answered in relation to Congressional interference in the Territories, by making a slave code there.

It is true that he goes on to answer the question by arguing that under the decision of the Supreme Court it is the duty of a man to vote for a slave code in the Territories. He says that it is his duty, under the decision that the court has made; and if he believes in that decision he would be a perjured man if he did not give the vote. I want to know whether he is not bound to a decision which is contrary to his opinions just as much as to one in accordance with his opinions. ["Certainly."] If the decision of the Supreme Court, the tribunal created by the Constitution to decide the question, is final and binding, is he not bound by it just as strongly as if he was for it instead of against it originally? Is every man in this land allowed to resist decisions he does not like, and only support those that meet his approval? What are important courts worth, unless their decisions are binding on all good citizens? It is the fundamental principle of the judiciary that its decisions are final. It is created for that purpose; so that when you cannot agree among yourselves on a disputed point, you appeal to the judicial tribunal, which steps in and decides for you; and that decision is then binding on every good citizen. It is the law of the land just as much with Mr. Lincoln against it as for it.

And yet he says that if that decision is binding, he is a perjured man if he does not vote for a slave code in the different Territories of this

Union. Well, if you [turning to Mr. Lincoln] are not going to resist the decision; if you obey it, and do not intend to array mob law against the constituted authorities; then, according to your own statement, you will be a perjured man if you do not vote to establish slavery in these Territories. My doctrine is, that even taking Mr. Lincoln's view that the decision recognizes the right of a man to carry his slaves into the Territories of the United States if he pleases, yet after he gets there he needs affirmative law to make that right of any value. The same doctrine not only applies to slave property, but all other kinds of property. Chief Justice Taney places it upon the ground that slave property is on an equal footing with other property. Suppose one of your merchants should move to Kansas and open a liquor store: he has a right to take groceries and liquors there; but the mode of selling them, and the circumstances under which they shall be sold, and all the remedies, must be prescribed by local legislation; and if that is unfriendly, it will drive him out just as effectually as if there was a constitutional provision against the sale of liquor. So the absence of local legislation to encourage and support slave property in a Territory excludes it practically just as effectually as if there was a positive constitutional provision against it.

Hence, I assert that under the Dred Scott decision you cannot maintain slavery a day in a Territory where there is an unwilling people and unfriendly legislation. If the people are opposed to it, our right is a barren, worthless, useless right; and if they are for it, they will support and encourage it. We come right back, therefore, to the practical question, If the people of a Territory want slavery, they will have it; and if they do not want it, you cannot force it on them. And this is the practical question, the great principle, upon which our institutions rest. ["That's the doctrine."] I am willing to take the decision of the Supreme Court as it was pronounced by that august tribunal, without stopping to inquire whether I would have decided that way or not. I have had many a decision made against me on questions of law which I did not like, but I was bound by them just as much as if I had had a hand in making them and approved them. Did you ever see a lawyer or a client lose his case that he approved the decision of the court? They always think the decision unjust when it is given against them. In a government of laws, like ours, we must sustain the Constitution as our fathers made it, and maintain the rights of the States as they are guaranteed under the Constitution, and then we will have peace and harmony between the different States and sections of this glorious Union. [Prolonged cheering.]

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, September 17, 1858]

GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT JONESBORO

Fourteen Hundred Persons Present.—Douglas Rehearses the Same Old Speech.—He "Comes to His Milk" Voluntarily, and Old Abe Takes What He Has to Spare.—Lincoln Pulverizes His Freeport Answers on the Dred Scott Decision.—Douglas Impeaches the Democracy of His Friends Thomas Campbell and R. S. Malony.—Was He Drunk When He Made His Joliet Speech or Was He Only "Playful?"—Concluding Speeches by Hon. "For-God's-Sake Linder" and Hon. John Dougherty.—Verbatim Report of Douglas's Speech. Lincoln's Reply and Douglas's Rejoinder

Egypt took the promised novelty of Douglas' "bringing Old Abe to his milk," very coolly, considering the dog-day temperature that prevails down that way. Until ten o'clock on Wednesday the only evidence of the third great debate, in old Jonesboro, was a procession calling itself the Johnson County delegation, consisting of two yoke of steers and a banner inscribed "Stephen A. Douglas," turned bottom upwards. Nothing else unusual transpired during the forenoon until the arrival of two special trains—one from Centralia and the other from Cairo—which came in about the same time. The former consisted of four cars filled with attendants on the State Fair. The latter brought Mr. Douglas, his brass cannon, and a band of music from some unknown point, and five or six car-loads of passengers from Cairo, Mound City, Kentucky and Missouri. Arrived at Anna (Jonesboro Station) three cheers were *not* given—in default of which the brass cannon banged away spitefully. Mr. Douglas entered a carriage in a quiet and orderly manner, and was driven over to old Jonesboro, about a mile distant. Mr. Lincoln had arrived in town on the evening of the preceding day.

Shortly before two o'clock the people entered the Fair grounds, a little north of the town, where the speaking stand had been erected. The inevitable brass cannon was there before them, filling the yard with a loud noise and a bad smell. Several banners were brought up on the

Douglas train from Cairo, and distributed around the stand—the principal one inscribed with a paraphrase from Holy Writ:

MY SON, IF BOLTERS ENTICE THEE,
CONSENT THOU NOT.

This was claimed by the Buchanan men as having been stolen from them at a recent county convention.

The entire audience on the ground numbered between fourteen and fifteen hundred by actual count. To those who do not know the location of Jonesboro, it will be sufficient to say that it is the county seat of Union Co., thirty-three miles north of Cairo, about three hundred and fifty-seven miles south of Chicago. It is very pleasantly and healthfully situated among the hills towards the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and is about four hundred feet above high water mark.

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The Jonesboro audience was by far the smallest that has yet assembled to hear either of the speakers. There were only a few over fourteen hundred, including the six car-loads brought up by Douglas with his brass cannon and band of music from Cairo. Four car-loads of volunteers came down from Centralia.

[*Chicago Times*, September 17, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN.—DOUGLAS AT JONESBORO

Lincoln in Egypt.—Lincoln's Friends Enthusiastic.—They Give Him Three Cheers Each. Lincoln "Trotted Out." His "Points" Displayed. His Wind Fails Him.—Dougherty Supplies His Place.—The Allies Working Together.—Douglas Triumphs over All!

On Wednesday, Judge Douglas having been escorted to Jonesboro by two hundred and more of his personal friends, the joint discussion took place at a grove on the edge of the town. Delegations of Democrats from all the counties of lower Illinois were present, with banners and flags of various descriptions. Notwithstanding the fact that thousands of farmers and others were engaged elsewhere, at the State Fair, the attendance was very large. The number may be safely estimated at five thousand persons, in which vast body of men there were probably about sixty Republicans and fifteen Danites. The rest of the crowd were Democrats. In Southern Illinois the supporters of Lincoln and negro equality are in the proportion of twelve to a thousand for Douglas and democracy. While the Danites in Dougherty's own town of Jonesboro do not exceed altogether twenty-five, and in the surrounding counties do not average five to a county.

The enthusiasm of the people throughout Middle, Eastern, Western, and Southern Illinois in behalf of Douglas is intense; there is but one sentiment, one feeling, and there is but one purpose, which purpose is to re-elect him to the Senate where he has so ably and vigorously defended the constitution and the Union, has so long and successfully served Illinois, and has won for himself and the State such imperishable renown.

. . . .

[*New York Evening Post*, September 22, 1858]
(Special Correspondence of the *Evening Post*.)

JONESBORO', ILL., September 15, 1858

The third field-day between Lincoln and Douglas has just closed at this town. It is an ancient village in the heart of Egypt, among hills and ravines, and invested with forest as the soil itself. It is thirty miles from Cairo and three hundred miles from Chicago. Illinois is no longer the "Prairie state." We have come to it through rocky depths and cliff cuttings; through forests primeval; through sharp and broken bluffs, altogether like in style, though (from diversity of timber) not in appearance, to the region adjacent to the Erie Railroad, where it passes through Western New York.

Jonesboro' is a mile and a half from the railroad. The station is called "Anna," and is as large as the town itself. The Station is Republican; the town is democratic. The land sales of the Illinois Central Railroad, by opening the country to the advent of settlers, have introduced the men of the East, who bring certain uncomfortable and antagonistical political maxims, and thus the time-honored darkness of Egypt is made to fade away before the approach of middle state and New England ideas. Let these land sales go on, and a change will take place in the political physiognomy of Southern Illinois. All things suffer "a sea change," and already the alterative influence of these new ideas is sensibly felt in this section.

You remember that at Ottawa Mr. Douglas triumphantly informed his audience that he should "trot Lincoln down into Egypt," and "bring him to his milk," on certain questions propounded to him. This classic exercise has just closed. Lincoln has been "trotted out," and Douglas has small boast to make of his enterprise. The meeting, which was in a pleasant grove hard by the town, was very small, not over 1,200; and of these, probably a fourth were Republicans, another fourth Buchanan men, the rest Douglas men and women. Considering the abundant population of Egypt, and its firm faith in Douglas, it is very remarkable that so small a turnout appeared. Mr. Lincoln came to the ground attended by a few friends. The senator came attended by a band of music and a crowd of admirers, and heralded by discharges of that same brass cannon which has already travelled so extensively through the state. Mr. Douglas was greeted with immense applause on his appearance. He had the opening speech. In language it was almost identical with his Galena speech, and indeed with others that he has made. He began by stating that in 1852, and prior to 1854, the whig and democratic parties, however they differed on other matters, agreed and harmonized on the slavery question. Having established this fact, he proceeded to charge upon Lincoln and Trumbull a conspiracy to bring whigs and democrats, "bound hand and foot," into the abolition camp. The one to have Shields's place in the United States Senate, and the other to have "my place, if I should be so accommodating as to die or resign." He had very little to say in regard to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, but on the Dred Scott decision, said he was "content to abide by it, as the supreme law of the land," thus meandering slightly from his Freeport position, where this decision was an "abstraction" so far as it interfered with the popular sovereignty.

Mr. Douglas's speech was not marked by his usual ability, and the delivery was very bad—a sort of school boy monotone, with an especial *aplomb* on every emphatic syllable.

Mr. Lincoln arose evidently embarrassed by the apparent uniform democratic hue of his audience. A faint cheer was elicited, followed by derisive laughter from the Douglas men, and solemn silence from the "Danites." The Lincoln men took courage from this and burst into a loud cheer, which for the first time satisfied the statesmen on the platform, that matters were not all one way. Mr. Lincoln proceeded in his accustomed sincere, earnest and good-humored may to present his side of the case. He was a stranger to the audience and most of them were his bitter foes, but he won rapidly upon them.

[*Peoria Transcript*, September 20, 1858]

THE JONESBORO DEBATE

Although the audience in attendance at the Jonesboro debate between Lincoln and Douglas was very small compared with the crowd at

Ottawa and Freeport (not more than 1,500 persons being present) the debate itself is, in many respects, the most important one yet held. Its principal features were the new and powerful arguments introduced by Mr. Lincoln in exposing the position of Douglas on the Dred Scott decision, and an exhibition of Democratic platforms in Northern Illinois in 1850–52. As this portion of Mr. Lincoln's speech is highly interesting and important, we shall give it to our readers in full.

Mr. Douglas' opening speech was, from beginning to end, in language and substance, the same that he delivered in Ottawa. He went over the old ground of Negro equality, popular sovereignty, the rights of States, &c. The salient points of his closing speech were an explanation that when he told his Joliet falsehoods he was only in fun, (leaving the inference that he was probably drunk,) a nimble bound over and dodge under Mr. Lincoln's question as to whether he would or would not give the territorial slave holders Congressional protection should they demand it, and the closing lampoon of his birthplace to the effect that "Vermont is a good State to be born in, provided you emigrate when very young"—the same silly anecdote and shameful libel that he has used in every speech he has made since the opening of the campaign.

These discussions are resulting in a decided triumph of Mr. Lincoln over his opponent. The dispassionate and able manner in which he addressed the people, and the masterly manner in which he upholds Republicanism and exposes Democracy, elicits the admiration of the whole country. We are more and more convinced of his superiority over Mr. Douglas in every respect—as a debater, a statesman and an upright and incorruptible man. The resources of his mind are perfectly inexhaustible. No man in the nation has a more intimate knowledge of our political affairs, or knows better how to use that knowledge effectively.

[*Chicago Journal*, September 17, 1858]

THE DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN DEBATE IN LOWER EGYPT

JONESBORO', Sept. 15, 1858

The first debate in "Egypt," between Douglas and Lincoln, took place here today. As compared with the audiences they had at Ottawa and Freeport, the crowd present at this debate was small, and lacking in enthusiasm. There were not two thousand people in attendance.

The extra excursion train from Cairo, for the State Fair at Centralia, brought up Senator Douglas *and* his cannon this evening. We came up on the same train, and were surprised that notwithstanding the cannon was fired on the arrival at each station, *not a solitary cheer was given*, nor any sign of enthusiasm manifested, for Douglas, at any of the Stations, between Cairo and Jonesboro'. We say we were *surprised* at this, for the reason that we have heard so much about "Egypt" boiling with excitement in favor of the Little Giant. This is not true. Like a thousand other things we read in his organs and hear his fuglers say, it is *bogus*. There is no enthusiasm—no excitement, in this region for Douglas. We say this candidly, and mention it only to show that even in this strong "Democratic" section, where Douglas has been represented as invulnerable and unassailable, the utmost indifference exists regarding him. We are assured by gentlemen residing here, that there is a strong probability that the Buchanan Democratics—the adamantine "Nationals" are strongly in the ascendant over the Douglas bolters, and that in some localities hereaway there are even more Lincoln men than Douglas men. Think of that! "Egypt" becoming republicanized, or, as Douglasite libellers would say, "*Abolitionized*"*!* Jonesboro' itself, the very center of "Egypt," is a Republican town! This shows that the great, patriotic and righteous principles of the Republican party, which Mr. Lincoln so faithfully represents, and so ably advocates and defends before the people, are progressing and finding their way to the popular heart even in regions that Republicans have regarded as hopelessly given over to the worship of false gods. All that the Egyptians, as well as others, require to bring them into the support of Republicanism is to have our principles, sentiments and objects fairly and fully explained to them, so that they will understand them, and become disabused of the false notions regarding the Republican party, which Douglas and his blowers have by misrepresentation and falsehood, impressed upon them.

But I must say something about the "reception" Douglas and his cannon were honored with here. It was highly amusing, and to the Senator himself, evidently a disappointment. When the train arrived at the Station, his cannon (he always carries it with him, on an extra wood car attached to the train) fired his own salute, and a crowd of about a hundred rushed to the cars. He stepped forth, waved his hand, and nobody appearing to take any particular notice of him—(they are a very *cool* set of people down here, notwithstanding the hot weather they are having)—he went to a carriage prepared for him and left. There was no cheering—no anything. Bye and bye, three boys came along with Douglas banners, and a couple of big men with a big American flag, which the Senator brought with him in the train and they walked into the middle of the street and halted, expecting "the people" to follow them in procession behind Douglas' carriage. But "the people" didn't! The three boys and the two big men, with the banners and the big flag, then concluded to march, and off they went up street, presenting a spectacle that excited the laughter and ridicule of "the people." It being customary for some journalists to ridicule and burlesque the men and the meetings of their opponents, however unjustly, some may think that this was written in that spirit, but it is not. In saying that Douglas' "reception" here was the most ludicrous failure that we have ever witnessed in a political campaign, we speak in candor and assert the simple truth, however much such a fact may surprise those who are laboring under the mistaken notion that "Egypt is all for Douglas."

The town was exceedingly quiet, and the people scattered about here and there, until 2 o'clock when the crowd gathered in the grove near by, and the debate commenced. Senator Douglas opened in a speech of an hour, was followed by Mr. Lincoln in an hour and a half, and Douglas wound up the discussion in a half hour's rejoinder.

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There was no attempt to interfere with either of the speakers, and all went off orderly and well.

After the debate, cheers were given for Lincoln and for Douglas; and Gen. Linder being lively called for, mounted the stand and made a short Douglas speech. Hon. John Dougherty was also called on, and made a stirring Buchanan speech, denouncing Douglas in the strongest possible terms.

[*Lowell, Mass., Journal and Courier*, September 22, 1858]

THE SENATORIAL CANVASS IN ILLINOIS.—The Third senatorial discussion between Douglas and Lincoln took place at Jonesboro', Southern Illinois, on the 15th inst. Jonesboro' is one of the darkest regions of "Egypt," thirty miles from Cairo, and three hundred from Chicago. Union county, in which it is situated, gave at the Presidential election 46 votes for Fremont, 246 for Fillmore, and 1283 for Buchanan. Here, Douglas was supposed to be on his own ground, and in his own classic phrase, he was here to bring Lincoln "to his milk." According to the correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, however, his success was not very flattering. There were only about 1200 persons in attendance, showing less enthusiasm on the part of the friends of Douglas than might have been expected. About one half of these were Douglas men, one fourth Buchananites, and the remainder Republicans. Mr. Douglas' speech was not marked by his usual ability, and his delivery was very bad, while Lincoln's speech was said to have been the best he had delivered. Union county promises to give the Republican ticket three or four hundred votes, which is more than the Fremont and Fillmore vote combined in 1856.

[*Gate City*, Keokuk, Iowa, September 29, 1858]

NOT EXACTLY

Douglas said that he was going to bring "Old Abe" "to his milk" down in Egypt. The report of their speeches has gone abroad to the world and the *Louisville Journal* speaks thus of the remarks of Lincoln:

> "Let no one omit to read them. They are searching, scathing, stunning. They belong to what some one has graphically styled the *tomahawking* species."

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARLESTON DEBATE

[*The Indiana Journal*, Indianapolis, September 1858]

The Messenger of the American Express Company who came over the Terre Haute and Alton Road yesterday furnishes us with the following memoranda of the movements of Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois:

Sept. 15, 1858

EDITOR JOURNAL: Hon. Abraham Lincoln is at Mattoon today. Douglas is to be there tonight. Tomorrow they speak at Charleston. Each is to be accompanied by processions from Mattoon, taking different routes. There is considerable excitement to see which one has the largest turnout. The "Bowling Green Band" from Terre Haute is employed by the friends of Lincoln to head their procession.

FOURTH JOINT DEBATE

Charleston, September 18, 1858

Mr. Lincoln's Speech

Mr. Lincoln took the stand at a quarter before three, and was greeted with vociferous and protracted applause; after which, he said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: It will be very difficult for an audience so large as this to hear distinctly what a speaker says, and consequently it is important that as profound silence be preserved as possible.

While I was at the hotel to-day, an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the negroes and white people. [Great laughter.] While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on that subject, yet as the question was asked me, I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it. I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; [applause] that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

I say upon this occasion: I do not perceive that because the white man is to have the superior position the negro should be denied everything. I do not understand that because I do not want a negro woman for a slave I must necessarily want her for a wife. [Cheers and laughter.] My understanding is that I can just let her alone. I am now in my fiftieth year, and I certainly never have had a black woman for either a slave or a wife. So it seems to me quite possible for us to get along without making either slaves or wives of negroes. I will add to this that I have never seen, to my knowledge, a man, woman, or child who was in favor of producing a perfect equality, social and political, between negroes and white men. I recollect of but one distinguished instance that I ever heard of so frequently as to be entirely satisfied of its correctness, and that is the case of Judge Douglas's old friend Colonel Richard M. Johnson. [Laughter and cheers.]

I will also add to the remarks[1] I have made (for I am not going to enter at large upon this subject), that I have never had the least apprehension that I or my friends would marry negroes if there was no law to keep them from it; [laughter] but as Judge Douglas and his friends seem to be in great apprehension that they might, if there were no law to keep them from it, [roars of laughter] I give him the most solemn pledge that I will to the very last stand by the law of this State, which forbids the marrying of white people with negroes. [Continued laughter and applause.] I will add one further word, which is this: that I do not understand that[2] there is any place where an alteration of the social and political relations of the negro and the white man can be made,[3] except in the State Legislature,—not in the Congress of the United States; and as I do not really apprehend the approach of any such thing myself, and as Judge Douglas seems to be in constant horror that some such danger is rapidly approaching, I propose as the best means to prevent it that the Judge be kept at home, and placed in the State Legislature to

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[1] Inserts, "few" before "remarks."

[2] Omits "that."

[3] Reads: "changed" for "made."

CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS, FAIR GROUNDS

Where the Charleston Debate was held

fight the measure. [Uproarious laughter and applause.] I do not propose dwelling longer at this time on this subject.

When Judge Trumbull, our other Senator in Congress, returned to Illinois in the month of August, he made a speech at Chicago, in which he made what may be called *a charge* against Judge Douglas, which I understand proved to be very offensive to him. The Judge was at that time out upon one of his speaking tours through the country, and when the news of it reached him, as I am informed, he denounced Judge Trumbull in rather harsh terms for having said what he did in regard to that matter. I was traveling at that time, and speaking at the same places with Judge Douglas on subsequent days; and when I heard of what Judge Trumbull had said of Douglas, and what Douglas had said back again, I felt that I was in a position where I could not remain entirely silent in regard to the matter. Consequently, upon two or three occasions I alluded to it, and alluded[1] to it in no other wise than to say that in regard to the charge brought by Trumbull against Douglas, I *personally* knew nothing, and sought to say nothing about it; that I did personally know Judge Trumbull; that I believed him to be a man of veracity; that I believed him to be a man of capacity sufficient to know very well whether an assertion he was making, as a conclusion drawn from a set of facts, was true or false; and as a conclusion of my own from that, I stated it as my belief, if Trumbull should ever be called upon, he would prove everything he had said. I said this upon two or three occasions.

Upon a subsequent occasion, Judge Trumbull spoke again before an audience at Alton, and upon that occasion not only repeated his charge against Douglas, but arrayed the evidence he relied upon to substantiate it. This speech was published at length; and subsequently at Jacksonville Judge Douglas alluded to the matter. In the course of his speech, and near the close of it, he stated in regard to myself what I will now read: "Judge Douglas proceeded to remark that he should not hereafter occupy his time in refuting such charges made by Trumbull, but that Lincoln having indorsed the character of Trumbull for veracity, he should hold him (Lincoln) responsible for the slanders." I have done simply what I have told you, to subject me to this invitation to notice the charge. I now wish to say that it had not originally been my purpose to discuss that matter at all. But inasmuch as it seems to be the wish of Judge Douglas to hold me responsible for it, then for once in my life I will play General Jackson, and to the just extent I take the responsibility. [Great applause and cries of "Good, good," "Hurrah for Lincoln," etc.]

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[1] Inserts "I" before "alluded."

I wish to say at the beginning that I will hand to the reporters that portion of Judge Trumbull's Alton speech which was devoted to this matter, and also that portion of Judge Douglas's speech made at Jacksonville in answer to it. I shall thereby furnish the readers of this debate with the complete discussion between Trumbull and Douglas. I cannot now read them, for the reason that it would take half of my first hour to do so. I can only make some comments upon them. Trumbull's charge is in the following words: "Now, the charge is, that there was a plot entered into to have a Constitution formed for Kansas, and put in force, without giving the people an opportunity to vote upon it, and that Mr. Douglas was in the plot." I will state, without quoting further, for all will have an opportunity of reading it hereafter, that Judge Trumbull brings forward what he regards as sufficient evidence to substantiate this charge.

It will be perceived Judge Trumbull shows that Senator Bigler, upon the floor of the Senate, had declared there had been a conference among the senators, in which conference it was determined to have an Enabling Act passed for the people of Kansas to form a constitution under, and in this conference it was agreed among them that it was best not to have a provision for submitting the constitution to a vote of the people after it should be formed. He then brings forward evidence to show, and showing, as he deemed,[1] that Judge Douglas reported the bill back to the Senate with that clause stricken out. He then shows that there was a new clause inserted into the bill, which would in its nature *prevent* a reference of the constitution back for a vote of the people,—if, indeed, upon a mere silence in the law, it could be assumed that they had the right to vote upon it. These are the general statements that he has made.

I propose to examine the points in Judge Douglas's speech in which he attempts to answer that speech of Judge Trumbull's. When you come to examine Judge Douglas's speech, you will find that the first point he makes is: "Suppose it were true that there was such a change in the bill, and that I struck it out,—is that a proof of a plot to force a constitution upon them against their will?" His striking out such a provision, if there was such a one in the bill, he argues, does not establish the proof that it was stricken out for the purpose of robbing the people of that right. I would say, in the first place, that that would be a *most manifest* reason for it. It is true, as Judge Douglas states, that many Territorial bills have passed without having such a provision in them. I believe it is true, though I am not certain, that in some instances, constitutions framed under such bills have been submitted to a vote of the people, with the law silent upon[1] the subject; but it does not appear that they once had their Enabling Acts framed with an express provision for submitting the constitution to be framed, to a vote of the people, and then that it was[2] stricken out when Congress did not mean to alter the effect of the law.

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[1] Inserts "it" after "deemed."

That there have been bills which never had the provision in, I do not question; but when was that provision taken out of one that it was in? More especially does this evidence tend to prove the proposition that Trumbull advanced, when we remember that that provision was stricken out of the bill almost simultaneously with the time that Bigler says there was a conference among certain senators, and in which it was agreed that a bill should be passed leaving that out. Judge Douglas, in answering Trumbull, omits to attend to the testimony of Bigler, that there was a meeting in which it was agreed they should so frame the bill that there should be no submission of the constitution to a vote of the people. The Judge does not notice this part of it. If you take this as one piece of evidence, and then ascertain that simultaneously Judge Douglas struck out a provision that did require it to be submitted, and put the two together, I think it will make a pretty fair show of proof that Judge Douglas did, as Trumbull says, enter into a plot to put in force a constitution for Kansas without giving the people any opportunity of voting upon it.

But I must hurry on. The next proposition that Judge Douglas puts is this: "But upon examination it turns out that the Toombs bill never did contain a clause requiring the constitution to be submitted." This is a mere question of fact, and can be determined by evidence. I only want to ask this question: Why did not Judge Douglas say that these words were not stricken out of the Toombs bill, or this bill from which it is alleged the provision was stricken out,—a bill which goes by the name of Toombs, because he originally brought it forward? I ask why, if the Judge wanted to make a direct issue with Trumbull, did he not take the exact proposition Trumbull made in his speech, and say it[1] was not stricken out? Trumbull has given the exact words that he says were in the Toombs bill, and he alleges that when the bill came back, they were stricken out. Judge Douglas does not say that the words which Trumbull says were stricken out were not so stricken out; but he says there was no provision in the Toombs bill to submit the constitution to a vote of the people.

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[1] Reads: "on" for "upon."

[2] Reads: "they were" for "it was."

We see at once that he is merely making an issue upon the meaning of the words. He has not undertaken to say that Trumbull tells a lie about these words being stricken out; but he is really, when pushed up to it, only taking an issue upon the meaning of the words. Now, then, if there be any issue upon the meaning of the words, or if there be upon the question of fact as to whether these words were stricken out, I have before me what I suppose to be a genuine copy of the Toombs bill, in which it can be shown that the words Trumbull says were in it, were, in fact, originally there. If there be any dispute upon the fact, I have got the documents here to show they were there. If there be any controversy upon the sense of the words,—whether these words which were stricken out really constituted a provision for submitting the matter to a vote of the people,—as that is a matter of argument, I think I may as well use Trumbull's own argument. He says that the proposition is in these words:—

> "That the following propositions be and the same are hereby offered to the said Convention of the people of Kansas when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection; which, if accepted by the Convention *and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the constitution*, shall be obligatory upon the United States and the said State of Kansas."

Now, Trumbull alleges that these last words were stricken out of the bill when it came back, and he says this was a provision for submitting the constitution to a vote of the people; and his argument is this: "Would it have been possible to ratify the land propositions at the election for the adoption of the constitution, unless such an election was to be held?" [Applause and laughter.] This[2] is Trumbull's argument. Now, Judge Douglas does not meet the charge at all, but he stands up and says there was no such proposition in that bill for submitting the constitution, to be framed, to a vote of the people. Trumbull admits that the language is not a direct provision for submitting it, but it is a provision necessarily implied from another provision. He asks you how it is possible to ratify the land proposition at the election for the adoption of the constitution, if there was no election to be held for the adoption of the constitution. And he goes on to show that it is not any less a law because the provision is put in that indirect shape than it would be if it was put directly. But I presume I have said enough to draw attention to this point, and I pass it by also.

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[1] Inserts "that" before "it."

[2] Reads: "That" for "This."

Another one of the points that Judge Douglas makes upon Trumbull, and at very great length, is, that Trumbull, while the bill was pending, said in a speech in the Senate that he supposed the constitution to be made would have to be submitted to the people. He asks, if Trumbull thought so then, what ground is there for anybody thinking otherwise now?[1] Fellow-citizens, this much may be said in reply: That bill had been in the hands of a party to which Trumbull did not belong. It had been in the hands of the committee, at the head of which Judge Douglas stood. Trumbull perhaps had a printed copy of the original Toombs bill. I have not the evidence on that point, except a sort of inference I draw from the general course of business there. What alterations, or what provisions in the way of altering, were going on in that[2] committee, Trumbull had no means of knowing, until the altered bill was reported back. Soon afterward, when it was reported back, there was a discussion over it, and perhaps Trumbull in reading it hastily in the altered form did not perceive all the bearings of the alterations. He was hastily borne into the debate, and it does not follow that because there was something in it Trumbull did not perceive, that something did not exist. More than this, is it true that what Trumbull did can have any effect on what Douglas did? [Applause.] Suppose Trumbull had been in the plot with these other men, would that let Douglas out of it? [Applause and laughter.] Would it exonerate Douglas that Trumbull didn't then perceive that[3] he was in the plot?

He also asks the question: Why didn't Trumbull propose to amend the bill, if he thought it needed any amendment? Why, I believe that everything Judge Trumbull had proposed, particularly in connection with this question of Kansas and Nebraska, since he had been on the floor of the Senate, had been promptly voted down by Judge Douglas and his friends. He had no promise that an amendment offered by him to anything on this subject would receive the slightest consideration. Judge Trumbull did bring to the notice of the Senate at that time the fact that there was no provision for submitting the constitution about to be made for the people of Kansas, to a vote of the people. I believe I may venture to say that Judge Douglas made some reply to this speech of Judge Trumbull's, *but he never noticed that part of it at all*. And so the thing passed by. I think, then, the fact that Judge Trumbull offered no amendment, does not throw much blame upon him; and if it did, it does not reach the question of fact *as to what Judge Douglas was doing*. [Applause.] I repeat, that if Trumbull had himself been in the plot, it would not at all relieve the others who were in it from blame. If I should be indicted for murder, and upon the trial it should be discovered that I had been implicated in that murder, but that the prosecuting witness was guilty too, that would not at all touch the question of my crime. It would be no relief to my neck that they discovered this other man who charged the crime upon me to be guilty too.

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[1] Reads as follows: "He asks, if Trumbull thought so, what reason there is now for any one to suppose the contrary."

[2] Omits "that.

[3] Omits "that."

Another one of the points Judge Douglas makes upon Judge Trumbull is, that when he spoke in Chicago he made his charge to rest upon the fact that the bill had the provision in it for submitting the constitution to a vote of the people when it went into his (Judge Douglas's) hands, that it was missing when he reported it to the Senate, and that in a public speech he had subsequently said the alterations[1] in the bill were[2] made while it was in committee, and that they were made in consultation between him (Judge Douglas) and Toombs. And Judge Douglas goes on to comment upon the fact of Trumbull's adducing in his Alton speech the proposition that the bill not only came back with that proposition stricken out, but with another clause and another provision in it, saying that "until the complete execution of this Act there shall be no election in said Territory,"—which, Trumbull argued, was not only taking the provision for submitting to a vote of the people, out of the bill, but was adding an affirmative one, in that it prevented the people from exercising the right under a bill that was merely silent on the question.

Now, in regard to what he says, that Trumbull shifts the issue, that he shifts his ground,—and I believe he uses the term that, "it being proven false, he has changed ground,"—I call upon all of you, when you come to examine that portion of Trumbull's speech (for it will make a part of mine), to examine whether Trumbull has shifted his ground or not. I say he did not shift his ground, but that he brought forward his original charge and the evidence to sustain it yet more fully, but precisely as he originally made it. Then, in addition thereto, he brought in a new piece of evidence. He shifted no ground. He brought no new piece of evidence inconsistent with his former testimony; but[1] he brought a new piece, tending, as he thought, and as I think, to prove his proposition. To illustrate: A man brings an accusation against another, and on trial the man making the charge introduces A and B to prove the accusation. At a second trial he introduces the same witnesses, who tell the same story as before, and a third witness, who tells the same thing, and in addition gives further testimony corroborative of the charge. So with Trumbull. There was no shifting of ground, nor inconsistency of testimony between the new piece of evidence and what he originally introduced.

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[1] Reads: "alteration" for "alterations."

[2] Reads: "was" for "were."

But Judge Douglas says that he himself moved to strike out that last provision of the bill, and that on his motion it was stricken out and a substitute inserted. That I presume is the truth. I presume it is true that that last proposition was stricken out by Judge Douglas. Trumbull has not said it was not. Trumbull has himself said that it was so stricken out. He says: "I am speaking of the bill as Judge Douglas reported it back. It was amended somewhat in the Senate before it passed, but I am speaking of it as he brought it back." Now, when Judge Douglas parades the fact that the provision was stricken out of the bill when it came back, he asserts nothing contrary to what Trumbull alleges. Trumbull has only said that he originally put it in,—not that he did not strike it out. Trumbull says it was not in the bill when it went to the committee. When it came back it was in, and Judge Douglas said the alterations were made by him in consultation with Toombs. Trumbull alleges, therefore, as his conclusion, that Judge Douglas put it in.

Then, if Douglas wants to contradict Trumbull and call him a liar, let him say he did not put it in, and not that he didn't take it out again. It is said that a bear is sometimes hard enough pushed to drop a cub;

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[1] Reads: "and" for "but."

and so I presume it was in this case. [Loud applause.] I presume the truth is that Douglas put it in, and afterward took it out. [Laughter and cheers.] That, I take it, is the truth about it. Judge Trumbull says one thing, Douglas says another thing, and the two don't contradict one another at all. The question is, What did he put it in for? In the first place, what did he take the other provision out of the bill for,—the provision which Trumbull argued was necessary for submitting the constitution to a vote of the people? What did he take that out for; and, having taken it out, what did he put this in for? I say that in the run of things, it is not unlikely forces conspired to render it vastly expedient for Judge Douglas to take that latter clause out again. The question that Trumbull has made is that Judge Douglas put it in; and he don't meet Trumbull at all unless he denies that.

In the clause of Judge Douglas's speech upon this subject he uses this language toward Judge Trumbull. He says: "He forges his evidence from beginning to end; and by falsifying the record, he endeavors to bolster up his false charge." Well, that is a pretty serious statement. Trumbull "forges his evidence from beginning to end." Now, upon my own authority I say that it is not true. [Great cheers and laughter.] What is a forgery? Consider the evidence that Trumbull has brought forward. When you come to read the speech, as you will be able to, examine whether the evidence is a forgery from beginning to end. He had the bill or document in his hand like that [holding up a paper]. He says that is a copy of the Toombs bill,—the amendment offered by Toombs. He says that is a copy of the bill as it was introduced and went into Judge Douglas's hands. Now, does Judge Douglas say that is forgery?[1] That is one thing Trumbull brought forward. Judge Douglas says he forged it from beginning to end! That is the "beginning" we will say. Does Douglas say that is a forgery? Let him say it to-day, and we will have a subsequent examination upon this subject. [Loud applause.] Trumbull then holds up another document like this, and says that is an exact copy of the bill as it came back in the amended form out of Judge Douglas's hands. Does Judge Douglas say that[2] that is a forgery? Does he say it in his general sweeping charge? Does he say so now? If he does not, then take this Toombs bill and the bill in the amended form, and it only needs to compare them to see[1] the provision is in the one and not[2] in the other; it leaves the inference inevitable that it was taken out. [Applause.]

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[1] Inserts "a" before "forgery."

[2] Omits "that."

But while I am dealing with this question, let us see what Trumbull's other evidence is. One other piece of evidence I will read. Trumbull says there are in this original Toombs bill these words: "That the following propositions be, and the same are hereby offered to the said Convention of the people of Kansas, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection; which, if accepted by the Convention and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the constitution, shall be obligatory upon the United States and the said State of Kansas." Now, if it is said that this is a forgery, we will open the paper here and see whether it is or not. Again, Trumbull says, as he goes along, that Mr. Bigler made the following statement in his place in the Senate, Dec. 9, 1857:—

> "I was present when that subject was discussed by senators before the bill was introduced, and the question was raised and discussed, whether the constitution when formed, should be submitted to a vote of the people. It was held by those most intelligent on the subject that in view of all the difficulties surrounding that Territory, the danger of any experiment at that time of a popular vote, it would be better there should be no such provision in the Toombs bill; and is was my understanding, in all the intercourse I had, that the Convention would make a constitution, and send it here, without submitting it to the popular vote."

Then Trumbull follows on:—

> "In speaking of this meeting again on the 21st of December, 1857 [*Congressional Globe;* same vol., page 113], Senator Bigler said:—
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> "'Nothing was further from my mind than to allude to any social or confidential interview. The meeting was not of that character. Indeed, it was semi-official, and called to promote the public good. My recollection was clear that I left the conference under the impression that it had been deemed best to adopt measures to admit Kansas as a State through the agency of one popular election, and that for delegates to this Convention. This impression was stronger because I thought the spirit of the bill infringed upon the doctrine of non-intervention, to which I had great aversion; but with the hope of accomplishing a great good, and as no movement had been made in that direction in the Territory, I waived this objection, and concluded to support the measure. I have a few items of testimony as to the correctness of these impressions, and with their submission I shall be content. I have before me the bill reported by the senator from Illinois on the 7th of March, 1856, providing for the admission of Kansas as a State, the third section of which reads as follows:—
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> "'"That the following propositions be, and the same are hereby offered

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[1] Inserts "that" after "see."

[2] Inserts "it is" before "not."

to the said Convention of the people of Kansas, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection; which, if accepted by the Convention and ratified by the people at the election for the adoption of the Constitution, shall be obligatory upon the United States and the said State of Kansas."

"'The bill read in his[1] place by the senator from Georgia on the 25th of June, and referred to the Committee on Territories, contained the same section word for word. Both these bills were under consideration at the conference referred to; but, sir, when the senator from Illinois reported the Toombs bill to the Senate with amendments, the next morning, it did not contain that portion of the third section which indicated to the Convention that the Constitution should be approved by the people. The words, "*and ratified by the people at the election, for the adoption of the constitution*," had been stricken out.'"

Now, these things Trumbull says were stated by Bigler upon the floor of the Senate on certain days, and that they are recorded in the *Congressional Globe* on certain pages. Does Judge Douglas say this is a forgery? Does he say there is no such thing in the *Congressional Globe?* What does he mean when he says Judge Trumbull forges his evidence from beginning to end? So again he says in another place, that Judge Douglas, in his speech, Dec. 9, 1857 (*Congressional Globe*, part 1, page 15), stated:—

"That during the last session of Congress I [Mr. Douglas] reported a bill from the Committee on Territories, to authorize the people of Kansas to assemble and form a constitution for themselves. Subsequently the senator from Georgia [Mr. Toombs] brought forward a substitute for my bill, which, *after having been modified by him and myself in consultation*, was passed by the Senate."

Now, Trumbull says this[2] is a quotation from a speech of Douglas, and is recorded in the *Congressional Globe*. Is *it* a forgery? Is it there or not? It may not be there, but I want the Judge to take these pieces of evidence, and distinctly say they are forgeries if he dare do it.

A Voice.—He will.

Mr. Lincoln.—Well, sir, you had better not commit him. [Cheers and laughter.] He gives other quotations,—another from Judge Douglas. He says:—

"I will ask the senator to show me an intimation, from any one member of the Senate, in the whole debate on the Toombs bill, and in the Union, from any quarter, that the constitution was not to be submitted to the people. I will venture to say that on all sides of the chamber it was so understood at the time. If the opponents of the bill had understood it was not, they would have made the point on it; and if they had made it, we should certainly have yielded to it, and put in

[1] Omits "his."

[2] Reads: "that" for "this."

the clause. That is a discovery made since the President found out that it was not safe to take it for granted that that would be done, which ought in fairness to have been done."

Judge Trumbull says Douglas made that speech, and it is recorded. Does Judge Douglas say it is a forgery, and was not true? Trumbull says somewhere, and I propose to skip it, but it will be found by any one who will read this debate, that he did distinctly bring it to the notice of those who were engineeering the bill, that it lacked that provision; and then he goes on to give another quotation from Judge Douglas, where Judge Trumbull uses this language:—

"Judge Douglas, however, on the same day and in the same debate, probably recollecting or being reminded of the fact that I had objected to the Toombs bill when pending, that it did not provide for a submission of the constitution to the people, made another statement which is to be found in the same volume of the *Globe*, page 22, in which he says:—

"'That the bill was silent on this subject was true, and my attention was called to that about the time it was passed; and I took the fair construction to be, that powers not delegated, were reserved, and that of course the constitution would be submitted to the people.'

"Whether this statement is consistent with the statement just before made, that had the point been made it would have been yielded to, or that it was a new discovery, you will determine."

So I say. I do not know whether Judge Douglas will dispute this, and yet maintain his position that Trumbull's evidence "was forged from beginning to end." I will remark that I have not got these *Congressional Globes* with me. They are large books, and difficult to carry about, and if Judge Douglas shall say that on these points where Trumbull has quoted from them there are no such passages there, I shall not be able to prove they are there upon this occasion, but I will have another chance. Whenever he points out the forgery and says, "I declare that this particular thing which Trumbull has uttered is not to be found where he says it is," then my attention will be drawn to that, and I will arm myself for the contest,—stating now that I have not the slightest doubt on earth that I will find every quotation just where Trumbull says it is.

Then the question is, How can Douglas call that a forgery? How can he make out that it is a forgery? What is a forgery? It is the bringing forward something in writing or in print purporting to be of certain effect when it is altogether untrue. If you come forward with my note for one hundred dollars when I have never given such a note, there is a forgery. If you come forward with a letter purporting to be written by[1] me which I never wrote, there is another forgery. If you produce anything in writing or in[2] print saying it is so and so, the document not being genuine, a forgery has been committed. How do you make this a forgery when every piece of the evidence is genuine? If Judge Douglas does say these documents and quotations are false and forged, he has a full right to do so; but until he does it specifically, we don't know how to get at him. If he does say they are false and forged, I will then look further into it, and I presume I can procure the certificates of the proper officers that they are genuine copies. I have no doubt each of these extracts will be found exactly where Trumbull says it is.

Then I leave it to you if Judge Douglas, in making his sweeping charge that Judge Trumbull's evidence is forged from beginning to end, at all meets the case,—if that is the way to get at the facts. I repeat again, if he will point out which one is a forgery, I will carefully examine it, and if it proves that any one of them is really a forgery, it will not be me who will hold to it any longer. I have always wanted to deal with every one I meet, candidly and honestly. If I have made any assertion not warranted by facts, and it is pointed out to me, I will withdraw it cheerfully. But I do not choose to see Judge Trumbull calumniated, and the evidence he has brought forward branded in general terms, "a forgery from beginning to end." This[3] is not the legal way of meeting a charge, and I submit to all intelligent persons, both friends of Judge Douglas and of myself, whether it is.

Lincoln.—Now, coming back—how much time have I left?

The Moderator.—Three minutes.

The point upon Judge Douglas is this. The bill that went into his hands had the provision in it for a submission of the constitution to the people; and I say its language amounts to an express provision for a submission, and that he took the provision out. He says it was known that the bill was silent in this particular; *but I say, Judge Douglas, it was not silent when you got it.* [Great applause.] It was vocal with the declaration, when you got it, for a submission of the constitution to the people. And now, my direct question to Judge Douglas is, to answer why, if he deemed the bill silent on this point, he found it necessary to strike out those particular harmless words. If he had found the bill silent and without this provision, he might say what he does now. If he supposes[1] it was implied that the constitution would be submitted to a vote of the people, how could these two lines so incumber the statute as to make it necessary to strike them out? How could he infer that a submission was still implied, after its express provision had been stricken from the bill? I find the bill vocal with the provision, while he silenced it. He took it out, and although he took out the other provision preventing a submission to a vote of the people, I ask, *Why did you first put it in?* I ask him whether he took the original provision out, which Trumbull alleges was in the bill? If he admits that he did take it, *I ask him what he did it for?* It looks to us as if he had altered the bill. If it looks differently to him,—if he has a different reason for his action than[2] the one we assign him—he can tell it. I insist upon knowing why he made the bill silent upon that point when it was vocal before he put his hands upon it.

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[1] Reads: "from" for "by."

[2] Omits "in."

[3] Reads: "That" for "This."

I was told, before my last paragraph, that my time was within three minutes of being out. I presume it is expired now; I therefore close. [Three tremendous cheers were given as Mr. Lincoln retired.]

Senator Douglas's Reply

Ladies and Gentlemen: I had supposed that we assembled here to-day for the purpose of a joint discussion between Mr. Lincoln and myself upon the political questions that now agitate the whole country. The rule of such discussions is, that the opening speaker shall touch upon all the points he intends to discuss, in order that his opponent, in reply, shall have the opportunity of answering them. Let me ask you what questions of public policy, relating to the welfare of this State or the Union, has Mr. Lincoln discussed before you? Mr. Lincoln simply contented himself at the outset by saying that he was not in favor of social and political equality between the white man and the negro, and did not desire the law so changed as to make the latter voters or eligible to office. I am glad that I have at last succeeded in getting an answer out of him upon this question of negro citizenship and eligibility to office, for I have been trying to bring him to the point on it ever since this canvass commenced.

I will now call your attention to the question which Mr. Lincoln has occupied his entire time in discussing. He spent his whole hour in retailing a charge made by Senator Trumbull against me. The circumstances out of which that charge was manufactured occurred prior to the last Presidential election, over two years ago. If the charge was true, why did not Trumbull make it in 1856, when I was discussing the questions of that day all over this State with Lincoln and him, and when it was pertinent to the then issue? He was then as silent as the grave on the subject. If that charge was true, the time to have brought it forward was the canvass of 1856 the year when the Toombs bill passed the Senate. When the facts were fresh in the public mind, when the Kansas question was the paramount question of the day, and when such a charge would have had a material bearing on the election, why did he and Lincoln remain silent then, knowing that such a charge could be made and proven if true? Were they not false to you and false to the country in going through that entire campaign, concealing their knowledge of this enormous conspiracy which, Mr. Trumbull says, he then knew and would not tell? [Laughter.]

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[1] Reads: "supposed" for "supposes."

[2] Reads: "from" for "than."

Mr. Lincoln intimates, in his speech, a good reason why Mr. Trumbull would not tell, for he says that it might be true, as I proved that it was at Jacksonville, that Trumbull was also in the plot, yet that the fact of Trumbull's being in the plot would not in any way relieve me. He illustrates this argument by supposing himself on trial for murder, and says that it would be no extenuating circumstance if, on his trial, another man was found to be a party to his crime. Well, if Trumbull was in the plot, and concealed it in order to escape the odium which would have fallen upon himself, I ask you whether you can believe him now, when he turns State's evidence, and avows his own infamy in order to implicate me. ["He is a liar and a traitor. We couldn't believe Lyman Trumbull under oath," etc.] I am amazed that Mr. Lincoln should now come forward and indorse that charge, occupying his whole hour in reading Mr. Trumbull's speech in support of it. Why, I ask, does not Mr. Lincoln make a speech of his own instead of taking up his time reading Trumbull's speech at Alton? [Cheers.] I supposed that Mr. Lincoln was capable of making a public speech on his own account, or I should not have accepted the banter from him for a joint discussion. [Cheers and voices: "How about the charges?"] Do not trouble yourselves, I am going to make my speech in my own way, and I trust, as the Democrats listened patiently and respectfully to Mr.

Lincoln, that his friends will not interrupt me when I am answering him.

When Mr. Trumbull returned from the East, the first thing he did when he landed at Chicago was to make a speech wholly devoted to assaults upon my public character and public action. Up to that time I had never alluded to his course in Congress, or to him directly or indirectly, and hence his assaults upon me were entirely without provocation and without excuse. Since then he has been traveling from one end of the State to the other, repeating his vile charge. I propose now to read it in his own language:—

> "Now, fellow-citizens, I make the distinct charge that there was a preconcerted arrangement and plot entered into by the very men who now claim credit for opposing a constitution formed and put in force without giving the people any opportunity to pass upon it. This, my friends, is a serious charge, but I charge it to-night that the very men who traverse the country under banners proclaiming popular sovereignty, by design concocted a bill on purpose to force a constitution upon that people."

In answer to some one in the crowd who asked him a question, Trumbull said:—

> "And you want to satisfy yourself that he was in the plot to force a constitution upon that people? I will satisfy you. I will cram the truth down any honest man's throat until he cannot deny it. And to the man who does deny it, I will cram the lie down his throat until he shall cry enough. [Voices, "shameful" "that's decency for you."]
>
> "It is preposterous; it is the most damnable effrontery that man ever put on, to conceal a scheme to defraud and cheat the people out of their rights, and then claim credit for it."

That is the polite language Senator Trumbull applied to me, his colleague, when I was two hundred miles off. ["That's like him."] Why did he not speak out as boldly in the Senate of the United States, and cram the lie down my throat when I denied the charge, first made by Bigler, and made him take it back? You all recollect how Bigler assaulted me when I was engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, resisting a scheme to force a constitution on the people of Kansas against their will. He then attacked me with this charge; but I proved its utter falsity, nailed the slander to the counter, and made him take the back track. There is not an honest man in America who read that debate who will pretend that the charge is true. ["Hurrah for Douglas."] Trumbull was then present in the Senate, face to face to me; and why did he not then rise and repeat the charge, and say he would cram the lie down my throat? ["He was afraid."] I tell you that Trumbull then knew it was a lie. He knew that Toombs denied that there ever was a clause in the bill he brought forward, calling for and requiring a submission of the Kansas Constitution to the people.

I will tell you what the facts of the case were. I introduced a bill to authorize the people of Kansas to form a constitution, and come into the Union as a State, whenever they should have the requisite population for a member of Congress, and Mr. Toombs proposed a substitute, authorizing the people of Kansas, with their then population of only 25,000, to form a Constitution, and come in at once. The question at issue was, whether we would admit Kansas with a population of 25,000, or make her wait until she had the ratio entitling her to a representative in Congress, which was 93,420. That was the point of dispute in the Committee of Territories, to which both my bill and Mr. Toombs's substitute had been referred. I was overruled by a majority of the committee, my proposition rejected, and Mr. Toombs's proposition to admit Kansas then, with her population of 25,000, adopted. Accordingly, a bill to carry out his idea of immediate admission was reported as a substitute for mine; the only points at issue being, as I have already said, the question of population, and the adoption of safeguards against frauds at the election.

Trumbull knew this,—the whole Senate knew it,—and hence he was silent at that time. He waited until I became engaged in this canvass, and finding that I was showing up Lincoln's Abolitionism and negro equality doctrines, [cheers] that I was driving Lincoln to the wall, and white men would not support his rank Abolitionism, he came back from the East and trumped up a system of charges against me, hoping that I would be compelled to occupy my entire time in defending myself, so that I would not be able to show up the enormity of the principles of the Abolitionists. Now, the only reason, and the true reason, why Mr. Lincoln has occupied the whole of his first hour in this issue between Trumbull and myself, is, to conceal from this vast audience the real questions which divide the two great parties. ["That's it;" and cheers.]

I am not going to allow them to waste much of my time with these personal matters. I have lived in this State twenty-five years, most of that time have been in public life, and my record is open to you all. If that record is not enough to vindicate me from these petty, malicious assaults, I despise ever to be elected to office by slandering my opponents and traducing other men. [Cheers.] Mr. Lincoln asks you to elect him to the United States Senate to-day solely because he and Trumbull can slander me. Has he given any other reason? ["No, no."] Has he avowed what he was desirous to do in Congress on any one question? He desires to ride into office, not upon his own merits, not upon the merits and soundness of his principles; but upon his success in fastening a stale old slander upon me. ["That's the truth. Hear, hear."]

I wish you to bear in mind that up to the time of the introduction of the Toombs bill, and after its introduction, there had never been an Act of Congress for the admission of a new State which contained a clause requiring its constitution to be submitted to the people. The general rule made the law silent on the subject, taking it for granted that the people would demand and compel a popular vote on the ratification of their constitution. Such was the general rule under Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, and Polk, under the Whig Presidents and the Democratic Presidents, from the beginning of the Government down, and nobody dreamed that an effort would ever be made to abuse the power thus confided to the people of a Territory. For this reason our attention was not called to the fact of whether there was or was not a clause in the Toombs bill compelling submission, but it was taken for granted that the constitution would be submitted to the people whether the law compelled it or not.

Now, I will read from the report[1] by me as Chairman of the Committee on Territories at the time I reported back the Toombs substitute to the Senate. It contained several things which I had voted against in committee, but had been overruled by a majority of the members, and it was my duty as Chairman of the Committee to report the bill back as it was agreed upon by them. The main point upon which I had been overruled was the question of population. In my report accompanying the Toombs bill, I said:—

> "In the opinion of your Committee, whenever a constitution shall be formed in any Territory, preparatory to its admission into the Union as a State justice, the genius of our institutions, the whole theory of our republican system, imperatively demand that the voice of the people shall be fairly expressed, and their will embodied in that fundamental law, without fraud, or violence, or intimidation, or any other improper or unlawful influence, and subject to no other restrictions than those imposed by the Constitution of the United States." [Cheers.]

There you find that we took it for granted that the constitution was to be submitted to the people, whether the bill was silent on the subject or not. Suppose I had reported it so, following the example of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, and Pierce, would that fact have been evidence of a conspiracy to force a constitution upon the people of Kansas against their will? [A unanimous "No."] If the charge which Mr. Lincoln makes be true against me, it is true against Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore, and every Whig President, as well as every Democratic President, and against Henry Clay, who, in the Senate or House, for forty years advocated bills similar to the one I reported, no one of them containing a clause compelling the submission of the constitution to the people. Are Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull prepared to charge upon all those eminent men from the beginning of the Government down to the present day, that the absence of a provision compelling submission, in the various bills passed by them, authorizing the people of Territories to form State constitutions, is evidence of a corrupt design on their part to force a constitution upon an unwilling people? ["We'll skin them if they dare to."]

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[1] Inserts "made" after "report."

I ask you to reflect on these things, for I tell you that there is a conspiracy to carry this election for the Black Republicans by slander, and not by fair means. Mr. Lincoln's speech this day is conclusive evidence of the fact. He has devoted his entire time to an issue between Mr. Trumbull and myself, and has not uttered a word about the politics of the day. Are you going to elect Mr. Trumbull's colleague upon an issue between Mr. Trumbull and me? [Laughter, and "No, no!"] I thought I was running against Abraham Lincoln, that he claimed to be my opponent, had challenged me to a discussion of the public questions of the day with him, and was discussing these questions with me; but it turns out that his only hope is to ride into office on Trumbull's back, who will carry him by falsehood. [Cheers.]

Permit me to pursue this subject a little further. An examination of the record proves that Trumbull's charge—that the Toombs bill originally contained a clause requiring the constitution to be submitted to the people—*is false.* The printed copy of the bill which Mr. Lincoln held up before you, and which he pretends contains such a clause, merely contains a clause requiring a submission of the land grant, and *there is no clause in it requiring a submission of the constitution.* Mr. Lincoln cannot find such a clause in it. My report shows that we took it for granted that the people would require a submission of the constitution, and secure it for themselves. There never was a clause in the Toombs bill requiring the constitution to be submitted; Trumbull knew it at the time, and his speech made on the night of its passage discloses the fact that he knew it was silent on the subject.

Lincoln pretends, and tells you, that Trumbull has not changed his evidence in support of his charge since he made his speech in Chicago. Let us see. The Chicago *Times* took up Trumbull's Chicago speech, compared it with the official records of Congress, and proved that speech to be false in its charge that the original Toombs bill required a submission of the constitution to the people. Trumbull then saw that he was caught, and his falsehood exposed, and he went to Alton, and, under the very walls of the penitentiary, [laughter] made a new speech, in which he predicated his assault upon me in the allegation that I had caused to be voted into the Toombs bill a clause which prohibited the Convention from submitting the constitution to the people, and quoted what he pretended was the clause. Now, has not Mr. Trumbull entirely changed the evidence on which he bases his charge? ["Yes, yes!" "Lincoln's as big a liar as Trumbull," etc.] The clause which he quoted in his Alton speech (which he has published and circulated broadcast over the State) as having been put into the Toombs bill by me, is in the following words: "And until the complete execution of this Act, no other election shall be held in said Territory."

Trumbull says that the object of that amendment was to prevent the Convention from submitting the constitution to a vote of the people.

Now, I will show you that when Trumbull made that statement at Alton he knew it to be untrue. I read from Trumbull's speech in the Senate on the Toombs bill on the night of its passage. He then said:—

> "There is nothing said in this bill, so far as I have discovered, about submitting the constitution, which is to be formed, to the people for their sanction or rejection. Perhaps the Convention will have the right to submit it, if it should think proper, but it is certainly not compelled to do so, according to the provisions of the bill."

Thus you see that Trumbull, when the bill was on its passage in the Senate, said that it was silent on the subject of submission, and that there was nothing in the bill one way or the other on it. In his Alton speech he says[1] there was a clause in the bill preventing its submission to the people, and that I had it voted in as an amendment. Thus I convict him of falsehood and slander by quoting from him, on the passage of the Toombs bill in the Senate of the United States, his own speech, made on the night of July 2, 1856, and reported in the *Congressional Globe* for the first session of the thirty-fourth Congress, vol. 33. What will you think of a man who makes a false charge, and falsifies the records to prove it? I will now show you that the clause which Trumbull says was put in the bill on my motion was never put in at all by me, but was stricken out on my motion, and another substituted in its place. I call your attention to the same volume of the *Congressional Globe* to which I have already referred, page 795, where you will find the following[1] report of the proceedings of the Senate:—

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[1] Inserts "that" after "says."

> "*Mr. Douglas.*—I have an amendment to offer from the Committee on Territories. On page 8, section 11, strike out the words 'until the complete execution of this Act, no other election shall be held in said Territory', and insert the amendment which I hold in my hand."

You see from this that I moved to strike out the very words that Trumbull says I put in. The Committee on Territories overruled me in committee, and put the clause in; but as soon as I got the bill back into the Senate, I moved to strike it out, and put another clause in its place. On the same page you will find that my amendment was agreed to *unanimously*. I then offered another amendment, recognizing the right of the people of Kansas, under the Toombs bill, to order just such elections as they saw proper. You can find it on page 796 of the same volume. I will read it:—

> "*Mr. Douglas.*—I have another amendment to offer from the Committee, to follow the amendment which has been adopted. The bill reads now: 'And until the complete execution of this Act, no other election shall be held in said Territory.' It has been suggested that it should be modified in this way: 'And to avoid conflict in the complete execution of this Act, all other elections in said Territory are hereby postponed until such time as said Convention shall appoint,' so that they can appoint the day in the event that there should be a failure to come into the Union."

The amendment was *unanimously* agreed to,—clearly and distinctly recognizing the right of the Convention to order just as many elections as they saw proper in the execution of the Act. Trumbull concealed in his Alton speech the fact that the clause he quoted had been stricken out in my motion, and the other fact that this other clause was put in the bill on my motion, and made the false charge that I incorporated into the bill a clause preventing submission, in the face of the fact, that, on my motion, the bill was so amended before it passed as to recognize in express words the right and duty of submission.

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[1] Inserts "in the" after "following."

On this record that I have produced before you, I repeat my charge that Trumbull did falsify the public records of the country, in order to make his charge against me; ["it's plain," and tremendous applause] and I tell Mr. Abraham Lincoln that if he will examine these records, he will then know that what I state is true. Mr. Lincoln has this day indorsed Mr. Trumbull's veracity after he had my word for it that that veracity was proved to be violated and forfeited by the public records. It will not do for Mr. Lincoln, in parading his calumnies against me, to put Mr. Trumbull between him and the odium and responsibility which justly attaches to such calumnies. I tell him that I am as ready to prosecute the indorser as the maker of a forged note. [Cheers.] I regret the necessity of occupying my time with these petty personal matters. It is unbecoming the dignity of a canvass for an office of the character for which we are candidates. When I commenced the canvass at Chicago, I spoke of Mr. Lincoln in terms of kindness as an old friend; I said that he was a good citizen, of unblemished character, against whom I had nothing to say. I repeated these complimentary remarks about him in my successive speeches, until he became the indorser for these and other slanders against me. If there is anything personally disagreeable, uncourteous, or disreputable in these personalities, the sole responsibility rests on Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Trumbull, and their backers.

I will show you another charge made by Mr. Lincoln against me, as an off-set to his determination of willingness to take back anything that is incorrect, and to correct any false statement he may have made. He has several times charged that the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself, at the time I introduced the Nebraska bill in January, 1854, at Washington, entered into a conspiracy to establish slavery all over this country. I branded this charge as a falsehood, and then he repeated it; asked me to analyze its truth; and answer it. I told him; "Mr. Lincoln, I know what you are after,—you want to occupy my time in personal matters, to prevent me from showing up the revolutionary principles which the Abolition party—whose candidate you are—have proclaimed to the world."

But he asked me to analyze his proof, and I did so. I called his attention to the fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, there was no such case as the Dred Scott case pending in the Supreme Court, nor was it brought there for years afterwards, and hence that it was impossible that there could have been any such conspiracy between the Judges of the Supreme Court and the other parties involved. I proved by the record that the charge was false, and what did he answer? Did he take it back like an honest man, and say that he had been mistaken? No; he repeated the charge, and said, that although there was no such case pending that year, there[1] was an understanding between the Democratic owners of Dred Scott and the Judges of the Supreme Court and other parties involved, that the case should be brought up. I then demanded to know who these Democratic owners of Dred Scott were. He could not or would not tell; he did not know. In truth, there was no Democratic owners of Dred Scott on the face of the land. [Laughter.] Dred Scott was owned at that time by the Rev. Dr. Chaffee, an Abolition member of Congress from Springfield, Massachusetts, and his wife; [immense laughter and applause] and Mr. Lincoln ought to have known that Dred Scott was so owned, for the reason that as soon as the decision was announced by the court Dr. Chaffee and his wife executed a deed emancipating him, and put that deed on record. [Cheers.] It was a matter of public record, therefore, that at the time the case was taken to the Supreme Court, Dred Scott was owned by an Abolition member of Congress, a friend of Lincoln's and a leading man of his party, while the defense was conducted by Abolition lawyers,—and thus the Abolitionists managed both sides of the case. I have exposed these facts to Mr. Lincoln, and yet he will not withdraw his charge of conspiracy. I now submit to you whether you can place any confidence in a man who continues to make a charge when its utter falsity is proven by the public records.

I will state another fact to show how utterly reckless and unscrupulous this charge against the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself is. Lincoln says that President Buchanan was in the conspiracy at Washington in the winter of 1854, when the Nebraska bill was introduced. The history of this country shows that James Buchanan was at that time representing this country at the Court of St. James, Great Britain, with distinguished ability and usefulness, that he had not been in the United States for nearly a year previous, and that he did not return until about three years after. [Cheers.] Yet Mr. Lincoln keeps repeating this charge of conspiracy against Mr. Buchanan when the public records prove it to be untrue.

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[1] Inserts "that" before "there."

Having proved it to be false as far as the Supreme Court and President Buchanan are concerned, I drop it, leaving the public to say whether I, by myself, without their concurrence, could have gone into a conspiracy with them. [Laughter and cheers.] My friends, you see that the object clearly is to conduct the canvass on personal matters, and hunt me down with charges that are proven to be false by the public records of the country. I am willing to throw open my whole public and private life to the inspection of any man, or all men who desire to investigate it. Having resided among you twenty-five years, during nearly the whole of which time a public man, exposed to more assaults, perhaps more abuse, than any man living of my age, or who ever did live; and having survived it all and still commanded your confidence; I am willing to trust to your knowledge of me and my public conduct without making any more defense against these assaults. [Great cheering.]

Fellow-citizens, I came here for the purpose of discussing the leading political topics which now agitate the country. I have no charges to make against Mr. Lincoln, none against Mr. Trumbull, and none against any man who is a candidate, except in repelling their assaults upon me. If Mr. Lincoln is a man of bad character, I leave you to find it out; if his votes in the past are not satisfactory, I leave others to ascertain the fact; if his course on the Mexican war was not in accordance with your notions of patriotism and fidelity to our own country as against a public enemy, I leave you to ascertain the fact. I have no assaults to make upon him, except to trace his course on the questions that now divide the country and engross so much of the people's attention.

You know that prior to 1854 this country was divided into two great political parties, one the Whig, the other the Democratic. I, as a Democrat for twenty years prior to that time, had been in public discussions in this State as an advocate of Democratic principles, and I can appeal with confidence to every Old Line Whig within the hearing of my voice to bear testimony that during all that period I fought you Whigs like a man on every question that separated the two parties. I had the highest respect for Henry Clay as a gallant party leader, as an eminent statesman, and as one of the bright ornaments of this country; but I conscientiously believed that the Democratic party was right on the questions which separated the Democrats from the Whigs. The man does not live who can say that I ever personally assailed Henry Clay or Daniel Webster, or any one of the leaders of that great party, whilst I combated with all my energy the measures they advocated.

What did we we differ about in those days? Did Whigs and Democrats differ about this slavery question? On the contrary, did we not, in 1850, unite to a man in favor of that system of Compromise measures which Mr. Clay introduced, Webster defended, Cass supported, and Fillmore approved and made the law of the land by his signature? While we agreed on those Compromise measures, we differed about a bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, the sub-treasury, and other questions of that description. Now, let me ask you which one of those questions on which Whigs and Democrats then differed now remains to divide the two great parties? Every one of those questions which divided Whigs and Democrats has passed away, the country has outgrown them, they have passed into history. Hence it is immaterial whether you were right or I was right on the bank, the sub-treasury, and other questions, because they no longer continue living issues. What, then, has taken the place of those questions about which we once differed? The slavery question has now become the leading and controlling issue; that question on which you and I agreed, on which the Whigs and Democrats united, has now become the leading issue between the National Democracy on the one side, and the Republican, or Abolition, party on the other.

Just recollect for a moment the memorable contest of 1850, when this country was agitated from its center to its circumference by the slavery agitation. All eyes in this nation were then turned to the three great lights that survived the days of the Revolution.

They looked to Clay, then in retirement at Ashland, and to Webster and Cass, in the United States Senate. Clay had retired to Ashland, having, as he supposed, performed his mission on earth, and was preparing himself for a better sphere of existence in another world. In that retirement he heard the discordant, harsh and grating sounds of sectional strife and disunion, and he aroused and came forth and resumed his seat in the Senate, that great theater of his great deeds. From the moment that Clay arrived among us he became the leader of all the Union men, whether Whigs or Democrats. For nine months we each assembled, each day, in the council-chamber, Clay in the chair, with

Cass upon his right hand, and Webster upon his left, and the Democrats and Whigs gathered around, forgetting differences, and only animated by one common, patriotic sentiment, to devise means and measures by which we could defeat the mad and revolutionary scheme of the Northern Abolitionists and Southern Disunionists. [Cheers.]

We did devise those means. Clay brought them forward, Cass advocated them; the Union Democrats and Union Whigs voted for them; Fillmore signed them; and they gave peace and quiet to the country. Those Compromise measures of 1850 were founded upon the great fundamental principle that the people of each State and each Territory ought to be left free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Federal Constitution. [Cheers. "Hear, hear."] I will ask every Old Line Democrat and every Old Line Whig within the hearing of my voice if I have not truly stated the issues as they then presented themselves to the country. You recollect that the Abolitionists raised a howl of indignation, and cried for vengeance and the destruction of Democrats and Whigs both, who supported those Compromise measures of 1850. When I returned home to Chicago, I found the citizens inflamed and infuriated against the authors of those great measures. Being the only man in that city who was held responsible for affirmative votes on all those measures, I came forward and addressed the assembled inhabitants, defended each and every one of Clay's Compromise measures as they passed the Senate and the House, and were approved by President Fillmore. Previous to that time, the city council had passed resolutions nullifying the Act of Congress, and instructing the police to withhold all assistance from its execution; but the people of Chicago listened to my defense, and, like candid, frank, conscientious men, when they became convinced that they had done an injustice to Clay, Webster, Cass, and all of us who had supported those measures, they repealed their nullifying resolutions, and declared that the laws should be executed and the supremacy of the Constitution maintained. Let it always be recorded in history to the immortal honor of the people of Chicago that they returned to their duty when they found that they were wrong, and did justice to those whom they had blamed and abused unjustly.

When the Legislature of this State assembled that year, they proceeded to pass resolutions approving the Compromise measures of 1850. When the Whig party assembled in 1852 at Baltimore in National Convention for the last time, to nominate Scott for the Presidency, they adopted as a part of their platform the Compromise measures of 1850 as the cardinal plank upon which every Whig would stand, and by which he would regulate his future conduct. When the Democratic party assembled at the same place one month after, to nominate General Pierce, we adopted the same platform so far as those Compromise measures were concerned, agreeing that we would stand by those glorious measures as a cardinal article in the Democratic faith. Thus you see that in 1852 all the old Whigs and all the old Democrats stood on a common plank so far as this slavery question was concerned, differing on other questions.

Now, let me ask, how is it that since that time so many of you Whigs have wandered from the true path marked out by Clay, and carried out broad and wide by the great Webster? How is it that so many Old Line Democrats have abandoned the old faith of their party, and joined with Abolitionism and Free-soilism to overturn the platform of the old Democrats, and the platform of the old Whigs? You cannot deny that since 1854 there has been a great revolution on this one question. How has it been brought about? I answer, that no sooner was the sod grown green over the grave of the immortal Clay; no sooner was the rose planted on the tomb of the god-like Webster; than many of the leaders of the Whig party, such as Seward of New York, and his followers, led off and attempted to Abolitionize the Whig party, and transfer all your old Whigs, bound hand and foot, into the Abolition camp. Seizing hold of the temporary excitement produced in this country by the introduction of the Nebraska bill, the disappointed politicians in the Democratic party united with the disappointed politicians in the Whig party, and endeavored to form a new party, composed of all the Abolitionists, of Abolitionized Democrats, and Abolitionized Whigs, banded together in an Abolition platform.

And who led that crusade against National principles in this State? I answer, Abraham Lincoln on behalf of the Whigs, and Lyman Trumbull on behalf of the Democrats, formed a scheme by which they would Abolitionize the two great parties in this State, on condition that Lincoln should be sent to the United States Senate in the place of General Shields, and that Trumbull should go to Congress from the Belleville District until I would be accommodating enough either to die or resign for his benefit, and then he was to go to the Senate in my place. You all remember that during the year 1854 these two worthy gentlemen, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull, one an Old Line Whig and the other an Old Line Democrat, were hunting in partnership to elect a Legislature against the Democratic party.

I canvassed the State that year from the time I returned home until the election came off, and spoke in every county that I could reach during that period. In the northern part of the State I found Lincoln's ally, in the person of Fred Douglass, the negro, preaching Abolition doctrines; while Lincoln was discussing the same principles down here; and Trumbull, a little farther down, was advocating the election of members to the Legislature who would act in concert with Lincoln's and Fred Douglass's friends. I witnessed an effort made at Chicago by Lincoln's then associates, and now supporters, to put Fred Douglass, the negro, on the stand at a Democratic meeting, to reply to the illustrious General Cass, when he was addressing the people there. ["Shame on them."] They had the same negro hunting me down, and they now have a negro traversing the northern counties of the State and speaking in behalf of Lincoln. ["Hit him again; he's a disgrace to the white people," etc.] Lincoln knows that when we were at Freeport in joint discussion there was a distinguished colored friend of his there then who was on the stump for him, [shouts of laughter] and who made a speech there the night before we spoke, and another the night after, a short distance from Freeport, in favor of Lincoln; and in order to show how much interest the colored brethren felt in the success of their brother Abe, [renewed laughter] I have with me here, and would read it if it would not occupy too much of my time, a speech made by Fred Douglass in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., a short time since, to a large Convention, in which he conjures all the friends of negro equality and negro citizenship to rally as one man around Abraham Lincoln, the perfect embodiment of their principles, and by all means to defeat Stephen A. Douglas. ["It can't be done," etc.]

Thus you find that this Republican party in the northern part of the State had colored gentlemen for their advocates in 1854, in company with Lincoln and Trumbull, as they have now. When, in October, 1854, I went down to Springfield to attend the State Fair, I found the leaders of this party all assembled together under the title of an anti-Nebraska meeting. It was Black Republican up north, and anti-Nebraska at Springfield. I found Lovejoy, a high-priest of Abolitionism, and Lincoln, one of the leaders who was towing the Old Line Whigs into the Abolition camp, and Trumbull, Sidney Breese, and Governor Reynolds, all making speeches against the Democratic party and myself, at the same place and in the same cause. ["They're all birds of a feather, shun them."] The same men who are now fighting the Democratic party and the regular Democratic nominees in this State were fighting us then. They did not then acknowledge that they had become Abolitionists, and many of them deny it now. Breese, Dougherty, and Reynolds were then fighting the Democracy under the title of anti-Nebraska men, and now they are fighting the Democracy under the pretense that they are *Simon pure* Democrats, [laughter] saying that they are authorized to have every office holder in Illinois beheaded who prefers the election of Douglas to that of Lincoln, or the success of the Democratic ticket in preference to the Abolition ticket for members of Congress, State officers, members of the Legislature, or any office in the State.

They canvassed the State against us in 1854, as they are doing now, owning different names and different principles in different localities, but having a common object in view, viz.: The defeat of all men holding National principles in opposition to this sectional Abolition party. They carried the Legislature in 1854, and when it assembled in Springfield they proceeded to elect a United States Senator, all voting for Lincoln, with one or two exceptions, which exceptions prevented them from quite electing him. And why should they not elect him? Had not Trumbull agreed that Lincoln should have Shields's place? Had not the Abolitionists agreed to it? Was it not the solemn compact, the condition on which Lincoln agreed to Abolitionize the old Whigs that he should be Senator? Still, Trumbull, having control of a few Abolitionized Democrats, would not allow them all to vote for Lincoln on any one ballot, and thus kept him for some time within one or two votes of an election, until he worried out Lincoln's friends, and compelled them to drop him and elect Trumbull, in violation of the bargain. [Cheers.]

I desire to read you a piece of testimony in confirmation of the notorious[1] public facts which I have stated to you. Colonel James H. Matheny, of Springfield, is, and for twenty years has been, the confidential personal and political friend and manager of Mr. Lincoln. Matheny is this very day the candidate of the Republican, or Abolition, party for Congress against the gallant Major Thos. L. Harris, in the

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[1] Reads: "notoriously" for "notorious."

Springfield District, and is making speeches for Lincoln and against me. I will read you the testimony of Matheny about this bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull when they undertook to Abolitionize Whigs and Democrats only four years ago. Matheny, being mad at Trumbull for having played a Yankee trick on Lincoln, exposed the bargain in a public speech two years ago, and I will read the published report of that speech, the correctness of which Mr. Lincoln will not deny:—

> "The Whigs, Abolitionists, and[1] Know-Nothings, and renegade Democrats made a solemn compact for the purpose of carrying this State against the Democracy on this plan: 1st, that they would all combine and elect Mr. Trumbull to Congress, and thereby carry his district for the Legislature, in order to throw all the strength that could be obtained into that body against the Democrats; 2d, that when the Legislature should meet, the officers of that body, such as Speakers,[2] clerks, door-keepers, etc., would be given to the Abolitionists; and, 3d, that the Whigs were to have the United States senator. That, accordingly, in good faith, Trumbull was elected to Congress, and his district carried for the Legislature; and when it convened, the Abolitionists got all the officers of that body, and thus far the 'bond' was fairly executed. The Whigs, on their part, demanded the election of Abraham Lincoln to the United States Senate, that the bond might be fulfilled, the other parties to the contract having already secured to themselves all that was called for. But, in the most perfidious manner, they refused to elect Mr. Lincoln, and the mean, low-lived, sneaking Trumbull succeeded, by pledging all that was required by any party, in thrusting Lincoln aside, and foisting himself, an excrescence from the rotten bowels of the Democracy, into the United States Senate; and thus it has ever been, that an *honest* man makes a bad bargain when he conspires or contracts with rogues."

Lincoln's confidential friend Matheny thought that Lincoln made a bad bargain when he conspired with such rogues as Trumbull and the Abolitionists. [Great laughter.] I would like to know whether Lincoln had as high opinion of Trumbull's veracity when the latter agreed to support him for the Senate, and then cheated him as he does now, [renewed laughter] when Trumbull comes forward and makes charges against me. You could not then prove Trumbull an honest man either by Lincoln, by Matheny, or by any of Lincoln's friends. They charged everywhere that Trumbull had cheated them out of the bargain, and Lincoln found sure enough that it was a *bad bargain* to contract and conspire with rogues. [Laughter.]

And now I will explain to you what has been a mystery all over the State and Union,—the reason why Lincoln was nominated for the United

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[1] Omits "and."

[2] Reads: "Speaker" for "Speakers."

States Senate by the Black Republican Convention. You know it has never been usual for any party, or any convention, to nominate a candidate for United States senator. Probably this was the first time that such a thing was ever done. The Black Republican Convention had not been called for that purpose, but to nominate a State ticket, and every man was surprised and many disgusted when Lincoln was nominated. Archie Williams thought he was entitled to it, Browning knew that he deserved it, Wentworth was certain that he would get it, Peck had hopes, Judd felt sure that he was the man, and Palmer had claims and had made arrangements to secure it; but, to their utter amazement, Lincoln was nominated by the Convention, [laughter] and not only that, but he received the nomination unanimously, by a resolution declaring that Abraham Lincoln was "the first, last, and only choice" of the Republican party.

How did this occur? Why, because they could not get Lincoln's friends to make another bargain with "rogues," [laughter] unless the whole party would come up as one man and pledge their honor that they would stand by Lincoln, first, last, and all the time, and that he should not be cheated by Lovejoy this time, as he was by Trumbull before. Thus, by passing this resolution, the Abolitionists are all for him, Lovejoy and Farnsworth are canvassing for him, Giddings is ready to come here in his behalf, and the negro speakers are already on the stump for him, and he is sure not to be cheated this time. He would not go into the arrangement until he got their bond for it, and Trumbull is compelled now to take the stump, get up false charges against me, and travel all over the State to try and elect Lincoln, in order to keep Lincoln's friends quiet about the bargain in which Trumbull cheated them four years ago. You see, now, why it is that Lincoln and Trumbull are so mighty fond of each other. [Tremendous laughter.] They have entered into a conspiracy to break me down by these assaults on my public character, in order to draw my attention from a fair exposure of the mode in which they attempted to Abolitionize the old Whig and old Democratic parties and lead them captive into the Abolition camp. ["That's so," and "Hear, hear."]

Do you not all remember that Lincoln went around here four years ago making speeches to you, and telling that you should all go for the Abolition ticket, and swearing that he was as good a Whig as he ever was; [laughter] and that Trumbull went all over the State making pledges to the old Democrats, and trying to coax them into the Abolition camp, swearing by his Maker, with the uplifted hand, that he was still a Democrat, always intended to be, and that never would he desert the Democratic party. [Laughter.] He got your votes to elect an Abolition Legislature, which passed Abolition resolutions, attempted to pass Abolition laws, and sustained Abolitionists for office, State and National. Now, the same game is attempted to be played over again. Then Lincoln and Trumbull made captives of the old Whigs and old Democrats, and carried them into the Abolition camp, where Father Giddings, the high-priest of Abolitionism, received and christened them in the dark cause just as fast as they were brought in. ["Hear, hear."] Giddings found the converts so numerous that he had to have assistance, and he sent for John P. Hale, N. P. Banks, Chase, and other Abolitionists, and they came on, and with Lovejoy and Fred Douglass, the negro, helped to baptize these new converts as Lincoln, Trumbull, Breese, Reynolds, and Dougherty could capture them and bring them within the Abolition clutch. Gentlemen, they are now around, making the same kind of speeches. Trumbull was down in Monroe County the other day, assailing me, and making a speech in favor of Lincoln; and I will show you under what notice his meeting was called. You see these people are Black Republicans or Abolitionists up north, while at Springfield to-day they dare not call their Convention "Republican," but are obliged to say "a Convention of all men opposed to the Democratic party;" and in Monroe County and lower Egypt Trumbull advertises their meetings as follows:—

A meeting of the Free Democracy will take place at Waterloo on Monday, September 12th inst., whereat Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Hon. Jehu[1] Baker, and others will address the people upon the different political topics of the day. Members of all parties are cordially invited to be present, and hear and determine for themselves.

September 9, 1858 THE FREE DEMOCRACY

Did you ever before hear of this new party, called the "Free Democracy"?

What object have these Black Republicans in changing their name in every county? ["To cheat people."] They have one name in the north, another in the center, and another in the south. When I used to practise law before my distinguished judicial friend, whom I recognize in the crowd before me, if a man was charged with horse-stealing, and the proof showed that he went by one name in Stephenson County, another in Sangamon, a third in Monroe, and a fourth in Randolph, we thought that the fact of his changing his name so often to avoid detection was pretty strong evidence of his guilt. I would like to know why it is that this great Free-soil Abolition party is not willing to avow the same name in all parts of the State? ["They dare not."] If this party believes that its course is just, why does it not avow the same principles in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West, wherever the American flag waves over American soil? [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "John" for "Jehu."

A Voice.—The party does not call itself Black Republican in the North.

Mr. Douglas.—Sir, if you will get a copy of the paper published at Waukegan, fifty miles from Chicago, which advocates the election of Mr. Lincoln, and has his name flying at its mast-head, you will find that it declares that "this paper is devoted to the cause" of *Black Republicanism.* ["Good, hit him again," and cheers.] I had a copy of it, and intended to bring it down here into Egypt to let you see what name the party rallied under up in the Northern part of the State, and to convince you that their principles are as different in the two sections of the State as is their name. I am sorry that I have mislaid it and have not got it here. Their principles in the north are jet-black, [laughter] in the center they are in color a decent mulatto, [renewed laughter] and in lower Egypt they are almost white. [Shouts of laughter.] Why, I admired many of the white sentiments contained in Lincoln's speech at Jonesboro, and could not help but contrast them with the speeches of the same distinguished orator made in the northern part of the State. Down here he denies that the Black Republican party is opposed to the admission of any more Slave States, under any circumstances, and says that they are willing to allow the people of each State, when it wants to come into the Union, to do just as it pleases on the question of slavery. In the north, you find Lovejoy, their candidate for Congress in the Bloomington District, Farnsworth, their candidate in the Chicago District, and Washburne, their candidate in the Galena District, all declaring that never will they consent, under any circumstances, to admit another Slave State, even if the people want it. ["That's so."] Thus, while they avow one set of principles up there, they avow another and entirely different set down here. And here let me recall to Mr. Lincoln the scriptural quotation which he has applied to the Federal Government, that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and ask him how does he expect this Abolition party to stand when in one half of the State it advocates a set of principles which it has repudiated in the other half? [Laughter and applause.]

I am told that I have but eight minutes more. I would like to talk to you an hour and a half longer, but I will make the best use I can of the remaining eight minutes. Mr. Lincoln said in his first remarks that he was not in favor of the social and political equality of the negro with the white man. Everywhere up north he has declared that he was not in favor of the social and political equality of the negro, but he would not say whether or not he was opposed to negroes voting and negro citizenship. I want to know whether he is for or against negro citizenship. He declared his utter opposition to the Dred Scott decision, and advanced as a reason that the court had decided that it was not possible for a negro to be a citizen under the Constitution of the United States. If he is opposed to the Dred Scott decision for that reason, he must be in favor of conferring the right and privilege of citizenship upon the negro! I have been trying to get an answer from him on that point, but have never yet obtained one, and I will show you why. In every speech he made in the north he quoted the Declaration of Independence to prove that all men were created equal, and insisted that the phrase "all men" included the negro as well as the white man, and that the equality rested upon divine law. Here is what he said on that point:—

> "I should like to know if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why may not another say it does not mean some other man? If that Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it and tear it out."

Lincoln maintains there that the Declaration of Independence asserts that the negro is equal to the white man, and that under divine law; and if he believes so, it was rational for him to advocate negro citizenship, which, when allowed, puts the negro on an equality under the law. ["No negro equality for us; down with Lincoln."] I say to you in all frankness, gentlemen, that in my opinion a negro is not a citizen, cannot be, and ought not to be, under the Constitution of the United States. ["That's the doctrine."] I will not even qualify my opinion to meet the declaration of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, "that a negro descended from African parents, who was imported into this country as a slave, is not a citizen, and cannot be." I say that this government was established on the white basis. It was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and never should be administered by any except white men. [Cheers.] I declare that a negro ought not to be a citizen, whether his parents were imported into this country as slaves or not, or whether or not he was born here. It does not depend upon the place a negro's parents were born, or whether they were slaves or not, but upon the fact that he is a negro, belonging to a race incapable of self-government, and for that reason ought not to be on an equality with white men. [Immense applause.]

My friends, I am sorry that I have not time to pursue this argument further, as I might have done but for the fact that Mr. Lincoln compelled me to occupy a portion of my time in repelling those gross slanders and falsehoods that Trumbull has invented against me and put in circulation. In conclusion, let me ask you why should this Government be divided by a geographical line,—arraying all men North in one great hostile party against all men South? Mr. Lincoln tells you, in his speech at Springfield, "that a house divided against itself cannot stand; that this Government, divided into Free and Slave States, cannot endure, permanently; that they must either be all Free or all Slave; all one thing or all the other." Why cannot this Government endure, divided into Free and Slave States, as our fathers made it? When this Government was established by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, Hamilton, Franklin, and the other sages and patriots of that day, it was composed of Free States and Slave States, bound together by one common Constitution. We have existed and prospered from that day to this thus divided, and have increased with a rapidity never before equaled, in wealth, the extension of territory, and all the elements of power and greatness, until we have become the first nation on the face of the globe. Why can we not thus continue to prosper? We can, if we will live up to and execute the Government upon those principles upon which our fathers established it. During the whole period of our existence, Divine Providence has smiled upon us, and showered upon our nation richer and more abundant blessings than have ever been conferred upon any other.

Senator Douglas' time here expired, and he stopped on the minute, amidst deafening applause. As Mr. Lincoln stepped forward the crowd sent up three rousing cheers.

Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder

Fellow-Citizens: It follows as a matter of course that a half-hour answer to a speech of an hour and a half can be but a very hurried one. I shall only be able to touch upon a few of the points suggested by Judge Douglas, and give them a brief attention, while I shall have to totally omit others, for the want of time.

Judge Douglas has said to you that he has not been able to get from me an answer to the question whether I am in favor of negro citizenship. So far as I know, the Judge never asked me the question before. [Applause.] He shall have no occasion to ever ask it again, for I tell him very frankly that I am not in favor of negro citizenship. [Renewed applause.] This furnishes me an occasion for saying a few words upon the subject. I mentioned, in a certain speech of mine which has been printed, that the Supreme Court had decided that a negro could not possibly be made a citizen; and without saying what was my ground of complaint in regard to that, or whether I had any ground of complaint, Judge Douglas has from that thing manufactured nearly everything that he ever says about my disposition to produce an equality between the negroes and the white people. [Laughter and applause.] If any one will read my speech, he will find I mentioned that as one of the points decided in the course of the Supreme Court opinions, but I did not state what objection I had to it. But Judge Douglas tells the people what my objection was when I did not tell them myself. [Loud applause and laughter.] Now, my opinion[1] is that the different States have the power to make a negro a citizen, under the Constitution of the United States, if they choose. The Dred Scott decision decides that they have not that power. If the State of Illinois had that power, I should be opposed to the exercise of it. [Cries of "Good, good," and applause.] That is all I have to say about it.

Judge Douglas has told me[2] that he heard my speeches north, and my speeches south; that he had heard me at Ottawa and at Freeport in the north, and recently at Jonesboro in the south and there was a very different cast of sentiment in the speeches made at the different points. I will not charge upon Judge Douglas that he wilfully misrepresents me but I call upon every fair-minded man to take these speeches and read

[1] Inserts "own" before "opinion."

[2] Reads: "you" for "me."

them, *and I dare him to point out any difference between my speeches*[1] *north and south.* [Great cheering.]

While I am here perhaps I ought to say a word, if I have the time, in regard to the latter portion of the Judge's speech, which was a sort of declamation in reference to my having said I entertained the belief that this Government would not endure, half Slave and half Free. I have said so, and I did not say it without what seemed to me to be good reasons. It perhaps would require more time than I have now to set forth these reasons in detail; but let me ask you a few questions. Have we ever had any peace on this slavery question? ["No, no."] When are we to have peace upon it, if it is kept in the position it now occupies? ["Never."] How are we ever to have peace upon it? That is an important question. To be sure, if we will all stop, and allow Judge Douglas and his friends to march on in their present career until they plant the institution all over the nation, here and wherever else our flag waves, and we acquiesce in it, there will be peace. But let me ask Judge Douglas how he is going to get the people to do that? [Applause.] They have been wrangling over this question for at least forty years. This was the cause of the agitation resulting in the Missouri Compromise; this produced the troubles at the annexation of Texas, in the acquisition of the territory acquired in the Mexican War.

Again, this was the trouble which was quieted by the Compromise of 1850, when it was settled "*forever*," as both the great political parties declared in their National Conventions. That "forever" turned out to be just four years, [laughter] *when Judge Douglas himself reopened it.* [Immense applause. Cries of "Hit him again," etc.] When is it likely to come to an end? He introduced the Nebraska bill in 1854 to put *another end* to the slavery agitation. He promised that it would finish it all up immediately, and he has never made a speech since, until he got into a quarrel with the President about the Lecompton Constitution, in which he has not declared that we are *just at the end* of the slavery agitation. But in one speech, I think last winter, he did say that he didn't quite see when the end of the slavery agitation would come. [Laughter and cheers.] Now he tells us again that it is all over, and the people of Kansas have voted down the Lecompton Constitution. How is it over? That was only one of the attempts at putting an end to the slavery agitation,—one of these "final settlements." [Renewed laughter.] Is Kansas in the Union? Has she formed a constitution that she is likely to come in under? Is not the slavery agitation still an open question in that Territory? Has the voting down of that constitution put an end to all the trouble? Is that more likely to settle it than every one of these previous attempts to settle the slavery agitation? [Cries of "No, no."]

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[1] Inserts "printed" before "speeches."

Now, at this day in the history of the world we can no more foretell where the end of this slavery agitation will be than we can see the end of the world itself. The Nebraska-Kansas bill was introduced four years and a half ago, and if the agitation is ever to come to an end, we may say we are four years and a half nearer the end. So, too, we can say we are four years and a half nearer the end of the world; and we can just as clearly see the end of the world as we can see the end of this agitation. [Applause.] The Kansas settlement did not conclude it. If Kansas should sink to-day, and leave a great vacant space in the earth's surface, this vexed question would still be among us. I say, then, there is no way of putting an end to the slavery agitation amongst us but to put it back upon the basis where our fathers placed it; [applause] no way but to keep it out of our new Territories, [renewed applause]—to restrict it forever to the old States where it now exists. [Tremendous and prolonged cheering; cries of "that's the doctrine;" "good, good," etc.] Then the public mind *will* rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. That is one way of putting an end to the slavery agitation. [Applause.]

The other way is for us to surrender, and let Judge Douglas and his friends have their way and plant slavery over all the States; cease speaking of it as in any way a wrong; regard slavery as one of the common matters of property, and speak of negroes as we do our of horses and cattle. But while it drives on in its state of progress as it is now driving, and as it has driven for the last five years, I have ventured the opinion, and I say to-day, that we will have no end to the slavery agitation until it takes one turn or the other. [Applause.] I do not mean that when it takes a turn toward ultimate extinction it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time, I have no doubt. [Applause.] But, my friends, I have used up more of my time than I intended on this point.

Now, in regard to this matter about Trumbull and myself having made a bargain to sell out the entire Whig and Democratic parties in 1854; Judge Douglas brings forward no evidence to sustain his charge, except the speech Matheny is said to have made in 1856, in which he told a cock-and-bull story of that sort, upon the same moral principles that Judge Douglas tells it here to-day. [Loud applause.] This is the simple truth. I do not care greatly for the story, but this is the truth of it; and I have twice told Judge Douglas to his face that from beginning to end there is not one word of truth in it. [Thunders of applause.] I have called upon him for the proof, and he does not at all meet me as Trumbull met him upon that of which we were just talking, by producing the record. He didn't bring the record, because there was no record for him to bring. [Cheers and laughter.] When he asks if I am ready to indorse Trumbull's veracity after he has broken a bargain with me, I reply that if Trumbull *had* broken a bargain with me, I would not be likely to indorse his veracity, [laughter and applause] but I am ready to indorse his veracity because *neither in that thing, nor in any other, in all the years that I have known Lyman Trumbull, have I known him to fail of his word or tell a falsehood, large or small.* [Great cheering.] It is for that reason that I indorse Lyman Trumbull.

Mr. James Brown (Douglas postmaster).—What does Ford's *History* say about him?

Mr. Lincoln.—Some gentleman asks me what Ford's *History* says about him. My own recollection is, that Ford speaks of Trumbull in very disrespectful terms in several portions of his book, *and that he talks a great deal worse of Judge Douglas.* [Roars of laughter and applause.] I refer you, sir, to the *History* for examination. [Cheers.]

Judge Douglas complains, at considerable length, about a disposition on the part of Trumbull and myself to attack him personally. I want to attend to that suggestion a moment. I don't want to be unjustly accused of dealing illiberally or unfairly with an adversary, either in court, or in a political canvass, or anywhere else. I would despise myself if I supposed myself ready to deal less liberally with an adversary than I was willing[1] to be treated myself. Judge Douglas, in a general way, without putting it in a direct shape, revives the old charge against me in reference to the Mexican war. He does not take the responsibility of putting it in a very definite form, but makes a general reference to it. That charge is more than ten years old. He complains of Trumbull and myself, because he says we bring charges against him one or two years old. He knows, too, that in regard to the Mexican war story, the more respectable papers of his own party throughout the State have been compelled to take it back and acknowledge that it was a lie. [Continued and vociferous applause.]

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[1] Reads: "disposed" for "willing."

[Here Mr. Lincoln turned to the crowd on the platform, and, selecting Hon. Orlando B. Ficklin, led him forward, and said:—]

I do not mean to do anything with Mr. Ficklin[1] except to present his face and tell you that *he personally knows it[2] to be a lie!* He was a member of Congress at the only time I was in Congress, and he [Ficklin] knows that whenever there was an attempt to procure a vote of mine which would indorse the origin and justice of the war, I refused to give such indorsement, and voted against it; but I never voted against the supplies for the army, and he knows, as well as Judge Douglas, that whenever a dollar was asked, by way of compensation or otherwise, for the benefit of the soldiers, *I gave all the votes that Ficklin or Douglas did, and perhaps more.* [Loud applause.]

Mr. Ficklin.—My friends, I wish to say this in reference to the matter. Mr. Lincoln and myself are just as good personal friends as Judge Douglas and myself. In reference to this Mexican war, my recollection is that when Ashmun's resolution [amendment] was offered by Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, in which he declared that the Mexican war was unnecessary[3] and unconstitutionally commenced by the President, my recollection is that Mr. Lincoln voted for that resolution.

Mr. Lincoln.—That is the truth. Now, you all remember that was a resolution censuring the President for the manner in which the war was *begun.* You know they have charged that I voted against the supplies, by which I starved the soldiers who were out fighting the battles of their country. I say that Ficklin knows it is false. When that charge was brought forward by the Chicago *Times*, the Springfield *Register* [Douglas organ] reminded the *Times* that the charge really applied to John Henry; and I do know that John Henry *is now making speeches and fiercely battling for Judge Douglas.* [Loud applause.] If the Judge now says that he offers this as a sort of a set-off to what I said to-day in reference to Trumbull's charge, then I remind him that he made this charge before I said a word about Trumbull's. He brought this forward at Ottawa, the first time we met face to face; and in the opening speech that Judge Douglas made, he attacked me in regard to a matter ten years old. Isn't he a pretty man to be whining about people making charges against him only *two* years old! [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "Mc Ficklin" for "Ficklin."

[2] Inserts "that is" before "it."

[3] Reads: "unnecessarily" for "unnecessary."

The Judge thinks it is altogether wrong that I should have dwelt upon this charge of Trumbull's at all. I gave the apology for doing so in my opening speech. Perhaps it didn't fix your attention. I said that when Judge Douglas was speaking at places where I spoke on the succeeding day, he used very harsh language about this charge. Two or three times afterward I said I had confidence in Judge Trumbull's veracity and intelligence; and my own opinion was, from what I knew of the character of Judge Trumbull, that he would vindicate his position, and prove whatever he had stated to be true. This I repeated two or three times; and then I dropped it, without saying anything more on the subject for weeks,—perhaps a month. I passed it by without noticing it at all till I found, at Jacksonville, Judge Douglas, in the plentitude of his power, is not willing to answer Trumbull and let me alone, but he comes out there and uses this language: "He should not hereafter occupy his time in refuting such charges made by Trumbull, but that Lincoln, having indorsed the character of Trumbull for veracity, he should hold him [Lincoln] responsible for the slanders." What was Lincoln to do? [Laughter.] Did he not do right, when he had the fit opportunity of meeting Judge Douglas here, to tell him he was ready for the responsibility? [Enthusiastic cheering; "Good, good;" "Hurrah for Lincoln."] I ask a candid audience whether in doing thus Judge Douglas was not the assailant rather than I? ["Yes, yes. Hit him again."] Here I meet him face to face, and say I am ready to take the responsibility, so far as it rests on[1] me.

Having done so, I ask the attention of this audience to the question whether I have succeeded in sustaining the charge, ["Yes, yes."] and whether Judge Douglas has at all succeeded in rebutting it? [Loud cries of "No, no."] You all heard me call upon him to say *which of these pieces of evidence was a forgery?* Does he say that what I present here as a copy of the original Toombs bill is a forgery? ["No, no."] Does he say that what I present as a copy of the bill reported by himself is a forgery? ["No, no, no."] Or what is presented as a transcript from the *Globe* of the quotations from Bigler's speech, is a forgery? ["No, no, no."] Does he say the quotations from his own speech are forgeries? ["No, no, no."] Does he say this transcript from Trumbull's speech is a forgery? [Loud cries of "No, no; he didn't deny one of them."] *I would then like to know how it comes about that when each piece of a story is true, the whole story turns out false?* [Great cheers and laughter.] I take it these people have some sense; they see plainly that Judge Douglas is playing cuttle-fish, [laughter]—a small species of fish that has no mode of defending itself when pursued except by throwing out a black fluid, which makes the water so dark the enemy cannot see it, and thus it escapes. [Roars of laughter.] Is not[1] the Judge playing the cuttle-fish? ["Yes, yes," and cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "upon" for "on."

Now, I would ask very special attention to the consideration of Judge Douglas's speech at Jacksonville; and when you shall read his speech of to-day, I ask you to watch closely and see which of these pieces of testimony, every one of which he says is a forgery, he has shown to be such. *Not one of them has he shown to be a forgery.* Then I ask the original question, If each of the pieces of testimony is true, *how is it possible that the whole is a falsehood?* [Loud and continued cheers.]

In regard to Trumbull's charge that he [Douglas] inserted a provision into the bill to prevent the constitution being submitted to the people, what was[2] his answer? He comes here and reads from the *Congressional Globe* to show that on his motion that provision was struck out of the bill. Why, Trumbull has not said it was not stricken out, but Trumbull says he [Douglas] put it in; and it is no answer to the charge to say he afterward took it out. Both are perhaps true. It was in regard to that thing precisely that I told him he had dropped the cub. [Roars of laughter.] Trumbull shows you that by his introducing the bill it was his cub. [Laughter.] It is no answer to that assertion to call Trumbull a liar merely because he did not especially say that Douglas struck it out. Suppose that were the case, does it answer Trumbull? ["No, no."] I assert that you [pointing to an individual] are here to-day, and you undertake to prove me a liar by showing me that you were in Mattoon yesterday. [Laughter.] I say that you took your hat off your head, and you prove me a liar by putting it on your head. [Roars of laughter.] That is the whole force of Douglas's argument.

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[1] Reads: "Ain't" for "Is not."

[2] Reads: "is" for "was."

Now, I want to come back to my original question. Trumbull says that Judge Douglas had a bill with a provision in it for submitting a Constitution to be made, to a vote of the people of Kansas. Does Judge Douglas deny that fact? [Cries of "No, no."] Does he deny that the provision which Trumbull reads was put in that bill? ["No, no."] Then Trumbull says he struck it out. Does he dare to deny that? ["No, no, no."] He does not, and I have the right to repeat the question,—*Why Judge Douglas took it out?* [Immense applause.] Bigler has said there was a combination of certain senators, among whom he did not include Judge Douglas, by which it was agreed that the Kansas bill should have a clause in it not to have the constitution formed under it submitted to a vote of the people. He did not say that Douglas was among them, but we prove by another source that about the same time Douglas comes into the Senate *with that provision stricken out of the bill.*

Although Bigler cannot say they were all working in concert, yet it looks very much as if the thing was agreed upon and done with a mutual understanding after the conference; and while we do not know that it was absolutely so, yet it looks so probable that we have a right to call upon the man who knows the true reason why it was done, *to tell what the true reason was.* [Great cheers.] When he will not tell what the true reason was, he stands in the attitude of an accused thief who has stolen goods in his possession, and when called to account, refuses to tell where he got them. [Immense applause.] Not only is this the evidence, but when he comes in with the bill having the provision stricken out, he tells us in a speech, not then, but since, that these alterations and modifications in the bill *had been made by him, in consultation with Toombs, the originator of the bill.* He tells us the same to-day. He says there were certain modifications made in the bill in committee that he did not vote for. I ask you to remember while certain amendments were made which he disapproved of, but which a majority of the Committee voted in, he has himself told us that in this particular *the alterations and modifications were made by him, upon consultation with Toombs.* [Enthusiastic cheering.] We have his own word that these alterations were made *by him*, and not by the Committee. ["That's so;" "Good, good."]

Now, I ask, what is the reason Judge Douglas is so chary about coming to the exact question? What is the reason he will not tell you anything about how it was made, by whom it was made, or that he remembers it being made at all? Why does he stand playing upon the meaning of words, and quibbling around the edges of the evidence? If he can explain all this, but leaves it unexplained, I have a right to infer that Judge Douglas understood it was the purpose of his party, in engineering that bill through, to make a constitution, and have Kansas come into the Union with that constitution, *without its being submitted to a vote of the people.* ["That's it."] If he will explain his action on this question, by giving a *better reason* for the facts that happened, than he has done, it will be satisfactory. But until he does that,—until he gives a better or more plausible reason than he has offered against the evidence in the case,—*I suggest to him it will not avail him at all that he swells himself up, takes on dignity, and calls people liars.* [Great applause and laughter.] Why, sir, there is not a word in Trumbull's speech that depends on Trumbull's veracity at all. He has only arrayed the evidence, and told you what follows as a matter of reasoning. There is not a statement in the whole speech that depends on Trumbull's word. If you have ever studied geometry, you remember that by a course of reasoning, Euclid proves that all the angles in a triangular are equal to two right angles. Euclid has shown you how to work it out. Now, if you undertake to disprove that proposition, and to show that it is erroneous, would you prove it to be false by calling Euclid a liar? [Roars of laughter and enthusiastic cheers.] They tell me that my time is out and therefore I close.

When Mr. Lincoln concluded, three cheers were given spontaneously by the vast crowd; after which the people poured out the gates, the carriages and bands of music formed in procession, and the whole marched back to town.

[*Chicago Times*, September 21, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN.—JOINT DISCUSSION AT CHARLESTON

15,000 People on the Ground.—A Field-Day for the Democracy.—Lincoln Full of Trumbull; Delivers Trumbull's Alton Speech; Has Nothing to Say for Himself.—Lincoln Retreats from Egypt.—Trumbull Covers His Flight.—Great Speech by Senator Douglas. Trumbull's Slanders Refuted!—Lincoln's Weakness Exposed!

The fourth joint discussion between Senator Douglas and Abraham Lincoln took place at Charleston, Coles County, on Saturday last. The occasion drew together one of the largest gatherings of the people that has taken place this year. From twelve to fifteen thousand were present. The democracy were out in their strength and struck terror into the hearts of their enemies. Things were so arranged that Senator Douglas should be received at Mattoon on his arrival from Lower Egypt, by the delegations from the eastern part of Coles and escorted down to Charleston, ten miles distant. Accordingly, on Saturday morning at 3 o'clock, when he reached Mattoon, his friends were waiting for him; and he was welcomed with a salute and escorted to the house of a friend, which was brilliantly illuminated. At eight o'clock the various delegations formed in procession and waited upon him to attend him down to Charleston. Before starting, Col. Cunningham, in behalf of his fellow citizens, welcomed Senator Douglas to Coles county in a beautiful address, in the course of which he called his attention to a part of the procession, consisting of thirty two young ladies on horseback, representing the Federal Union, sixteen of whom carried the national colors waving from ash sticks, and the other sixteen carrying the same colors on hickory sticks, thus furnishing a beautiful illustration of the union between the whigs and democrats when our country was endangered by the agitation of sectional men in 1850, and emblematic of the union which now exists between the national men of these two parties to defeat and crush out abolitionism. Senator Douglas made a happy and appropriate response, and the line of march was then taken up for Charleston.

It was a glorious sight to see the long line of teams filled with men, women, and children, extending across the prairie as far as the eye could reach, the flags gaily flying in the morning breeze, and the brass instruments of the numerous bands gleaming in the sun. At every house and every cross road the procession received accessions, until when entering Charleston, it was nearly two miles long. On the outskirts of the town it was met by the citizens of Charleston and the delegations from the western part of Coles and the adjoining counties, who carried several large and splendid banners, upon one of which appeared "Edgar county good for five hundred majority for the Little Giant," and on another, "This government was made for white men—Douglas for life." Passing through the streets of Charleston, the procession halted in front of the Union hotel, which was almost hid by banners and flags, and here Senator Douglas was welcomed to Charleston by Hon. O. B. Ficklin in a most eloquent and telling speech, to which he responded. The Black Republicans had stationed a band at the opposite corner, and when Mr. Ficklin commenced his address the musicians were ordered to play, which they did, preventing the people from hearing what was going on; but this little piece of malicious fun was soon stopped, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the enraged crowd could be prevented from visiting upon the offenders a severe mark of their anger. The Black Republicans are utterly lost to all sense of shame. At Freeport they insulted Senator Douglas, pelting him with watermelon rind and otherwise ill-using him, but their indignities were overlooked, and when Lincoln went down into Egypt he found himself among gentlemen. Notwithstanding his party presumed on their weakness to indulge their malice, he was not insulted, but listened to quietly. . . . .

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, September 21, 1858]

THE GREAT TRIUMPH OF THE CAMPAIGN: DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT CHARLESTON

Twelve to Fifteen Thousand Persons Present.—Lincoln Tomahawks His Antagonist with the Toombs Bill.—Great Rout of the Douglasites in the Seventh District.—Killed, Wounded and Missing.—Great Demonstration of the Republican Girls of Charleston, etc., etc., etc.

Saturday last was a day to be remembered in the counties of Coles, Edgar, Cumberland, Clark, Champaign, Vermillion, etc.,—Eastern Illinois. According to announcement, the fourth great debate between Lincoln and Douglas was "pitched" in the city of Charleston at the date before-mentioned, and we risk nothing in saying the joint demonstration eclipsed all previous political turn-outs, in the central portion of the State. Ottawa and Freeport must try again, for while the latter perhaps brought a few more listeners to the debate, both together would not have made so imposing a display of the etceteras of a great campaign.

On Friday evening the hotels of the town were already crowded to excess, and the streets were hung with national flags, banners, and all manner of artistic devices which could be pressed into political service. Early on Saturday morning the town began to fill up with delegations of teams from the adjoining precincts and the surrounding counties. A special train from Indiana brought eleven car-loads of interested lookers-on from that State. People came on horsekack and mule-back, in wagons, in freight trains and on foot—some with badges and some with banners, some with their dinners and some without. At ten o'clock the streets and the sidewalks around the public square were almost impassable, and those who essayed out-doors anywhere in the vicinity were well-nigh stifled with dust for their pains. The chief decoration of the day was a gigantic banner, eighty feet long, hung across the street, from the Court House to a high building on the west side of the street. On one side was inscribed:

COLES COUNTY
FOUR HUNDRED MAJORITY FOR LINCOLN

On the reverse was a painting of "Old Abe Thirty Years Ago," driving three yoke of oxen attached to a yawl-like Kentucky wagon. This was flanked by two magnificent specimens of the stars and stripes.

Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas both passed the previous night in Mattoon. Two processions were started from that thriving town on Saturday morning to escort the speakers to Charleston. About half past ten another long and imposing procession of carriages, horsemen, bands of music, and conspicuous above all, a mammoth car covered with white muslin and silk and decorated with wild flowers, bearing a huge inscription, "LINCOLN, OGLESBY, MARSHALL AND CRADDOCK" and carrying thirty-two young ladies with banners inscribed with names of the States of the Confederacy moved out of Charleston to meet Mr. Lincoln. About an hour afterwards the two Republican processions returned together. They constituted without question the most formidable array of the campaign. Innumerable banners fluttered in the wind farther than the eye could reach through the cloud of dust that accompanied them. As they entered the town the procession was a mile in length. As compared with it, the Douglas escort was a very puny affair. The car provided for thirty-two ladies on that side of the house, somehow contained only fifteen, and the majority of these were under eight years of age—suggesting the idea of their being Territories rather than States.

The carriage in which Mr. Lincoln was conveyed was driven to the entrance of the Capitol House where Mr. Bromwell, of Charleston, made the following reception speech:

[Here follows speech of Mr. Bromwell]

Three loud cheers were then given, and a general dispersion took place for dinner. Those who partook of the fare of our friend Johnson at the Capitol House, were abundantly fortified for the exercises of the afternoon.

It would be impossible to give in our columns a tithe of the interesting adjuncts and incidents of the day. We will merely add that the Republicans of Coles County are a host, and no mistake.

Mr. Lincoln's Speech

Mr. Lincoln took the stand at a quarter before three and was greeted with vociferous and protracted applause; after which, he said:

[Mr. Lincoln's opening speech is printed here, followed by Mr. Douglas's reply, and finally by Mr. Lincoln's concluding remarks.]

When Mr. Lincoln had concluded, three cheers were given spontaneously by the vast crowd; after which the people poured out of the gates, the carriages and bands of music formed in procession, and the whole marched back to the town.

. . . .

The evening services at the Court House were commenced by Hon. Hugh F. Linder, in a speech of half an hour. He was followed by a dramatic young gentleman of "Spread-Eagle" notoriety from Chicago, named Merrick. We heard Mr. Merrick only a few moments. He was then talking of "Stars shooting madly from their spheres," with tragic allusions to a "holocaust" and a rapt view of the "empyrean." We fled with some trepidation to the southwest corner of the square, where the Republicans had organized a meeting about four times larger than the Douglas performance, and were being addressed by Hon. R. J. Oglesby, amid a storm of hurrahs. Mr. Oglesby continued speaking in a powerful strain for about two hours, when the meeting adjourned, and the "boys" went and serenaded Mr. Lincoln. The music was then heard under the windows of "Kansas," "California," "Iowa," etc. far into the dangerous hours, and finally vibrated and throbbed itself to rest. And so ended the great day at Charleston.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 22, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Joint Debate at Charleston.—Something about Sidney Breese.—Lincoln Reads Trumbull's Alton Speech

Charleston, Coles Co., Ills.
September 19, 1858

The regular meeting for joint discussion between the tall Sucker and the Little Giant came off according to programme yesterday, and indeed it turned out to be a glorious occasion for the Democracy.

Sun up yesterday morning found both of the candidates at Mattoon, whence to this town has to be made by horse, when a parade is anything of a consideration. In this instance the members of both parties thinking to do honor to their champion chose such conveyance, they doing the honors by getting up for each a procession. "Old Abe" started at the head of his crowd early in the morning, he had a fair show, but one which might hide its diminished head when that which escorted Douglas took the lead. This consisted of a band, thirty-two couples, male and female, on horseback, then came the Judge, the rear being brought up by seventy-three wagons containing in each from two to twelve persons, the rear being supported by a large number of horsemen. In this way, receiving constant accessions to their numbers, they marched over the ten miles of road, until on the outskirts of this city they were met by the immense delegation sent out by the citizens. These mounted in various ways, being headed by a van containing thirty-two young ladies dressed in white, with wreathes of prairie flowers on their brows, and each bearing a flag inscribed with the name of the State represented by her.

In this magnificent order Senator Douglas was conveyed to the hotel, in the front of which Mr. O. B. Ficklin addressed him in terms of welcome. Owing to the fact that these "free speech" Republicans set their brazen band players to playing their brass instruments within a few yards of the speaker, and kept at that delectable game during the continuance of the whole of his speaking, I am unable to convey to you the sentiments which he expressed. Feeling, and with propriety, that this was rather too much of a good thing, these blow-hards were stopped in time to allow that the Senator should reply before the vast multitude that had congregated around him, without interruption.

After dinner had been disposed of, the several parties made their way to the rostrum. As the Judge ascended the stand, I was a listener to a conversation which, being of no private character, I may repeat the substance of, as it goes to show the close alliance of the bolters with the Black Republican force, and as it corroborates and endorses Gov. Reynolds in his published resolution (vide Star of Egypt) to vote for Lincoln in preference to Douglas. The Black Republican marshal of the day exhibited a letter from Carpenter, of Chicago, asking him to make arrangements for a meeting for him to speak to, for Tuesday next, and begging of him to announce it from the stand. The conversation was relative to any objections which Douglas might have to such announcement. The Judge signified his willingness, and it was done. The marshal reading the notice from the stand that "Carpenter would reply to Douglas."

At this time there were certainly no less than ten thousand people upon the fair ground, some calculated that there were fifteen thousand present, and I think there were as likely twelve thousand as ten thousand. They were ranged around in semicircular form, the stand forming the central line. Mr. Lincoln had the opening. B. B.

[*Chicago Democrat*, September 22, 1858]

FOURTH GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT CHARLESTON

Ten Thousand Persons on the Ground.—The Toombs Bill.—Lincoln Strips the Giant Dry

CHARLESTON, Sept. 18, 1858

This morning the procession formed at Mattoon for the purpose of escorting Lincoln to the county seat. It was led by a band of music from Indiana. Following the carriage of Mr. Lincoln was a wagon filled with young ladies, thirty-two in number, each representing a State. The wagon bearing this precious burden of beauty bore this significant motto:—

"Westward thy Star of Empire takes its way,
Thy Girls *Link-on* to Lincoln,—
Their Mothers were for Clay."

Immediately following was a young lady on horse back, representing Kansas, bearing the motto,—"Kansas will be free!" In front of the procession was a banner inscribed "Support Abram Lincoln, the defender of Henry Clay."

Arriving at Charleston, a vast throng was found waiting the procession, and welcomed it with cheers and huzzas. From the Capitol House to the Court House, on the opposite side of the street, a banner was stretched, on which was sketched an emigrant wagon, drawn by two yoke of oxen, driven by a young stripling, and over the caricature the words, "Abe's entrance into Charleston thirty years ago." When it is remembered that thirty years ago Mr. Lincoln emigrated to this place from Kentucky, driving his father's team *à la* the design on the banner, this had peculiar significance. It attracted much attention during the day.

In front of the Capitol House the ceremony of the reception took place in the finest and most imposing style. The reception speech was made by Hon. H. P. H. Bromwell, and is conceded by all to have been a very appropriate and neat speech. It was well received by the crowd, and elicited excessive cheering. Mr. Lincoln responded in a few remarks well timed and to the point, which inflamed the audience with the greatest amount of enthusiasm.

After dinner the crowd moved to the ground of the Agricultural Society to witness the great attraction of the day—the intellectual contest between the two great front leaders in Illinois. It proved an occasion long to be remembered by both speakers and audience;—the former, because it was the turning point which was to decide important points in the campaign, and the latter, because they were to witness a great intellectual encounter. Mr. Lincoln was introduced to the audience by Dr. Chamberlain.

. . . .

In the course of his remarks, Mr. Douglas insinuated the oft-exploded charge that Lincoln voted against supplies to our soldiers in the Mexican war. This Mr. Lincoln treated in an entirely original, but, it must be conceded, very effective manner. Referring to the charge, he explained in a concise manner his position upon the war question as being the same as that of the Whig party of that day. To prove his statements true, he turned to Hon. O. B. Ficklin, who was sitting upon the stand, and seizing him by the collar, dragged him by main force before the audience, saying "now, Mr. Ficklin, you sat by my side the whole time I was in Congress, and know well every speech and vote given by me. Now, sir, I want you to tell to this audience, the whole truth of the matter." Mr. Ficklin was an unwilling witness indeed, but was in a tight place and could no better than go forward and do as he was bidden. He said he was a friend to both contending gentlemen, and esteemed them both. He further said that Mr. Lincoln gave no material vote different from his own on the war question, except to declare it unconstitutional. The effect of this performance, as will readily be seen by the reader, was electrical upon the audience. Douglas met the charge, and instead of getting out of temper and giving the lie, Lincoln seized Douglas' right hand man, made him a witness, and at once nailed the libellous charge to the counter. The effect was most powerful; cheer after cheer rent the air, testifying the complete triumph of Lincoln over this calumny. "Fick" was not a little discomforted, but could do no better than meet the issue with fortitude. He had been the unwilling instrument in the hands of Lincoln of robbing the Douglasites of their chief weapon.

[Special Correspondence *New York Evening Post*, September 21, 1858]

SENATORIAL CANVASS IN ILLINOIS

Charleston, Coles Co., Ills.
Sept. 18, 1858

The *fourth* joint debate between Douglas and Lincoln has just closed. Charleston is located on the line of the Terre Haute, Alton, and St. Louis Railroad, some ten miles East of the Illinois Central. It is a pleasant town of some antiquity for Illinois, and at the center of a region which is rather prolific in Republicans. The meeting today was larger than the first debate at Ottawa, and almost equal to the second debate at Freeport.—This one fact shows the interest which this campaign is taking on. Here, in a "rural district" with only one railroad and one special train, the turnout of the populace has ranked with the great meetings in the thickly settled northern portions of the State, intersected by railroads and steamboats routes, all pouring their special trains upon a common center. "The prairies are on fire" and all parties partake of the general enthusiasm.

. . . .

These demonstrations are in the main alike, but this at Charleston has been in some particulars in advance of others. The display of banners and mottoes was unusually large. Across the main street were suspended three flags bearing Lincoln's name and a huge white banner bearing on one side the words, "Coles County for Lincoln" and on the other an immense painting representing a man driving a team of six horses. This was "Abe" as he appeared thirty years ago, when he drove a wagon across the county; *then* a poor teamster, unnoticed and unknown; *now* the object of almost idolatrous devotion from the people of the same county. Innumerable other banners and devices, expressive of like feeling were carried.

Mr. Lincoln spent the night at Mattoon, ten miles distant, and was escorted thence by the *entire town* in wagons. From Charleston there went forth a large delegation and with it the pleasantest feature of the occasion; a large wagon covered with a canopy, was decorated with blue and white cloth, festoons of leaves and wreaths of flowers. Inside were thirty-one young ladies, dressed in white; on their blue velvet caps were wreaths of green and a silver star. Each young lady waved a white banner with the name of a state upon it. Behind was a young lady on horseback, bearing the banner "Kansas—I will be free." (I may here remark, in passing, an unfortunate decoration for a young lady.) Following her were thirty-one young men on horseback. The wagon containing the young ladies had upon one side, "Lincoln, Oglesby, Marshall, Craddock," and on the other

"Westward, the star of Empire takes its way,
The girls *link-on* to Lincoln, as their mothers did to Clay."

As the procession arrived and made its way through the dense crowd the young ladies were greeted with immense cheers, to which they responded by waving their banners. Mr. Lincoln in his reception speech, gracefully alluded to this spectacle as "a basket of flowers." Mr. Douglas, too, spent the night at Mattoon, and came over with his friends. A wagon with thirteen young ladies met him in procession and these were followed by thirty-one young ladies on horseback, attended by as many gentlemen. Oh! how fearfully dusty candidates and cavalcades were when they arrived in front of the hotels. The two wagons I have mentioned were drawn upon the grounds, where the most intense enthusiasm was manifested at their appearance.

[*Illinois State Register*, September 23, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT CHARLESTON

Abraham Tossed Again

CHARLESTON, September 18

Editors State Register:—The Democracy have had a day here that will rejoice their hearts as long as their memory shall last, while the black republicans will not cease to deplore it as long as they stick to their present organization. The conflict between Douglas and Lincoln has turned out most disastrously for the cause of the latter. There is but one opinion here, and that is that Lincoln has become satisfied that he cannot cope with Douglas. Lincoln had nothing to say for himself in this speech, but he repeated the charge made by Trumbull and reproduced the falsehoods of that renegade from democracy. Lincoln has evidently found it up hill business to maintain his negro equality doctrines in the neighborhood of the Wabash, and in Egypt generally, so he rehearses Trumbull's speeches.

The gathering of the people have exceeded all expectation. There could not have been less than fifteen thousand present. He left Mattoon at 8 o'clock in the morning under a numerous escort made up of delegates from different counties. In the procession were thirty-two young ladies on horseback, each bearing the colors of our country—the eagle, stars and stripes. The journey from Mattoon to Charleston was thirty miles, and throughout its course the procession received fresh instalments of ardent citizens from almost every house, and at the intersection of the highways and byways. Banners appropriate to the principles of the party and emblematic of the services of the distinguished senator, were numerously displayed along the immense line of patriotic citizens who rushed together to do honor to the man who stands before the world as the ablest champion of popular sovereignty. On reaching Charleston the procession was two miles and a half long. It would perhaps gratify you to give the inscriptions upon the banners, but they were too numerous for me to copy them or even remember them at all.

The Hon. O. B. Ficklin welcomed the senator in an eloquent and pertinent speech, though but few had the pleasure of hearing it as the black republicans had stationed a band near for the purpose of drowning his remarks. The people soon stopped the instruments and Judge Douglas made his reception reply without interruption.

Mr. Lincoln led off the debate. The people listened but they did not cheer him. Four fifths of those present were democrats. Scarcely a cheer greeted him, (though three cheers were accorded for courtesy). He contented himself with repeating the falsehoods of Trumbull—falsehoods which Douglas had refuted over and over again. On closing there was no applause for him—scarcely a murmur of approbation from his few friends who had the courage to appear there to witness his overthrow.

Douglas followed, and completely riddled every position taken by the black republican candidate for the senate. He again refuted Trumbull's falsehoods and exposed the shuffling indirection of Lincoln. I should be glad to give a synopsis of the debate, but must close. You may rely on Coles county being all right. B. J.

[*Chicago Times*, September 21, 1858]

THE AUDIENCE AT CHARLESTON

Douglas Has the People with Him

Of the vast multitude of people in attendance upon the discussion, at Charleston, between Douglas and Lincoln, it is entirely safe to say that more than three-fourths were Democrats—making the number of Douglas's friends on the ground not less, according to the most reasonable calculation, than ELEVEN THOUSAND. This proportion of Democrats to Republicans was manifest at the first, and throughout the debate. While Lincoln was speaking no responses greeted him from the crowd; he spoke as well, but no better, than usual, but to intelligent citizens of the Democratic *persuasion*, who exhibited no sympathy with or no respect for him. However, as it is the habit of Democrats to tolerate in the most respectful manner free speech, he was not interrupted or disturbed. But when Douglas commenced his reply, the whole assemblage sent up a prolonged and almost unanimous shout of applause. The effect on each individual auditor was electrical, and the speaker entered into the discussion with great energy of manner, and in a style of manly and convincing eloquence. In spite of his expressed wish to be allowed to proceed without interruption by applauses, at every telling point—and his speech abounded with them—the most vociferous and hearty cheers were given. When Douglas had finished the people appeared satisfied; many went immediately away; and before Lincoln was half through with his rejoinder not a quarter of the crowd remained to hear him. He had not more than four thousand hearers; it is not believed that he had three thousand. We fancy he has had enough of Egypt; and certainly Egypt has had enough of him.

[*Chicago Journal*, September 20, 1858]

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT CHARLESTON

[Special Correspondence of the *Chicago Journal*]

CHARLESTON, COLES COUNTY, Sept. 18

This is one of the pleasantest villages that we have ever visited in the West. It is the county seat of Coles county, one of the wealthiest and most progressive agricultural counties in the State, notwithstanding its proximity to Egypt which begins at its Southern limits. It is located on The Terre Haute, Alton and St. Louis railroad, and only seven miles from Mattoon, the junction of that road with the Illinois Central railroad.

We came up to attend the fourth joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas, which takes place here this afternoon, and an account of which we should herewith send you, but for the fact that, no train leaving Mattoon for Chicago between noon today and the forenoon of Monday, it will be impossible to get the letter to you for your Monday's issue. We arrived here yesterday, and have been getting acquainted with the people and feeling the popular pulse, to ascertain their political feelings. This town and the country around it, have been settled principally from Kentucky. Most of the leading men here are Kentuckians, of the old Henry Clay Whig stamp. Before the organization of the Republican party, Coles County gave a strong Whig majority, and is now a good Republican county. We find on inquiry that almost without exception, *the old Kentucky Whigs here are the strongest kind of Lincoln men.* Mr. Craddock, the Lincoln candidate for the Legislature in this Republican district, embracing the counties of Coles and Moultrie, will be elected by a majority of not less than six hundred. The organization of the Republican party in this county and district is perfect, and their plan of operation is worthy of all imitation by every other district in the State. They have the name and partizan proclivities of every voter "recorded in a book," and know just how many Republicans, how many Democrats, and how many "doubtfuls," there are, and where to find them. The work of the canvass is progressing with much spirit, and the excitement is quite general, for it is nearly all for Lincoln.

At the present writing the town is rapidly filling up with people from the adjoining towns. There will be a great multitude here, to listen to the debate. Processions and delegations are now entering the town from every direction, with flags, banners and loud hurrahs for "Abe Lincoln," who used to live in this county when a boy. The Lincoln men of Charleston have suspended a mammoth banner across the street, on which is painted a life sized picture, representing a farmer boy driving an ox team, as Lincoln used to do here when a lad. Under this is the inscription, "LINCOLN AS HE WAS IN 1828." On the other side of the banner is the inscription in large letters, "COLES COUNTY GOES FOR LINCOLN." This enormous banner, reaching almost across the square, is graced at each end with a large American flag. The Douglasites have also suspended a flag across the square, but it is a small affair, with the words "*welcome douglas*" upon it. The town is full of Lincoln flags and banners, carried by men and boys, and fastened to doors, stores and housetops: but the Douglas banners are "few and far between."

By the way, speaking of those flags that are suspended across the square; we must not neglect to mention an ominous incident that occurred last evening. The Douglas men saw some Lincoln men on the roof of a building on which one of the ends of their flag-rope was fastened, and supposing that they were about to throw out the big Lincoln banner to the breeze, they immediately scampered up to the Court House cupola and attempted to get the start of the Lincoln men by getting their flag out first. They strung it out on the flag rope, and let it fly to the breeze, when a violent gust of wind struck the flag and tangled it over the rope into several knots. This the Republicans regarded as emblematical of the tangled-up position into which Lincoln has placed Douglas, and they very naturally gave vent to their feelings in shouts, to the great discomfiture of the poor fellows on the cupola, who were tugging to get the "kinks" out of their unfortunate flag, which they finally, after an hour or two of hard work, succeeded in doing, not however without tearing an ugly rent into the cloth. This is ominous of the Douglas cause.

Charleston has a large number of pretty and intelligent ladies, and they are all for Lincoln. They have decorated a long wagon with flags and inscriptions in which 32 of them (representing the 32 States of the Union) will ride in the procession this afternoon. Among the appropriate inscriptions on this wagon is the following:

"THE GIRLS ALL LINK TO LINCOLN,
AS THEIR MOTHERS LINKED TO CLAY."

The Douglasites tried to get up a similar display, but, to do their best, couldn't find more than four women in the town who thought enough of Douglas to honor him in this manner. So, despairing of this way to honor their champion, the Douglasites went to work and got a caricature painted—eminently characteristic of these low-lived politicians—representing a white man standing with a negro woman, and followed by a negro boy, with the inscription of "NEGRO EQUALITY," over it. We take it from this, that the Douglas-worshipers of Charleston, like the Douglas editor of the DeKalb *Sentinel*, are in favor of Negro Equality. This is what their banner indicates surely.

Mr. Lincoln was escorted from Mattoon by a Republican procession numbering several hundred men and women, in wagons and on horseback, with flags and banners, this morning. It was a triumphal march of eleven long miles. Mr. Lincoln stops at the Capitol House, the best hotel in the town; and Senator Douglas is the guest of the Union House.

There are several thousand people in the streets, and "still they come." The debate takes place at 2 o'clock at the County Fair Grounds, about a quarter of a mile West of the village. You shall hear from us again on Monday.

[*Peoria Transcript*, October 1, 1858]

Dignity Outraged.—The *Charleston* (Coles County) *Courier* relates the following incident connected with the debate between Lincoln and Douglas in that town:

> As the procession was starting from the public square for the place appointed for Lincoln and Douglas to speak—the latter who was riding in a carriage, having been requested by one of the marshals to fall in ranks, in the proper place as specified, sticks his big gray hat out of the carriage, and with a face swollen with rage, or something worse, declared that "he would not be treated with such indignity," "if I can't be treated with respect, I will get out of the procession." The innocent marshal was perfectly thunderstruck—and could not divine the cause of such "celestial wrath," until it was pointed out to him that there was in the dim and dusty distance before them a small banner representing "Old Abe" with uplifted war club felling the Little Giant to the ground. "Now, in the name of all the gods at once, upon what meat hath this our Caesar fed, that he has grown so great?"
>
> Mr. Lincoln was caused to pass under a Douglas banner a thousand times more disgraceful, and he did not turn round with affected virtuous indignation and stop the whole procession with his "dignity," for he knew it had been gotten up by some artful Ballard or rickety Rickets, and he passed under it with but a smile of indifference or contempt. But for the man who could countenance in his own "*Register*," or *Louisville Democrat*, the old slanderous effigies of Henry Clay, for such a man to be shocked at the sight of "Abe" the Giant Killer, is most wondrous strange, indeed.

[*Illinois State Register*, September 24, 1858]

LINCOLN WOULD BE A PATRIOT.—HE RUBS AT THE SPOT

Lincoln put upon a new tack at Charleston. He undertook to play the persecuted, and made a defence of what was not charged upon him by Douglas—that he voted against supplies to the army in Mexico. Our correspondent yesterday gave us an account of Douglas' answer to this matter at Sullivan.

It is too late in the day for Mr. Abraham Lincoln to set himself up as a supporter of the Mexican war. It is not important whether he voted for supplies or not. He stood up in his place in the house, during the pendency of the negotiations of the treaty with Mexico, and, in a mountebank harangue, argued, to the best of his ability, that his own country was wrong and that his country's enemies were right, thereby holding out inducements to the enemy to insist upon more rigorous terms in the pending negotiations.

At Charleston he called upon Mr. Ficklin to help him out of the drag. That gentleman came upon the stand, and, instead of making Mr. Lincoln's "spot" more comfortable, testified that Mr. L. voted for the Ashum resolution, declaring the war to be unjust and unconstitutional. He stood alone in the Illinois delegation in giving that vote. The resolution was introduced and voted for no other purpose than to cripple the country in negotiating a peace. If it was not this what was it for? The war had begun, battles had been fought, American blood had flowed like water, and for what good or patriotic purpose could Mr. Lincoln have joined the abolitionists in making a record for the enemy's benefit? He did give that monstrous vote, and many others like it, however, but now attempts to pettifog out of it by denying something that Douglas had not charged upon him. Lincoln, and the Massachusetts abolitionists who led him, were determined that in the treaty of peace our country should come off without advantage—that we should not acquire Mexican territory as indemnity for the outrages put upon us, in order that the crew of sectionalists with whom he acted might make *party* capital. They would have robbed their country of its just rights, blotted its escutcheon, and branded with infamy all who maintained the justice of the war, to secure that great end of politicians of his class—power and spoils. Mr. A. Lincoln was the humble catspaw of these sectionalists, and most faithfully has he followed up his service in the same line of policy for the benefit of the same political interest.

It was in support of this policy that he joined with the enemies of Clay in the whig ranks, and contributed to the ruling out of the great whig chieftain by substituting the leader in that "proslavery raid," the Mexican war, as the *Chicago Tribune* has termed it, in place of Mr. Clay, who could not be made the supple instrument of the abolition wing of the whig party, to which Mr. Lincoln attached himself, and which affiliation he showed in his famous, or rather infamous "spotty" speech.

Mr. Lincoln cannot quibble out of the odium of his unpatriotic course in regard to the Mexican war, by begging the question upon votes of supplies. He showed by his congressional course that he was as serviceable an ally of Mexico as if he had met his countrymen—his constituents—upon Mexican soil, with a Mexican musket, to welcome them with "bloody hands to hospitable graves," as Corwin hoped they would be.

We have heretofore given our readers his record, at length, on this question. His course is familiar to the people of the whole state, especially to our older residents, and it is only surprising that Mr. Lincoln should have ventured to dig it up in a county where there are so many who participated in that "unjust war," as he and the abolitionists proclaimed it! We can only account for it in the fact that he had to play a delicate part in Coles, to hide himself on the slavery question and in his trepidation and his desire to find other subjects of comment blundered from Scylla upon Charybdis. He run upon his most odious "spot," which brought upon him the exposé of his Mexican record by Douglas at Sullivan.

In his course in relation to the Mexican war Mr. Lincoln only vented that abolition feeling, which has culminated in his avowal that he favors the doctrine of the equality of the negroes with the whites. Abolitionism then, as now, was the basis of his political creed.

[*Chicago Journal*, September 21, 1858]

THE FOURTH JOINT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

(Special correspondence of the *Journal*)

CHARLESTON, COLES CO., Sept. 20

Saturday was a great day in Charleston. There were not less than twelve thousand people present, from the adjacent towns and counties, to hear the fourth joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas. The streets of the village were filled with a perfect tide of humanity, surging to and fro, and immediately after dinner the tide flowed out to the County Fair Grounds, where the debate took place.

The reception that was given to Mr. Lincoln on his arrival, by the Republicans of Charleston, was most cordial and enthusiastic. Mr.

Bromwell, on behalf of the Republicans of Charleston, made an eloquent speech of welcome, to which Mr. Lincoln responded briefly, but in befitting terms; after which our noble leader was perfectly overwhelmed with the warm greetings of the thousands of good friends who had come to see and hear him.

The debate, in the afternoon, was opened by Mr. Lincoln, who, on taking the stand, was vociferously cheered.

CHAPTER IX

THE GALESBURG DEBATE

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 2, 1858]

THE GALESBURG DEBATE

GALESBURG, IOWA, Sept. 29, 1858

Editors Press and Tribune: Please inform the readers of your paper the time of the debate between Lincoln and Douglas at Galesburg on the 7th of October. Will it be in the day time or evening, and at what hour. Many Republicans from Muscatine will be there. Insert notice in paper, and oblige,

Yours truly,

G. W. V.

(The previous debates have all commenced at 2 P. M. and we believe that is the hour fixed on by the Galesburg committees.—Eds. *P. & T.*)

[*Burlington, Iowa, State Gazette*, September 30, 1858]

DOUGLAS AT GALESBURG

Douglas and Lincoln will address the people at Galesburg on Thursday the 7th of October. Persons desiring to be present on the occasion can do so at a small expense *via* the Burlington & M. RR. and Chicago & Quincy Railroad. Tickets to Galesburg and back—*half fare*—good for the 7th and 8th on regular trains.

We hope to see a large delegation from Iowa on that occasion. Those coming from towns west of us had better avail themselves of the afternoon train on the 6th in order to make sure of connection. Tickets can be had at any of the Railroad ticket offices.

[*Peoria, Ill., Transcript*, October 1, 1858]

THE NEXT GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

The next great debate between Lincoln and Douglas comes off at Galesburg, on Thursday next, the 7th of October, and will attract the largest crowd that has yet assembled to listen to the joint discussions between the two great political champions. It is estimated that not less than 25,000 persons will be in attendance, and the citizens of Galesburg are making extensive preparations for the event.

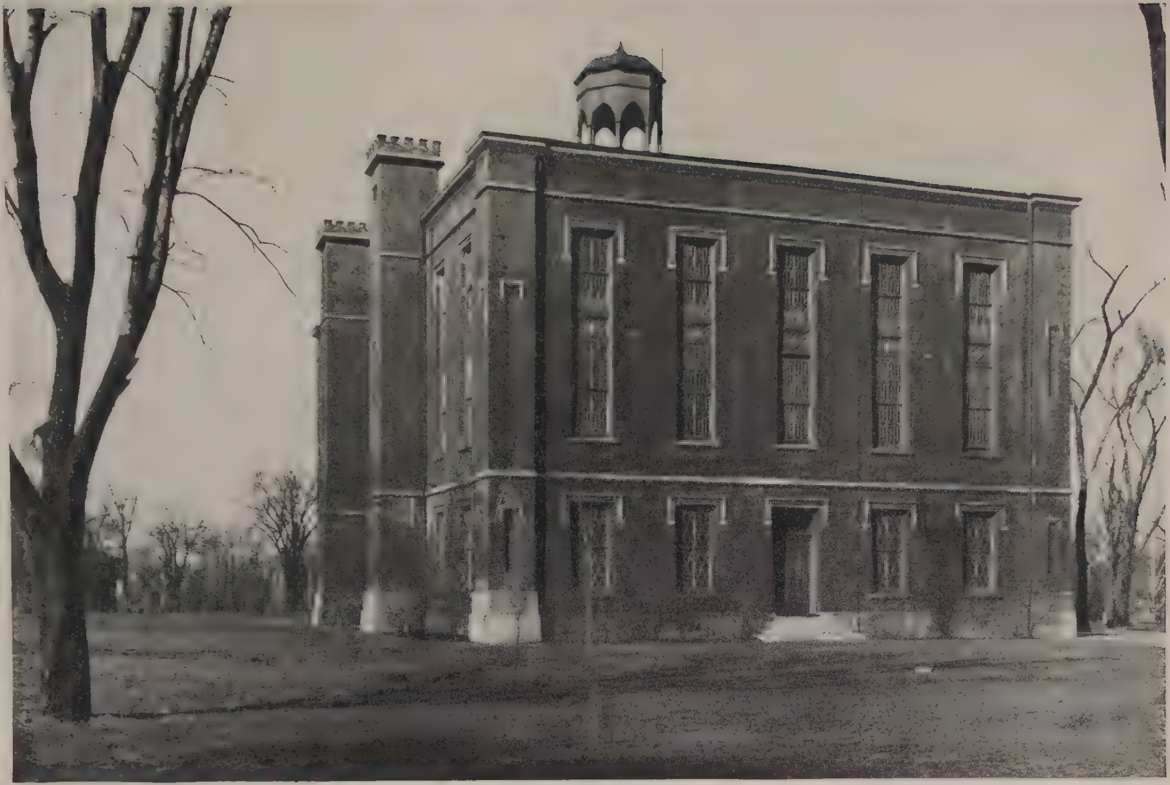
The Peoria, Oquawka and Burlington Railroad are prepared to accommodate all who may desire to pass over their road to attend this this great debate. An extra train will leave this city at 8½ in the morning, and returning, leave Galesburg at 6 o'clock in the afternoon. Peoria ought to furnish at least 3,000 persons for this train. Let there be a general pouring out of our citizens. We urge our Republican friends, in particular, to be on hand. An extraordinary effort will be made by the Douglas-worshippers to get out the largest crowd for the occasion. The decided advantage which Mr. Lincoln has heretofore gained over his antagonist in these joint debates, has exasperated them to such an extent that no pains will be spared at Galesburg to regain their lost grounds by giving Douglas as large a number of sympathizers in the audience as possible, who will be desperate in their enthusiasm to the last degree. But the Republican party throughout this section is confident and spirited, and Old Abe will meet with a reception next Thursday, which, in point of zeal and magnificence will far excel anything of the kind ever before witnessed in the West.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 5, 1858]

THE GALESBURG DEBATE.—A WORD TO THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS

The fifth public debate between Lincoln and Douglas comes off at Galesburg on Thursday next. We observe from our exchanges in that quarter that preparations are being made for an immense crowd. A special train will leave this city from the Central Depot on Thursday morning at six o'clock, reaching Galesburg at 1:25 P. M. Fare for the round trip six dollars.

In this connection we desire to say a word to the Committee of Arrangements for the debate. At none of the previous discussions have there been any adequate accommodations for reporters. It is not a fact that two chairs and a wash-stand eighteen inches square are sufficient furniture for half a dozen men to work on, nor is it always convenient to make a battle against a mob of excited politicians, when the fighting editor is at home. In behalf of ourselves and such other representatives of the press as may be represented, may we request that



WEST END OF COLLEGE BUILDING, GALESBURG, ILLINOIS

The debating stand was erected against this end of the building

arrangements be made for at least six reporters—that the chairs and tables be placed where they will not be jarred or overthrown by the people on the platform and where there will be no room for persons to crowd between the reporters and the speakers—and that somebody with authority and physical strength enough to secure obedience, be appointed to keep loafers out of the reporting corner. These things are absolutely essential to the accuracy of the reports.

[*Galesburg Democrat*, October 6, 1858]

We learn that the Republican delegations will arrive tomorrow, as near as possible, in the following order:

Knoxville delegation will come with Lincoln, at half-past 11 A. M., down Main street. Galesburg escort will meet them about a mile from the square.

Mercer county delegation will come in from the west, on Main street.

Cameron and adjoining towns will come in from the southwest at 12 o'clock.

Monmouth delegation on 12 o'clock train.

Abingdon delegation on 10 o'clock train, and some in carriages.

Henderson, Oneida, Victoria, Rio and Wataga delegations will enter the city from the east on Main street, at about 12 M.

Train from Chicago and intermediate stations arrives at 1:25.

Train from Peoria at 12 M.

[*Galesburg, Ill., Democrat*, October 4, 1858]

[For the *Galesburg Democrat*]

Messrs. Editors:—Yesterday as I was passing along Main street I overheard two Douglas men engaged in what I supposed to be earnest conversation. I heard this remark—"Let us take him to the Bonney House, for we can get a HORN there if we want it." From what appeared afterward the said gentlemen were going to meet the little giant at the cars, he being on his way to Oquawka and was to stop over in the city till Monday. It seems Mr. Douglas and his friends like almost any sort of a horn except one spoken of by Prentice in the *Louisville Journal*, to wit; one offered to them by a certain *Trum*-Bull who turns up occasionally in different parts of this State.

One word in regard to the reception of Mr. Douglas. It was whispered around among a certain few that the Little Giant would arrive on the Peoria train at two o'clock. A self-appointed committee, numbering three persons, having hoisted their colors, straightened their hair and mustaches and wiped the last horn off their lips with their coat sleeves, made tracks for the depot. As soon as the cars stopped the committee rushed into the hind car; Judge Douglas was visible and G. W. Ford said, "How d'ye do Mr. D.," as natural as possible. Mr. D. replied, "I am tolerable!" The rest of the Committee then went through the same performance, each one closing up, saying, "this is fine weather," then squirting a little tobacco juice and looking sidewise at Mr. D. A sort of procession was now formed consisting of one carriage and 18 or 20 persons on foot; among the pedestrians I observed 3 colored boys who seemed to be perfectly at home. Mr. Douglas had on a white hat and coat. This imposing spectacle then moved on, led by the committee to Anthony's lumber yard, thence down to Main street, thence to the Bonney House.

Here was an imposing spectacle. Little Mr. Douglas and his large white hat went into the Bonney House parlor, followed by several of the committee and the aforesaid colored boys. All the faithful in the city had by this time collected and one of them went so far as to propose a cheer, but Mr. D. saying at about this time that he would like some water to wash himself with, put a sudden stopper on this, and as he rose up to go to the wash room he turned round and smiled very benignly upon the crowd, to reciprocate which, the negro boys gave several stamps upon the floor and sidewalk.

After Mr. D. had washed he retired to a private room followed by Mr. Ford and Jim Davidson, and further deponent saith not, but it is reported around town this morning that Mr. D. asked Mr. Ford if it was true that he (Ford) did make an amalgamation speech at the Cable celebration in this city?

In this connection it may be well to say that the Railroad company sent up an extra to bring Mr. D., and charged only half fare for the 6 or 8 persons who came with him on the train. The most of said persons when last seen were in the neighborhood of a Bologna sausage shop on Boone Avenue where they probably stuffed themselves until they became perfectly torpid, in which state they will probably be shipped to Peoria as freight today.

BUCCANNEER

Monday, October 4, 1858

FIFTH JOINT DEBATE

Galesburg, October 7, 1858

Mr. Douglas's Speech

When the Senator appeared on the stand he was greeted with three tremendous cheers. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: Four years ago I appeared before the people of Knox County for the purpose of defending my political action upon the Compromise Measures of 1850 and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Those of you before me who were present then will remember that I vindicated myself for supporting those two measures by the fact that they rested upon the great fundamental principle that the people of each State and each Territory of this Union have the right, and ought to be permitted to exercise the right, of regulating their own domestic concerns in their own way, subject to no other limitation or restriction than that which the Constitution of the United States imposes upon them. I then called upon the people of Illinois to decide whether that principle of self-government was right or wrong. If it was and is right, then the Compromise Measures of 1850 were right, and consequently, the Kansas and Nebraska bill, based upon the same principle, must necessarily have been right. ["That's so," and cheers.]

The Kansas and Nebraska bill declared, in so many words, that it was the true intent and meaning of the Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. For the last four years I have devoted all my energies, in private and public, to commend that principle to the American people. Whatever else may be said in condemnation or support of my political course, I apprehend that no honest man will doubt the fidelity with which, under all circumstances, I have stood by it.

During the last year a question arose in the Congress of the United States whether or not that principle would be violated by the admission of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution. In my opinion, the attempt to force Kansas in under that constitution was a gross violation of the principle enunciated in the Compromise Measures of 1850, and Kansas and Nebraska bill of 1854, and therefore I led off in the fight against the Lecompton Constitution, and conducted it until the effort to carry that constitution through Congress was abandoned. And I can appeal to all men, friends and foes, Democrats and Republicans, Northern men and[1] Southern men, that during the whole of that fight I carried the banner of Popular Sovereignty aloft, and never allowed it to trail in the dust, or lowered my flag until victory perched upon our arms. [Cheers.]

When the Lecompton Constitution was defeated, the question arose in the minds of those who had advocated it what they should next resort to in order to carry out their views. They devised a measure known as the English bill, and granted a general amnesty and political pardon to all men who had fought against the Lecompton Constitution, provided they would support that bill. I for one did not choose to accept the pardon, or to avail myself of the amnesty granted on that condition. The fact that the supporters of Lecompton were willing to forgive all differences of opinion at that time in the event those who opposed it favored the English bill, was an admission[2] they did not think that opposition to Lecompton impaired a man's standing in the Democratic party.

Now, the question arises, What was that English bill which certain men are now attempting to make a test of political orthodoxy in this country? It provided, in substance, that the Lecompton Constitution should be sent back to the people of Kansas for their adoption or rejection, at an election which was held in August last, and in case they refused admission under it, that Kansas should be kept out of the Union until she had 93,420 inhabitants. I was in favor of sending the constitution back in order to enable the people to say whether or not it was their act and deed, and embodied their will; but the other proposition, that if they refused to come into the Union under it, they should be kept out until they had double or treble the population they then had, I never would sanction by my vote. The reason why I could not sanction it is to be found in the fact that by the English bill, if the people of Kansas had only agreed to become a slaveholding State under the Lecompton Constitution, they could have done so with 35,000 people, but if they insisted on being a Free State, as they had a right to do, then they were to be punished by being kept out of the union until they had nearly three times that population. I then said in my place in the Senate, as

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[1] Omitted.

[2] Inserts "that" after "admission."

I now say to you, that whenever Kansas has population enough for a Slave State, she has population enough for a Free State. ["That's it," and cheers.] I have never yet given a vote, and I never intend to record one, making an odious and unjust distinction between the different States of this Union. [Applause.] I hold it to be a fundamental principle in our Republican form of government that all the States of this Union, old and new, free and slave, stand on an exact equality.

Equality among the different States is a cardinal principle on which all our institutions rest. Wherever, therefore, you make a discrimination saying to a Slave State that it shall be admitted with 35,000 inhabitants, and to a Free State that it shall not be admitted until it has 93,000 or 100,000 inhabitants, you are throwing the whole weight of the Federal Government into the scale in favor of one class of States against the other. Nor would I, on the other hand, any sooner sanction the doctrine that a Free State could be admitted into the Union with 35,000 people, while a Slave State was kept out until it had 93,000. I have always declared in the Senate my willingness, and I am willing now to adopt the rule, that no Territory shall ever become a State until it has the requisite population for a member of Congress, according to the then existing ratio. But while I have always been, and am now, willing to adopt that general rule, I was not willing and would not consent to make an exception of Kansas, as a punishment for her obstinacy in demanding the right to do as she pleased in the formation of her constitution. It is proper that I should remark here, that my opposition to the Lecompton Constitution did not rest upon the peculiar position taken by Kansas on the subject of slavery. I held then, and hold now, that if the people of Kansas want a Slave State, it is their right to make one, and be received into the Union under it; if, on the contrary, they want a Free State, it is their right to have it, and no man should ever oppose their admission because they ask it under the one or the other. I hold to that great principle of self-government which asserts the right of every people to decide for themselves the nature and character of the domestic institutions and fundamental law under which they are to live.

The effort has been and is now being made in this State by certain postmasters and other Federal office-holders to make a test of faith on the support of the English bill. These men are now making speeches all over the State against me and in favor of Lincoln, either directly or indirectly, because I would not sanction a discrimination between Slave and Free States by voting for the English bill. But while that bill is made a test in Illinois for the purpose of breaking up the Democratic organization in this State, how is it in the other States? Go to Indiana, and there you find English himself, the author of the English bill, who is a candidate for re-election to Congress, has been forced by public opinion to abandon his own darling project, and to give a promise that he will vote for the admission of Kansas at once, whenever she forms a constitution in pursuance of law, and ratifies it by a majority vote of her people. Not only is this the case with English himself, but I am informed that every Democratic candidate for Congress in Indiana takes the same ground. Pass to Ohio, and there you find that Groesbeck, and Pendleton, and Cox, and all the other anti-Lecompton men who stood shoulder to shoulder with me against the Lecompton Constitution, but voted for the English bill, now repudiate it and take the same ground that I do on that question. So it is with the Joneses and others of Pennsylvania, and so it is with every other Lecompton Democrat in the Free States. They now abandon even the English bill, and come back to the true platform which I proclaimed at the time in the Senate, and upon which the Democracy of Illinois now stands.

And yet, notwithstanding the fact that every Lecompton and anti-Lecompton Democrat in the Free States has abandoned the English bill, you are told that it is to be made a test upon me, while the power and patronage of the Government are all exerted to elect men to Congress in the other States who occupy the same position with reference to it that I do. It seems that my political offense consists in the fact that I first did not vote for the English bill, and thus pledge myself to keep Kansas out of the Union until she has a population of 93,420, and then return home, violate that pledge, repudiate the bill, and take the opposite ground. If I had done this, perhaps the Administration would now be advocating my re-election, as it is that of the others who have pursued this course. I did not choose to give that pledge, for the reason that I did not intend to carry out that principle. I never will consent, for the sake of conciliating the frowns of power, to pledge myself to do that which I do not intend to perform. I now submit the question to you, as my constituency, whether I was not right, first, in resisting the adoption of the Lecompton constitution, and secondly, in resisting the English bill. [An universal "Yes" from the crowd.] I repeat that I opposed the Lecompton Constitution because it was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas, and did not embody their will. I denied the right of any power on earth, under our system of government, to force a constitution on an unwilling people. ["Hear, hear; that's the doctrine;" and cheers.] There was a time when some men could pretend to believe that the Lecompton Constitution embodied the will of the people of Kansas; but that time has passed. The question was referred to the people of Kansas under the English bill last August, and then, at a fair election, they rejected the Lecompton Constitution by a vote of from eight to ten against it to one in its favor. Since it has been voted down by so overwhelming a majority no man can pretend that it was the act and deed of that people. ["That's so," and cheers.]

I submit the question to you whether or not, if it had not been for me, that constitution would have been crammed down the throats of the people of Kansas against their consent. ["It would, it would;" "Hurrah for Douglas;" "Three cheers for Douglas", etc.] While at least ninety-nine out of every hundred people here present agree that I was right in defeating that project, yet my enemies use the fact that I did defeat it by doing right, to break me down and put another man in the United States Senate in my place. ["No, no, you'll be returned;" three cheers, etc.] The very men who acknowledge that I was right in defeating Lecompton, now form an alliance with Federal office-holders, professed Lecompton men, to defeat me, because I did right. ["It can't be done."] My political opponent, Mr. Lincoln, has no hope on earth, and has never dreamed that he had a chance of success, were it not for the aid that[1] he is receiving from Federal office-holders, who are using their influence and the patronage of the Government against me in revenge for my having defeated the Lecompton Constitution. ["Hear him," and applause.]

What do you Republicans think of a political organization that will try to make an unholy and unnatural combination with its professed foes to beat a man merely because he has done right? ["Shame on it."] You know that[2] such is the fact with regard to your own party. You know that the axe of decapitation is suspended over every man in office in Illinois, and the terror[3] of proscription is threatened every Democrat by the present Administration, unless he supports the Republican ticket in preference to my Democratic associates and myself. ["The people are with you, let them threaten," etc.] I could find an instance in the postmaster of the city of Galesburg, and in every other postmaster in this vicinity, all of whom have been stricken down simply because they discharged the duties of their offices honestly, and supported the regular Democratic ticket in this State in the right. The Republican party is availing itself of every unworthy means in the present contest to carry the election, because its leaders know that if they let this chance slip they will never have another, and their hopes of making this a Republican State will be blasted forever.

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[1] Omits "that."

[2] Omits "that."

[3] Reads: "terrors" for "terror."

Now, let me ask you whether the country has any interest in sustaining this organization known as the Republican party. That party is unlike all other political organizations in this country. All other parties have been national in their character,—have avowed their principles alike in the Slave and Free[1] States, in Kentucky, as well as Illinois, in Louisiana as well as in Massachusetts. Such was the case with the old Whig party, and such was and is the case with the Democratic party. Whigs and Democrats could proclaim their principles boldly and fearlessly in the North and in the South, in the East and in the West, whereever the Constitution ruled, and the American flag waved over American soil.

But now you have a sectional organization, a party which appeals to the Northern section of the Union against the Southern, a party which appeals to Northern passion, Northern pride, Northern ambition,[2] Northern prejudices, against Southern people, the Southern States, and Southern institutions. The leaders of that party hope that they will be able to unite the Northern States in one great sectional party; and inasmuch as the North is the strongest section, that they will thus be enabled to out-vote, conquer, govern and control the South. Hence you find that they now make speeches advocating principles and measures which cannot be defended in any slaveholding State of this Union. Is there a Republican residing in Galesburg who can travel into Kentucky and carry his principles with him across the Ohio? ["No."] What Republican from Massachusetts can visit the Old Dominion without leaving his principles behind him when he crosses Mason and Dixon's line? Permit me to say to you in perfect good humor, but in all sincerity, that no political creed is sound which cannot be proclaimed fearlessly in every State of this Union where the Federal Constitution is[1] the supreme law of the land. ["That's so," and cheers.]

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[1] Inserts "the" before "Free."

[2] Inserts "and" after "ambition."

Not only is this Republican party unable to proclaim its principles alike in the North and in the South, in the Free States and in the Slave States, but it cannot even proclaim them in the same forms and give them the same strength and meaning in all parts of the same State. My friend Lincoln finds it extremely difficult to manage a debate in the center part of the State, where there is a mixture of men from the North and the South. In the extreme northern part of Illinois he can proclaim as bold and radical Abolitionism as ever Giddings, Lovejoy, or Garrison enunciated; but when he gets down a little farther south he claims that he is an Old Line Whig, [great laughter] a disciple of Henry Clay ["Singleton says he defeated Clay's nomination for the presidency," and cries of "That's so."] and declares that he still adheres to the Old Line Whig creed, and has nothing whatever to do with Abolitionism, or negro equality, or negro citizenship. ["Hurrah for Douglas."] I once before hinted this of Mr. Lincoln[2] in a public speech, and at Charleston he defied me to show that there was any difference between his speeches in the North and in the South, and that they were not in strict harmony. I will now call your attention to two of them, and you can then say whether you would be apt to believe that the same man ever uttered both. [Laughter and cheers.] In a speech in reply to me at Chicago in July last, Mr. Lincoln in speaking of the equality of the negro with the white man used the following language:—

> "I should like to know, if, taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why may not another man say it does not mean another man? [Laughter.] If the Declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book in which we find it, and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true, let us tear it out."

You find that Mr. Lincoln there proposed that if the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, declaring all men to be born equal, did not include the negro and put him on an equality with the white man, that we should take the statute book and tear it out. [Laughter and cheers.] He there took the ground that the negro race is included in the Declaration of Independence as the equal of the white race, and that there could be no such thing as a distinction in the races, making one superior and the other inferior. I read now from the same speech:—

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[1] Inserts "not" after "is."

[2] Reads: "Lincoln's" for "Lincoln."

> "My friends [he says], I have detained you about as long as I desire to do, and I have only to say, let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position, discarding our standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal." ["That's right," etc.]

Yes, I have no doubt that you think it is right; but the Lincoln men down in Coles, Tazewell, and Sangamon counties *do not* think it is right. [Immense applause and laughter. "Hit, hit again," etc.] In the conclusion of the same speech, talking to the Chicago Abolitionists, he said: "I leave you, hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal." ["Good, good," "Shame," etc.] Well, you say good to that, and you are going to vote for Lincoln because he holds that doctrine. ["That's so."] I will not blame you for supporting him on that ground; but I will show you, in immediate contrast with that doctrine, what Mr. Lincoln said down in Egypt in order to get votes in that locality, where they do not hold to such a doctrine. In a joint discussion between Mr. Lincoln and myself, at Charleston, I think, on the 18th of last month, Mr. Lincoln, referring to this subject, used the following language:—

> "I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters of the free negroes, or jurors, or qualifying them to hold office, or having them to marry with white people. I will say, in addition, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which, I suppose, will forever forbid the two races living together upon terms of social and political equality; and inasmuch as they cannot so live, that while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, that I, as much as any other man, am in favor of the superior position being assigned to the white man." ["Good for Mr. Lincoln."]

Fellow-citizens, here you find men hurrahing for Lincoln, and saying that he did right, when in one part of the State he stood up for negro equality; and in another part, for political effect, discarded the doctrine, and declared that there always must be a superior and inferior race.

["They are not men. Put them out," etc.] Abolitionists up North are expected and required to vote for Lincoln because he goes for the equality of the races, holding that by the Declaration of Independence the white man and the negro were created equal, and endowed by the divine law with that equality; and down South he tells the old Whigs, the Kentuckians, Virginians, and Tennesseeans, that there is a physical difference in the races, making one superior and the other inferior, and that he is in favor of maintaining the superiority of the white race over the negro.

Now, how can you reconcile those two positions of Mr. Lincoln? He is to be voted for in the South as a pro-slavery man, and he is to be voted for in the North as an Abolitionist. ["Give it to him." "Hit him again."] Up here he thinks it is all nonsense to talk about a difference between the races, and says, that we must "discard all quibbling about this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position." Down South he makes this "quibble" about this race and that race and the other race being inferior as the creed of his party, and declares that the negro can never be elevated to the position of the white man. You find that his political meetings are called by different names in different counties in the State. Here they are called Republican meetings; but in old Tazewell, where Lincoln made a speech last Tuesday, he did not address a *Republican* meeting, but "a grand rally of the *Lincoln men*." [Great laughter.] There are very few Republicans there, because Tazewell County is filled with old Virginians and Kentuckians, all of whom are Whigs or Democrats; and if Mr. Lincoln had called an Abolition or Republican meeting there, he would not get many votes. [Laughter.]

Go down into Egypt, and you find that he and his party are operating under an alias there, which his friend Trumbull has given them in order that they may cheat the people. When I was down in Monroe County a few weeks ago, addressing the people, I saw handbills posted announcing that Mr. Trumbull was going to speak in behalf of Lincoln, and what do you think the name of his party was there? Why the "*Free Democracy*." [Great laughter.] Mr. Trumbull and Mr. Jehu Baker were announced to address the Free Democracy of Monroe County, and the bill was signed, "Many Free Democrats." The reason that Lincoln and his party adopted the name of "Free Democracy" down there was because Monroe County has always been an old-fashioned Democratic county, and hence it was necessary to make the people believe that they were Democrats, sympathized with them, and were fighting for Lincoln as Democrats. ["That's it," etc.]

Come up to Springfield, where Lincoln now lives and always has lived, and you find that the Convention of his party which assembled to nominate candidates for Legislature, who are expected to vote for him if elected, dare not adopt the name of Republican, but assembled under the title of "all opposed to the Democracy." [Laughter and cheers.] Thus you find that Mr. Lincoln's creed cannot travel through even one half of the counties of this state, but that it changes its hues and becomes lighter and lighter as it travels from the extreme north, until it is nearly white when it reaches the extreme south end of the State. ["That's so," "It's true," etc.]

I ask you, my friends, why cannot Republicans avow their principles alike everywhere? I would despise myself if I thought that I was procuring your votes by concealing my opinions, and by avowing one set of principles in one part of the State, and a different set in another part. If I do not truly and honorably represent your feelings and principles, then I ought not to be your senator; and I will never conceal my opinions, or modify or change them a hair's breadth, in order to get votes. I will[1] tell you that this Chicago doctrine of Lincoln's—declaring that the negro and the white man are made equal by the Declaration of Independence and by Divine Providence—is a monstrous heresy. ["That's so," and terrible applause.] The signers of the Declaration of Independence never dreamed of the negro when they were writing that document. They referred to white men, to men of European birth and European descent, when they declared the equality of all men. I see a gentleman there in the crowd shaking his head. Let me remind him that when Thomas Jefferson wrote that document, he was the owner, and so continued until his death, of a large number of slaves. Did he intend to say in that Declaration that his negro slaves, which he held and treated as property, were created his equals by divine law, and that he was violating the law of God every day of his life by holding them as slaves? ["No, no."] It must be borne in mind that when that Declaration was put forth, every one of the thirteen Colonies, were slaveholding Colonies, and every man who signed that instrument represented a slaveholding constituency. Recollect, also, that no one of them emancipated his slaves, much less put them on an equality with himself, after he signed the Declaration. On the contrary, they all continued to hold their negroes as slaves during the Revolutionary War. Now, do you believe—are you willing to have it said—that every man who signed the Declaration of Independence declared the negro his equal, and then was hypocrite enough to continue to hold him as a slave, in violation of what he believed to be the divine law? ["No, no."] And yet when you say that the Declaration of Independence includes the negro you charge the signers of it with hypocrisy.

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[1] Omits "will."

I say to you, frankly, that in my opinion this Government was made by our fathers on the white basis. It was made by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and was intended to be administered by white men in all time to come. ["That's so," and cheers.] But while I hold that under our Constitution and political system the negro is not a citizen, cannot be a citizen, and ought not to be a citizen, it does not follow by any means that he should be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow that the negro, as an inferior race, ought to possess every right, every privilege, every immunity, which he can safely exercise, consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives. ["That's so," and cheers.] Humanity requires, and Christianity commands, that you shall extend to every inferior being, and every dependent being, all the privileges, immunities, and advantages which can be granted to them, consistent with the safety of society. If you ask me the nature and extent of these privileges, I answer that that is a question which the people of each State must decide for themselves. ["That's it."] Illinois has decided that question for herself. We have said that in this State the negro shall not be a slave, nor shall he be a citizen; Kentucky holds a different doctrine. New York holds one different from either, and Maine one different from all. Virginia, in her policy on this question, differs in many respects from the others, and so on, until there are hardly two States whose policy is exactly alike in regard to the relation of the white man and the negro. Nor can you reconcile them and make them alike. Each State must do as it pleases. Illinois had as much right to adopt the policy which we have on that subject as Kentucky had to adopt a different policy. The great principle of this Government is, that each State has the right to do as it pleases on all these questions, and no other State or power on earth has the right to interfere with us, or complain of us merely because our system differs from theirs. In the Compromise Measures of 1850, Mr. Clay declared that this great principle ought to exist in the Territories as well as in the States, and I reasserted his doctrine in the Kansas and Nebraska bill in 1854.

But Mr. Lincoln cannot be made to understand, and those who are determined to vote for him, no matter whether he is a pro-slavery man in the South and a negro equality advocate in the North, cannot be made to understand how it is that in a Territory the people can do as they please on the slavery question under the Dred Scott decision. Let us see whether I cannot explain it to the satisfaction of all impartial men. Chief Justice Taney has said, in his opinion in the Dred Scott case, that a negro slave, being property, stands on an equal footing with other property, and that the owner may carry them into United States territory the same as he does other property. ["That's so."] Suppose any two of you, neighbors, should conclude to go to Kansas, one carrying $100,000 worth of negro slaves, and the other $100,000 worth of mixed merchandise, including quantities of liquors. You both agree that under that decision you may carry your property to Kansas; but when you get it there, the merchant who is possessed of the liquors is met by the Maine liquor law, which prohibits the sale or use of his property, and the owner of the slaves is met by equally unfriendly legislation, which makes his property worthless after he gets it there. What is the right to carry your property into the Teritory worth to either, when unfriendly legislation in the Territory renders it worthless after you get it there? The slaveholder when he gets his slaves there finds that there is no local law to protect him in holding them, no slave code, no police regulation maintaining and supporting him in his right, and he discovers at once that the absence of such friendly legislation excludes his property from the Territory just as irresistibly as if there was a positive Constitutional prohibition excluding it.

Thus you find it is with any kind of property in a Territory: It depends for its protection on the local and municipal law. If the people of a Territory want slavery, they make friendly legislation to introduce it; but if they do not want it, they withhold all protection from it; and then it cannot exist there. Such was the view taken on the subject by different Southern men when the Nebraska bill passed. See the speech of Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, the present speaker of the House of Representatives of Congress, made at that time; and there you will find this whole doctrine argued out at full length. Read the speeches of other Southern Congressmen, Senators and Representatives, made in 1854, and you will find that they took the same view of the subject as Mr. Orr,—that slavery could never be forced on a people who did not want it. I hold that in this country there is no power on the face of the globe that can force any institution on an unwilling people. The great fundamental principle of our Government is that the people of each State and each Territory shall be left perfectly free to decide for themselves what shall be the nature and character of their institutions. When this Government was made, it was based on that principle. At the time of its formation there were twelve slaveholding States and one Free State in this Union.

Suppose this doctrine of Mr. Lincoln and the Republicans, of uniformity of[1] laws of all the States on the subject of slavery, had prevailed; suppose Mr. Lincoln himself had been a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, and that he had risen in that august body, and, addressing the father of his country, had said as he did at Springfield: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half Slave and half Free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." What do you think would have been the result? ["Hurrah for Douglas."] Suppose he had made that Convention believe that doctrine, and they had acted upon it, what do you think would have been the result? Do you believe that the one Free State would have outvoted the twelve slaveholding States, and thus abolished slavery? ["No, no," and great applause.] On the contrary, would not the twelve slaveholding States have outvoted the one Free State, and under his doctrine have fastened slavery by an irrevocable constitutional provision upon every inch of the American Republic?

Thus you see that the doctrine he now advocates, if proclaimed at the beginning of the Government, would have established slavery everywhere throughout the American continent; and are you willing, now that we have the majority section, to exercise a power which we never would have submitted to when we were in the minority? ["No, no," and great applause.] If the Southern States had attempted to control our institutions, and make the States all Slave, when they had the power, I ask, Would you have submitted to it? If you would not, are you willing, now that we have become the strongest under that great principle of self-government that allows each State to do as it pleases, to attempt to control the Southern institutions? ["No, no."] Then, my friends, I say to you that there is but one path of peace in this Republic, and that is to administer this Government as our fathers made it, divided into Free and Slave States, allowing each State to decide for itself whether it wants slavery or not. If Illinois will settle the slavery question for herself, and mind her own business and let her neighbors alone, we will be at peace with Kentucky and every other Southern State. If every other State in the Union will do the same, there will be peace between the North and the South, and in the whole Union.

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[1] Inserts "the" before "laws."

I am told that my time has expired. [Nine cheers for Douglas.]

Mr. Lincoln's Reply

Mr. Lincoln was received as he came forward with three tremendous cheers, coming from every part of the vast assembly. After silence was restored, Mr. Lincoln said:

My Fellow-Citizens: A very large portion of the speech which Judge Douglas has addressed to you has previously been delivered and put in print. [Laughter.] I do not mean that for a hit upon the Judge at all. [Renewed laughter.] If I had not been interrupted, I was going to say that such an answer as I was able to make to a very large portion of it, had already been more than once made and published. There has been an opportunity afforded to the public to see our respective views upon the topics discussed in a large portion of the speech which he has just delivered. I make these remarks for the purpose of excusing myself for not passing over the entire ground that the Judge has traversed. I however desire to take up some of the points that he has attended to, and ask your attention to them, and I shall follow him backwards upon some notes which I have taken, reversing the order, by beginning where he concluded.

The Judge has alluded to the Declaration of Independence, and insisted that negroes are not included in that Declaration; and that it is a slander upon the framers of that instrument to suppose that negroes were meant therein; and he asks you: Is it possible to believe that Mr. Jefferson, who penned the immortal paper, could have supposed himself applying the language of that instrument to the negro race, and yet held a portion of that race in slavery? Would he not at once have freed them?

I only have to remark upon this part of the Judge's speech (and that, too, very briefly, for I shall not detain myself, or you, upon that point for any great length of time,) that I believe the entire records of the world, from the date of the Declaration of Independence up to within three years ago, may be searched in vain for one single affirmation, from one single man, that the negro was not included in the Declaration of Independence; I think I may defy Judge Douglas to show that he ever said so, that Washington ever said so, that any President ever said so, that any member of Congress ever said so, or that any living man upon the whole earth ever said so, until the necessities of the present policy of the Democratic party, in regard to slavery, had to invent that affirmation. [Tremendous applause.] And I will remind Judge Douglas and this audience that while Mr. Jefferson was the owner of slaves, as undoubtedly he was, in speaking upon this very subject he used the strong language that "he trembled for his country when he remembered that God was just;" and I will offer the highest premium in my power to Judge Douglas if he will show that he, in all his life, ever uttered a sentiment at all akin to that of Jefferson. [Great applause and cries of "Hit him again;" "Good, good."]

The next thing to which I will ask your attention is the Judge's comments upon the fact as he assumes it to be, that we cannot call our public meetings as Republican meetings; and he instances Tazewell County as one of the places where the friends of Lincoln have called a public meeting and have not dared to name it a Republican meeting. He instances Monroe County as another, where Judge Trumbull and Jehu Baker addressed the persons whom the Judge assumes to be the friends of Lincoln, calling them the "Free Democracy." I have the honor to inform Judge Douglas that he spoke in that very County of Tazewell last Saturday, and I was there on Tuesday last; and when he spoke there, he spoke under a call not venturing to use the word "Democrat." [Cheers and laughter.] [Turning to Judge Douglas:] What think[1] you of this? [Immense applause and roars of laughter.]

So, again, there is another thing to which I would ask the Judge's attention upon this subject. In the contest of 1856 his party delighted to call themselves together as the "National Democracy;" but now, if there should be a notice put up anywhere for a meeting of the "National Democracy," Judge Douglas and his friends would not come. [Laughter.] They would not suppose themselves invited. [Renewed laughter and cheers.] They would understand that it was a call for those hateful postmasters whom he talks about. [Uproarious laughter.]

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[1] Inserts "do" before "think" and transposes next two words.

Now a few words in regard to these extracts from speeches of mine which Judge Douglas has read to you, and which he supposes are in very great contrast to each other. Those speeches have been before the public for a considerable time, and if they have any inconsistency in them, if there is any conflict in them, the public have been able to detect it. When the Judge says, in speaking on this subject, that I make speeches of one sort for the people of the northern end of the State, and of a different sort for the southern people, he assumes that I do not understand that my speeches will be put in print and read north and south. I knew all the while that the speech that I made at Chicago, and the one I made at Jonesboro, and the one at Charleston, would all be put in print, and all the reading and intelligent men in the community would see them and know all about my opinions. And I have not supposed, and do not now suppose, that there is any conflict whatever between them. ["They are good speeches;" "Hurrah for Lincoln."]

But the Judge will have it that if we do not confess that there is a sort of inequality between the white and the black races which justifies us in making them slaves, we must then insist that there is a degree of equality that requires us to make them our wives. [Loud applause and cries of "Give it to him;" "Hit him again."] Now, I have all the while taken a broad distinction in regard to that matter; and that is all there is in these different speeches which he arrays here; and the entire reading of either of the speeches will show that that distinction was made. Perhaps by taking two parts of the same speech he could have got up as much of a conflict as the one he has found. I have all the while maintained that in so far as it should be insisted that there was an equality between the white and black races that should produce a perfect social and political equality, it was an impossibility. This you have seen in my printed speeches, and with it I have said that in their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," as proclaimed in that old Declaration, the inferior races are our equals. [Long-continued cheering.] And these declarations I have constantly made in reference to the abstract moral question, to contemplate and consider when we are legislating about any new country which is not already cursed with the actual presence of the evil,—slavery.

I have never manifested any impatience with the necessities that spring from the actual presence of black people amongst us, and the actual existence of slavery amongst us where it does already exist; but I have insisted that, in legislating for new countries where it does not exist, there is no just rule other than that of moral and abstract right! With reference to those new countries, those maxims as to the right of people to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" were the just rules to be constantly referred to. There is no misunderstanding this, except by men interested to misunderstand it. [Applause.] I take it that I have to address an intelligent and reading community, who will peruse what I say, weigh it, and then judge whether I advance improper or unsound views, or whether I advance hypocritical, and deceptive, and contrary views in different portions of the country. I believe myself to be guilty of no such thing as the latter, though, of course, I cannot claim that I am entirely free from all error in the opinions I advance.

The Judge has also detained us a while in regard to the distinction between his party and our party. His he assumes to be a national party,—ours a sectional one. He does this in asking the question whether this country has any interest in the maintenance of the Republican party? He assumes that our party is altogether sectional,—that the party to which he adheres is national; and the argument is, that no party can be a rightful party—can be based upon rightful principles—unless it can announce its principles everywhere. I presume that Judge Douglas could not go into Russia and announce the doctrine of our national Democracy; he could not denounce the doctrine of kings and emperors and monarchies in Russia; and it may be true of this country that in some places we may not be able to proclaim a doctrine as clearly[1] as the truth of Democracy, because there is a section so directly opposed to it that they will not tolerate us in doing so. Is it the true test of the soundness of a doctrine that in some places people won't let you proclaim it? ["No, no, no."] Is that the way to test the truth of any doctrine? ["No, no, no."] Why, I understood that at one time the people of Chicago would not let Judge Douglas preach a certain favorite doctrine of his. [Laughter and cheers.] I commend to his consideration the question, whether he takes that as a test of the unsoundness of what he wanted to preach? [Loud cheers.]

There is another thing to which I wish to ask attention for a little while on this occasion. What has always been the evidence brought forward to prove that the Republican party is a sectional party? The main one was that in the Southern portion of the Union the people did not let the Republicans proclaim their doctrines amongst them. That has been the main evidence brought forward,—that they had no supporters, or substantially none, in the Slave States. The South have not taken hold of our principles as we announce them; nor does Judge Douglas now grapple with those principles.

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[1] Inserts "true" after "clearly."

We have a Republican State Platform, laid down in Springfield in June last, stating our position all the way through the questions before the country. We are now far advanced in this canvass. Judge Douglas and I have made perhaps forty speeches apiece, and we have now for the fifth time met face to face in debate, and up to this day I have not found either Judge Douglas or any friend of his taking hold of the Republican platform, or laying his finger upon anything in it that is wrong. [Cheers.] I ask you[2] to recollect that Judge Douglas turns away from the platform of principles to the fact that he can find people somewhere who will not allow us to announce those principles. [Applause.] If he had great confidence that our principles were wrong, he would take hold of them and demonstrate them to be wrong. But he does not do so. The only evidence he has of their being wrong is in the fact that there are people who won't allow us to preach them. I ask again, is that the way to test the soundness of a doctrine? [Cries of "No, no."]

I ask his attention also to the fact that by the rule of nationality he is himself fast becoming sectional. [Great cheers and laughter.] I ask his attention to the fact that his speeches would not go as current now south of the Ohio River as they have formerly gone there. [Loud cheers.] I ask his attention to the fact that he felicitates himself to-day that all the Democrats of the Free States are agreeing with him, [applause] while he omits to tell us that the Democrats of any Slave State agree with him. If he has not thought of this, I commend to his consideration the evidence in his own declaration, on this day, of his becoming sectional too. [Immense cheering.] I see it rapidly approaching. Whatever may be the result of this ephemeral contest between Judge Douglas and myself, I see the day rapidly approaching when his pill of sectionalism, which he has been thrusting down the throats of Republicans for years past, will be crowded down his own throat. [Tremendous applause.]

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[2] Inserts "all" after "you."

Now, in regard to what Judge Douglas said (in the beginning of his speech) about the Compromise of 1850 containing the principle of the Nebraska bill, although I have often presented my views upon that subject, yet as I have not done so in this canvass, I will, if you please, detain you a little with them. I have always maintained, so far as I was able, that there was nothing of the principle of the Nebraska bill in the Compromise of 1850 at all,—nothing whatever. Where can you find the principle of the Nebraska bill in that Compromise? If anywhere, in the two pieces of the Compromise organizing the Territories of New Mexico and Utah. It was expressly provided in these two Acts that when they came to be admitted into the Union, they should be admitted with or without slavery, as they should choose, by their own constitutions. Nothing was said in either of these Acts as to what was to be done in relation to slavery during the Territorial existence of those Territories, while Henry Clay constantly made the declaration (Judge Douglas recognizing him as a leader) that, in his opinion, the old Mexican laws would control that question during the Territorial existence, and that these old Mexican laws excluded slavery.

How can that be used as a principle for declaring that during the Territorial existence as well as at the time of framing the constitution, the people, if you please, might have slaves if they wanted them? I am not discussing the question whether it is right or wrong; but how are the New Mexican and Utah laws patterns for the Nebraska bill? I maintain that the organization of Utah and New Mexico *did not* establish a general principle at all. It had no feature of establishing a general principle. The Acts to which I have referred were a part of a general system of Compromises. They did not lay down what was proposed as a regular policy for the Territories, only an agreement in this particular case to do in that way, because other things were done that were to be a compensation for it. They were allowed to come in in that shape, because in another way it was paid for,—considering that as a part of that system of measures called the Compromise of 1850, which finally included half-a-dozen Acts. It included the admission of California as a Free State, which was kept out of the Union for half a year because it had formed a free constitution. It included the settlement of the boundary of Texas, which had been undefined before, which was in itself a slavery question; for if you pushed the line farther west, you made Texas larger, and made more slave territory; while, if you drew the line toward the east, you narrowed the boundary and diminished the domain of slavery, and by so much increased free territory. It included the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. It included the passage of a new Fugitive-Slave law.

All these things were put together, and though passed in separate Acts, were, nevertheless, in legislation (as the speeches of the time will show) made to depend upon each other. Each got votes, with the understanding that the other measures were to pass, and by this system of Compromise, in that series of measures, those two bills—the New Mexico and Utah bills—were passed: and I say for that reason they could not be taken as models, framed upon their own intrinsic principle, for all future Territories. And I have the evidence of this in the fact that Judge Douglas, a year afterward, or more than a year afterward, perhaps, when he first introduced bills for the purpose of framing new Territories, did not attempt to follow these bills of New Mexico and Utah; and even when he introduced this Nebraska bill I think you will discover that he did not exactly follow them. But I do not wish to dwell at great length upon this branch of the discussion. My own opinion is, that a thorough investigation will show most plainly that the New Mexico and Utah bills were part of a system of compromise, and not designed as patterns for future Territorial legislation; and that this Nebraska bill did not follow them as a pattern at all.

The Judge tells us,[1] in proceeding, that he is opposed to making any odious distinction between Free and Slave States. I am altogether unaware that the Republicans are in favor of making any odious distinctions between the Free and Slave States. But there is still a difference, I think, between Judge Douglas and the Republicans in this. I suppose that the real difference between Judge Douglas and his friends, and the Republicans on the contrary is, that the Judge is not in favor of making any difference between slavery and liberty, that he is in favor of eradicating, of pressing out of view, the questions of preference in this country for free or[2] slave institutions; and consequently every sentiment he utters discards the idea that there is any wrong in slavery. Everything that emanates from him or his coadjutors in their course of policy carefully excludes the thought that there is anything wrong in slavery. All their arguments, if you will consider them, will be seen to exclude the thought that there is anything whatever wrong in slavery.

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[1] Omits "us."

[2] Reads: "over" for "or."

If you will take the Judge's speeches, and select the short and pointed sentences expressed by him,—as his declaration that he "don't care whether slavery is voted up or down," you will see at once that this is perfectly logical, if you do not admit that slavery is wrong. If you do admit that it is wrong, Judge Douglas cannot logically say[1] he don't care whether a wrong is voted up or down.[2]

Judge Douglas declares that if any community want slavery, they have a right to have it. He can say that logically, if he says that there is no wrong in slavery; but if you admit that there is a wrong in it, he cannot logically say that anybody has a right to do wrong. He insists that, upon the score of equality, the owners of slaves and owners of property—of horses and every other sort of property—should be alike, and hold them alike in a new Territory. That is perfectly logical if the two species of property are alike and are equally founded in right. But if you admit that one of them is wrong, you cannot institute any equality between right and wrong. And from this difference of sentiment,—the belief on the part of one that the institution is wrong, and a policy springing from that belief which looks to the arrest of the enlargement of that wrong; and this other sentiment, that it is no wrong, and a policy sprung from that sentiment, which will tolerate no idea of preventing the wrong from growing larger, and looks to there never being an end of it through all the existence of things,—arises the real difference between Judge Douglas and his friends on the one hand, and the Republicans on the other.

Now, I confess myself as belonging to that class in the country who contemplate slavery as a moral, social, and political evil, having due regard for its actual existence amongst us and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations which have been thrown about it; but, nevertheless, desire a policy that looks to the prevention of it as a wrong, and looks hopefully to the time when as a wrong it may come to an end. [Great applause.]

Judge Douglas has again, for, I believe, the fifth time, if not the seventh, in my presence, reiterated his charge of a conspiracy or combination between the National Democrats and Republicans. What evidence Judge Douglas has upon this subject I know not, inasmuch as he never favors us with any. [Laughter and cheers.]

I have said upon a former occasion, and I do not choose to suppress it now, that I have no objection to the division in the Judge's party. [Cheers.] He got it up himself. It was all his and their work. He had, I think, a great deal more to do with the steps that led to the Lecompton Constitution than Mr. Buchanan had; [applause] though at last, when they reached it, they quarreled over it, and their friends divided upon it. [Applause.] I am very free to confess to Judge Douglas that I have no objection to the division; [loud applause and laughter] but I defy the Judge to show any evidence that I have in any way promoted that division, unless he insists on being a witness himself in merely saying so. [Laughter.] I can give all fair friends of Judge Douglas here to understand exactly the view that Republicans take in regard to that division. Don't you remember how two years ago the opponents of the Democratic party were divided between Fremont and Fillmore? I guess you do. ["Yes, Sir, we remember it mighty well."] Any Democrat who remembers that division will remember also that he was at the time very glad of it, [laughter] and then he will be able to see all there is between the National Democrats and the Republicans. What we now think of the two divisions of Democrats, you then thought of the Fremont and Fillmore divisions. [Great cheers.] That is all there is of it.

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[1] Inserts "that" after "say."

[2] Inserts "voted" before "down."

But if the Judge continues to put forward the declaration that there is an unholy and unnatural alliance between the Republican[1] and the National Democrats, I now want to enter my protest against receiving him as an entirely competent witness upon that subject. [Loud cheers.] I want to call to the Judge's attention an attack he made upon me in the first one of these debates, at Ottawa, on the 21st of August. In order to fix extreme Abolitionism upon me, Judge Douglas read a set of resolutions which he declared had been passed by a Republican State Convention, in October, 1854, at Springfield, Illinois, and he declared I had taken part in that Convention. It turned out that although a few men calling themselves an anti-Nebraska State Convention had sat at Springfield about that time, yet neither did I take any part in it, nor did it pass the resolutions or any such resolutions as Judge Douglas read. [Great applause.] So apparent had it become that the resolutions which he read had not been passed at Springfield at all, nor by a State Convention in which I had taken part, that seven days afterward, at Freeport, Judge Douglas declared that he had been misled by Charles

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[1] Reads: "Republicans" for "Republican."

H. Lanphier, editor of the *State Register*, and Thomas L. Harris, member of Congress in that District, and he promised in that speech that when he went to Springfield he would investigate the matter. Since then Judge Douglas has been to Springfield, and I presume has made the investigation; but a month has passed since he has been there, and, so far as I know, he has made no report of the result of his investigation. [Great applause.] I have waited as I think a sufficient time for the report of that investigation, and I have some curiosity to see and hear it. [Applause.] A fraud, an absolute forgery was committed, and the perpetration of it was traced to the three,—Lanphier, Harris, and Douglas. [Applause and laughter.] Whether it can be narrowed in any way so as to exonerate any one of them, is what Judge Douglas's report would probably show. [Applause and laughter.]

It is true that the set of resolutions read by Judge Douglas were published in the Illinois *State Register* on the 16th of October, 1854, as being the resolutions of an anti-Nebraska Convention which had sat in that same month of October, at Springfield. But it is also true that the publication in the *Register* was a forgery then, [cheers] and the question is still behind, which of the three, if not all of them, committed that forgery? The idea that it was done by mistake, is absurd. The article in the Illinois *State Register* contains part of the real proceedings of that Springfield Convention, showing that the writer of the article had the real proceedings before him, and purposely threw out the genuine resolutions passed by the Convention, and fraudulently substituted the others. Lanphier then, as now, was the editor of the *Register*, so that there seems to be but little room for his escape. But then it is to be borne in mind that Lanphier had less interest in the object of that forgery than either of the other two. [Cheers.] The main object of that forgery at that time was to beat Yates and elect Harris to Congress, and that object was known to be exceedingly dear to Judge Douglas at that time. [Laughter.] Harris and Douglas were both in Springfield when the convention was in session, and although they both left before the fraud appeared in the *Register*, subsequent events show that they have both had their eyes fixed upon that Convention.

The fraud having been apparently successful upon the occasion, both Harris and Douglas have more than once since then been attempting to put it to new uses. As the fisherman's wife, whose drowned husband[1] was brought home with his body[2] full of eels, said when she was asked, "What was to be done with him?" "*Take the eels out and set him again,*" [great laughter] so Harris and Douglas have shown a disposition to take the eels out of that stale fraud by which they gained Harris's election, and set the fraud again more than once. [Tremendous cheers and laughter.] On the 9th of July, 1856, Douglas attempted a repetition of it upon Trumbull on the floor of the Senate of the United States, as will appear from the Appendix to the *Congressional Globe* of that date.

On the 9th of August, Harris attempted it again upon Norton in the House of Representatives, as will appear by the same document,—the Appendix to the *Congressional Globe* of that date. On the 21st of August last,[3] all three—Lanphier, Douglas, and Harris—reattempted it upon me at Ottawa. [Tremendous applause.] It has been clung to and played out again and again as an exceedingly high trump by this blessed trio. [Roars of laughter and tremendous applause. "Give it to him," etc.] And now that it has been discovered publicly to be a fraud, we find that Judge Douglas manifests no surprise at it at all. [Laughter. "That's it, hit him again."] He makes no complaint of Lanphier, who must have known it to be a fraud from the beginning. He,[4] Lanphier, and Harris are just as cozy now, and just as active in the concoction of new schemes as they were before the general discovery of this fraud. [Laughter and cheers.] Now, all this is very natural if they are all alike guilty in that fraud, and it is very unnatural if any one of them is innocent. [Great laughter. "Hit him again," "Hurrah for Lincoln."] Lanphier perhaps insists that the rule of honor among thieves does not quite require him to take all upon himself, [laughter] and consequently my friend Judge Douglas finds it difficult to make a satisfactory report upon his investigation. [Laughter and applause.] But meanwhile the three are agreed that each is "*a most honorable man.*" [Cheers and explosions of laughter.]

Judge Douglas requires an indorsement of his truth and honor by a re-election to the United States Senate, and he makes and reports against me and against Judge Trumbull, day after day, charges which we know to be utterly untrue, without for a moment seeming to think that this one unexplained fraud, which he promised to investigate, will be the least drawback to his claim to belief. Harris ditto. He asks a re-election to the lower House of Congress without seeming to remember at all that he is involved in this dishonorable fraud. The *Illinois State Register*, edited by Lanphier, then, as now, the central organ of both Harris and Douglas, continues to din the public ear with these assertions,[1] without seeming to suspect that they[2] are at all lacking in title to belief.

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[1] Reads: "husband's body" for "husband."

[2] Reads: "the pockets" for "his body."

[3] Omits "last."

[4] Reads: "Both" for "He."

After all, the question still recurs upon us, How did that fraud originally get into the *State Register?* Lanphier then, as now, was the editor of that paper. Lanphier knows. Lanphier cannot be ignorant of how and by whom it was originally concocted. Can he be induced to tell, or, if he has told, can Judge Douglas be induced to tell how it originally was concocted? It may be true that Lanphier insists that the two men for whose benefit it was originally devised, shall at least bear their share of it! How that is, I do not know, and while it remains unexplained, I hope to be pardoned if I insist that the mere fact of Judge Douglas making charges against Trumbull and myself is not quite sufficient evidence to establish them! [Great cheering. "Hit him again;" "Give it to him," etc.]

While we were at Freeport, in one of these joint discussions, I answered certain interrogatories which Judge Douglas had propounded to me, and then in turn propounded some to him, which he in a sort of way answered. The third one of these interrogatories I have with me, and wish now to make some comments upon it. It was in these words: "If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States[3] cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting,[4] and following such decision as a rule of political action?

To this interrogatory Judge Douglas made no answer in any just sense of the word. He contented himself with sneering at the thought that it was possible for the Supreme Court ever to make such a decision. He sneered at me for propounding the interrogatory. I had not propounded it without some reflection, and I wish now to address to this audience some remarks upon it.

In the second clause of the sixth article, I believe it is, of the Constitution of the United States, we find the following language: "This

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[1] Reads: "this assertion" for "these assertions."

[2] Reads: "these assertions" for "they."

[3] Inserts "the" before "States."

[4] Reads: "adhering to" for "adopting."

Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding."

The essence of the Dred Scott case is compressed[1] into the sentence which I will now read: "Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion, upon a different point, the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution." I repeat it, "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."

What is it to be[2] "*affirmed*" in the Constitution? Made firm in the Constitution,—so made that it cannot be separated from the Constitution without breaking the Constitution; durable as the Constitution, and part of the Constitution. Now, remembering the provision of the Constitution which I have read; affirming that that instrument is the supreme law of the land; that the Judges of every State shall be bound by it, any law or constitution of any State to the contrary notwithstanding; that the right of property in a slave is affirmed in that Constitution, is made, formed into, and cannot be separated from it without breaking it; durable as the instrument; part of the instrument;—what follows as a short and even syllogistic argument from it? I think it follows, and I submit to the consideration of men capable of arguing, whether as I state it, in syllogistic form, the argument has any fault in it?

Nothing in the Constitution or laws of any State can destroy a right distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States.

The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States.

Therefore, nothing in the Constitution or laws of any State can destroy the right of property in a slave.

I believe that no fault can be pointed out in that argument; assuming the truth of the premises, the conclusion, so far as I have capacity at all to understand it, follows inevitably. There is a fault in it as I think, but the fault is not in the reasoning: the[3] falsehood in fact is a fault in[4] the premises.

I believe that the right of property in a slave *is not* distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, and Judge Douglas thinks it *is*. I believe that the Supreme Court and the advocates of that decision may search in vain for the place in the Constitution where the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed. I say, therefore, that I think one of the premises is not true in fact. But it is true with Judge Douglas. It is true with the Supreme Court who pronounced it. They are estopped from denying it, and being estopped from denying it the conclusion follows that, the Constitution of the United States being the supreme law, no constitution or law can interfere with it. It being affirmed in the decision that the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, the conclusion inevitably follows that no State law or constitution can destroy that right.

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[1] Reads: "comprised" for "compressed."

[2] Omits "it to be."

[3] Inserts "but" before "the."

[4] Reads: "of" for "in."

I then say to Judge Douglas and to all others, that I think it will take a better answer than a sneer to show that those who have said that the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution, are not prepared to show that no constitution or law can destroy that right. I say I believe it will take a far better argument than a mere sneer to show to the minds of intelligent men that whoever has so said, is not prepared, whenever public sentiment is so far advanced as to justify it, to say the other. ["That's so."] This is but an opinion, and the opinion of one very humble man; but it is my opinion that the Dred Scott decision, as it is, never would have been made in its present form if the party that made it had not been sustained previously by the elections. My own opinion is, that the new Dred Scott decision, deciding against the right of the people of the States to exclude slavery will never be made, if that party is not sustained by the elections. [Cries of "Yes," "Yes."] I believe, further, that it is just as sure to be made as to-morrow is to come, if that party shall be sustained. ["We won't sustain it;" "Never;" "Never."]

I have said, upon a former occasion, and I repeat it now, that the course of argument that Judge Douglas makes use of upon this subject (I charge not his motives in this), is preparing the public mind for that new Dred Scott decision. I have asked him again to point out to me the reasons for his first adherence to the Dred Scott decision as it is. I have turned his attention to the fact that General Jackson differed with him in regard to the political obligation of a Supreme Court decision. I have asked his attention to the fact that Jefferson differed with him in regard to the political obligation of a Supreme Court decision. Jefferson said that "Judges are as honest as other men, and not more so." And he said, substantially, that "whenever a free people should give up in absolute submission to any department of government, retaining for themselves no appeal from it, their liberties were gone." I have asked his attention to the fact that the Cincinnati platform upon which he says he stands, disregards a time-honored decision of the Supreme Court, in denying the power of Congress to establish a National Bank. I have asked his attention to the fact that he himself was one of the most active instruments at one time in breaking[1] down the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, because it had made a decision distasteful to him,—a struggle ending in the remarkable circumstance of his sitting down as one of the new Judges who were to overslaugh that decision; [loud applause] getting his title of Judge in that very way. [Tremendous applause and laughter.]

So far in this controversy I can get no answer at all from Judge Douglas upon these subjects. Not one can I get from him, except that he swells himself up and says, "All of us who stand by the decision of the Supreme Court are the friends of the Constitution; all you fellows that dare question it in any way, are the enemies of the Constitution." [Continued laughter and cheers.] Now, in this very devoted adherence to this decision, in opposition to all the great political leaders whom he has recognized as leaders, in opposition to his former self and history, there is something very marked. And the manner in which he adheres to it,—not as being right upon the merits, as he conceives (because he did not discuss that at all), but as being absolutely obligatory upon every one, simply because of the source from whence it comes,—as that which no man can gainsay, whatever it may be; this is another marked feature of his adherence to that decision. It marks it in this respect that it commits him to the next decision whenever it comes, as being as obligatory as this one, since he does not investigate it, and won't inquire whether this opinion is right or wrong. So he takes the next one without inquiring whether it is right or wrong. [Applause.] He teaches men this doctrine, and in so doing prepares the public mind to take the next decision when it comes, without any inquiry.

In this I think I argue fairly (without questioning motives at all) that Judge Douglas is most ingeniously and powerfully preparing the public mind to take that decision when it comes; and not only so, but he is doing it in various other ways. In these general maxims about liberty, in his assertions that he "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down;" that "whoever wants slavery has a right to have it;" that "upon principles of equality it should be allowed to go everywhere;" that "there is no inconsistency between free and slave institutions." In this he is also preparing (whether purposely or not) the way for making the institution of slavery national! [Cries of "Yes, yes;" "That's so."] I repeat again, for I wish no misunderstanding, that I do not charge that he means it so; but I call upon your minds to inquire, if you were going to get the best instrument you could, and then set it to work in the most ingenious way, to prepare the public mind for this movement, operating in the Free States, where there is now an abhorrence of the institution of slavery, could you find an instrument so capable of doing it as Judge Douglas, or one employed in so apt a way to do it? [Great cheering. Cries of "Hit him again;" "That's the doctrine."]

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[1] Reads: "backing" for "breaking."

I have said once before, and I will repeat it now, that Mr. Clay, when he was once answering an objection to the Colonization Society, that it had a tendency to the ultimate emancipation of the slaves, said that "those who would repress all tendencies to liberty and ultimate emancipation must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of the Colonization Society,—they must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return; they must blot out the moral lights around us; they must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty!" And I do think—I repeat, though I said it on a former occasion—that Judge Douglas and whoever, like him, teaches that the negro has no share, humble though it may be, in the Declaration of Independence, is going back to the era of our liberty and independence, and, so far as in him lies, muzzling the cannon that thunders its annual joyous return; ["That's so."] that he is blowing[1] out the moral lights around us, when he contends that whoever wants slaves has a right to hold them; that he is penetrating, so far as lies in his power, the human soul, and eradicating the light of reason and the love of liberty, when he is in every possible way preparing the public mind, by his vast influence, for making the institution of slavery perpetual and national. [Great applause and cries of "Hurrah for Lincoln;" "That's the true doctrine."]

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[1] Reads: "blotting" for "blowing."

There is, my friends, only one other point to which I will call your attention for the remaining time that I have left me, and perhaps I shall not occupy the entire time that I have, as that one point may not take me clear through it.

Among the interrogatories that Judge Douglas propounded to me at Freeport, there was one in about this language: "Are you opposed to the acquisition of any further territory to the United States, unless slavery shall first be prohibited therein?" I answered, as I thought, in this way, that I am not generally opposed to the acquisition of additional territory, and that I would support a proposition for the acquisition of additional territory according as my supporting it was or was not calculated to aggravate this slavery question amongst us. I then proposed to Judge Douglas another interrogatory, which was correlative to that; "Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how it may affect us upon the slavery question?" Judge Douglas answered,—that is, in his own way he answered it. [Laughter.] I believe that, although he took a good many words to answer it, it was a little more fully answered than any other. The substance of his answer was, that this country would continue to expand; that it would need additional territory; that it was as absurd to suppose that we could continue upon our present territory, enlarging in population as we are, as it would be to hoop a boy twelve years of age, and expect him to grow to man's size without bursting the hoops. [Laughter.] I believe it was something like that. Consequently, he was in favor of the acquisition of further territory as fast as we might need it, in disregard of how it might affect the slavery question.

I do not say this as giving his exact language, but he said so substantially; and he would leave the question of slavery where the territory was acquired, to be settled by the people of the acquired territory. ["That's the doctrine."] May be it is; let us consider that for a while. This will probably, in the run of things, become one of the concrete manifestations of this slavery question. If Judge Doulgas's policy upon this question succeeds, and gets fairly settled down, until all opposition is crushed out, the next thing will be a grab for the territory of poor Mexico, an invasion of the rich lands of South America, then the adjoining islands will follow, each one of which promises additional slave-fields. And this question is to be left to the people of those countries for settlement. When we shall get Mexico, I don't know whether the Judge will be in favor of the Mexican people that we get with it settling that question for themselves and all others; because we know the Judge has a great horror for mongrels, [laughter] and I understand that the people of Mexico are most decidedly a race of mongrels. [Renewed laughter.] I understand that there is not more than one person there out of eight who is pure white, and I suppose from the Judge's previous declaration that when we get Mexico or any considerable portion of it,[1] he will be in favor of these mongrels settling the question, which would bring him somewhat into collision with his horror of an inferior race.

It is to be remembered, though, that this power of acquiring additional territory is a power confided to the President and Senate of the United States. It is a power not under the control of the representatives of the people any further than they, the President and the Senate, can be considered the representatives of the people. Let me illustrate that by a case we have in our history. When we acquired the territory from Mexico in the Mexican war, the House of Representatives, composed of the immediate representatives of the people, all the time insisted that the territory thus to be acquired should be brought in upon condition that slavery should be forever prohibited therein, upon the terms and in the language that slavery had been prohibited from coming into this country. That was insisted upon constantly and never failed to call forth an assurance that any territory thus acquired should have that prohibition in it, so far as the House of Representatives was concerned. But at last the President and Senate acquired the territory without asking the House of Representatives anything about it, and took it without that prohibition. They have the power of acquiring territory without the immediate representatives of the people being called upon to say anything about it, and thus furnishing a very apt and powerful means of bringing new territory into the Union, and when it is once brought into the country, involving us anew in this slavery agitation.

It is, therefore, as I think, a very important question for the consideration of the American people, whether the policy of bringing in additional territory, without considering at all how it will operate upon the safety of the Union in reference to this one great disturbing element in our national politics, shall be adopted as the policy of the country. You will bear in mind that it is to be acquired, according to the Judge's view, as fast as it is needed, and the indefinite part of this proposition is that we have only Judge Douglas and his class of men to decide how fast it is needed. We have no clear and certain way of determining or demonstrating how fast territory is needed by the necessities of the country. Whoever wants to go out filibustering, then, thinks that more territory is needed. Whoever wants wider slave-fields, feels sure that some additional territory is needed as slave-territory. Then it is as easy to show the necessity of additional slave-territory as it is to assert anything that is incapable of absolute demonstration. Whatever motive a man or a set of men may have for making annexation of property or territory, it is very easy to assert, but much less easy to disprove, that it is necessary for the wants of the country.

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[1] Inserts "that" after "it."

And now it only remains for me to say that I think it is a very grave question for the people of this Union to consider, whether, in view of the fact that this slavery question has been the only one that has ever endangered our Republican institutions, the only one that has ever threatened or menaced a dissolution of the Union, that has ever disturbed us in such a way as to make us fear for the perpetuity of our liberty,—in view of these facts, I think it is an exceedingly interesting and important question for this people to consider whether we shall engage in the policy of acquiring additional territory, discarding altogether from our consideration, while obtaining new territory, the question how it may affect us in regard to this, the only endangering element to our liberties and national greatness.

The Judge's view has been expressed. I, in my answer to his question, have expressed mine. I think it will become an important and practical question. Our views are before the public. I am willing and anxious that they should consider them fully; that they should turn it about and consider the importance of the question, and arrive at a just conclusion as to whether it is or not[1] wise in the people of this Union, in the acquisition of new territory, to consider whether it will add to the disturbance that is existing amongst us,—whether it will add to the one only danger that has ever threatened the perpetuity of the Union or our own liberties. I think it is extremely important that they shall decide, and rightly decide, that question before entering upon that policy.

And now, my friends, having said the little I wish to say upon this head, whether I have occupied the whole of the remnant of my time or not, I believe I could not enter upon any new topic so as to treat it fully, without transcending my time, which I would not for a moment think of doing. I give way to Judge Douglas.

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[1] Inserts "is" before "not."

Three tremendous cheers for Lincoln from the whole vast audience were given with great enthusiasm, as their favorite retired.

Mr. Douglas's Rejoinder

When Senator Douglas arose to reply to Mr. Lincoln, six cheers were called for in the crowd and given with great spirit. He said, quieting the applause:

Gentlemen: The highest compliment you can pay me during the brief half-hour that I have to conclude is by observing a strict silence. I desire to be heard rather than to be applauded. ["Good."]

The first criticism that Mr. Lincoln makes on my speech was that it was in substance what I have said everywhere else in the State where I have addressed the people. I wish I could only say the same of his speech. ["Good; you have him," and applause.] Why, the reason I complain of him is because he makes one speech north, and another south. ["That's so."] Because he has one set of sentiments for the Abolition counties, and another set for the counties opposed to Abolitionism. ["Hit him over the knuckles."] My point of complaint against him is that I cannot induce him to hold up the same standard, to carry the same flag, in all parts of the State. He does not pretend, and no other man will, that I have one set of principles for Galesburg, and another for Charleston. ["No, no."] He does not pretend that I hold to one doctrine in Chicago, and an opposite one in Jonesboro. I have proved that he has a different set of principles for each of these localities. All I asked of him was that he should deliver the speech that he has made here to-day in Coles County instead of in old Knox. It would have settled the question between us in that doubtful county. Here I understand him to reaffirm the doctrine of negro equality, and to assert that by the Declaration of Independence the negro is declared equal to the white man. He tells you today that the negro was included in the Declaration of Independence when it is asserted that all men were created equal. ["We believe it."] Very well. [Here an uproar arose; persons in various parts of the crowd indulging in cat calls, groans, cheers, and other noises, preventing the speaker from proceeding.]

Mr. Douglas.—Gentlemen, I ask you to remember that Mr. Lincoln was listened to respectfully, and I have the right to insist that I shall not be interrupted during my reply.

Mr. Lincoln.—I hope that silence will be preserved.

Mr. Douglas.—Mr. Lincoln asserts to-day, as he did in Chicago, that the negro was included in that clause of the Declaration of Independence which says that all men were created equal, and endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. ["Ain't that so?"] If the negro was made his equal and mine, if that equality was established by divine law, and was the negro's inalienable right, how came he to say at Charleston to the Kentuckians residing in that section of our State that the negro was physically inferior to the white man, belonged to an inferior race, and he was for keeping him always in that inferior condition? ["Good."] I wish you to bear these things in mind. At Charleston he said that the negro belonged to an inferior race, and that he was for keeping him in that inferior condition. There he gave the people to understand that there was no moral question involved, because, the inferiority, being established, it was only a question of degree, and not a question of right; here, to-day, instead of making it a question of degree, he makes it a moral question, says that it is a great crime to hold the negro in that inferior condition. ["He's right."] Is he right now, or was he right in Charleston? [" Both."] He is right, then, sir, in your estimation, not because he is consistent, but because he can trim his principles any way, in any section, so as to secure votes. All I desire of him is that he will declare the same principles in the south that he does in the north.

But did you notice how he answered my position that a man should hold the same doctrines throughout the length and breadth of this Republic? He said, "Would Judge Douglas go to Russia and proclaim the same principles he does here?" I would remind him that Russia is not under the American Constitution. ["Good," and laughter.] If Russia was a part of the American Republic, under our Federal Constitution, and I was sworn to support the[1] Constitution, I would maintain the same doctrine in Russia that I do in Illinois. [Cheers.] The slaveholding States are governed by the same Federal Constitution as ourselves, and hence a man's principles, in order to be in harmony with the Constitution, must be the same in the South as they are in the North, the same in the Free States as they are in the Slave States. Whenever a man advocates one set of principles in one section, and another set in another section, his opinions are in violation of the spirit of the Constitution which he has sworn to support. ["That's so."] When Mr. Lincoln went to Congress in 1847, and, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangelists, made a solemn vow, in the presence of high Heaven, that he would be faithful to the Constitution, what did he mean,—the Constitution as he expounds it in Galesburg, or the Constitution as he expounds it in Charleston? [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "that" for "the."

Mr. Lincoln has devoted considerable time to the circumstance[1] that at Ottawa I read a series of resolutions as having been adopted at Springfield, in this State, on the 4th or 5th of October, 1854, which happened not to have been adopted there. He has used hard names; has dared to talk about fraud, [laughter] about forgery, and has insinuated that there was a conspiracy between Mr. Lanphier, Mr. Harris, and myself to perpetrate a forgery. [Renewed laughter.] Now, bear in mind that he does not deny that these resolutions were adopted in a majority of all the Republican counties of this State in that year; he does not deny that they were declared to be the platform of this Republican party in the first Congressional District, in the second, in the third, and in many counties of the fourth, and that they thus became the platform of his party in a majority of the counties upon which he now relies for support; he does not deny the truthfulness of the resolutions, but takes exception to the *spot* on which they were adopted. He takes to himself great merit because he thinks they were not adopted on the right spot for me to use them against him, just as he was very severe in Congress upon the Government of his country when he thought that he had discovered that the Mexican war was not begun in the right *spot*, and was therefore unjust. ["That's so."] He tries very hard to make out that there is something very extraordinary in the place where the thing was done, and not in the thing itself.

I never believed before that Abraham Lincoln would be guilty of what has been done this day in regard to those resolutions. In the first place, the moment it was intimated to me that they had been adopted at Aurora and Rockford instead of Springfield, I did not wait for him to call my attention to the fact, but led off, and explained in my first meeting after the Ottawa debate what the mistake was, and how it had been.

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[1] Reads: "circumstances" for "circumstance."

["That's so."] I supposed that for an honest man, conscious of his own rectitude, that explanation would be sufficient. I did not wait for him, after the mistake was made, to call my attention to it, but frankly explained it at once as an honest man would. [Cheers.] I also gave the authority on which I had stated that these resolutions were adopted by the Springfield Republican Convention; that I had seen them quoted by Major Harris in a debate in Congress, as having been adopted by the first Republican State Convention in Illinois, and that I had written to him and asked him for the authority as to the time and place of their adoption; that, Major Harris being extremely ill, Charles H. Lanphier had written to me, for him, that they were adopted at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854, and had sent me a copy of the Springfield paper containing them. I read them from the newspaper just as Mr. Lincoln reads the proceedings of meetings held years ago from the newspapers. After giving that explanation, I did not think there was an honest man in the State of Illinois who doubted that I had been led into the error, if it was such, innocently, in the way I detailed; and I will now say that I do not now believe that there is an honest man on the face of the globe who will not regard with abhorrence and disgust Mr. Lincoln's insinuations of my complicity in that forgery, if it was a forgery. [Cheers.] Does Mr. Lincoln wish to push these things to the point of personal difficulties here? I commenced this contest by treating him courteously and kindly; I always spoke of him in words of respect; and in return he has sought, and is now seeking to divert public attention from the enormity of his revolutionary principles by impeaching men's sincerity and integrity, and inviting personal quarrels. ["Give it to him," and cheers.]

I desired to conduct this contest with him like a gentleman; but I spurn the insinuation of complicity and fraud made upon the simple circumstance of an editor of a newspaper having made a mistake as to the place where a thing was done, but not as to the thing itself. These resolutions were the platform of this Republican party of Mr. Lincoln's of that year. They were adopted in a majority of the Republican counties in the State; and when I asked him at Ottawa whether they formed the platform upon which he stood he did not answer, and I could not get an answer out of him. He then thought, as I thought, that those resolutions were adopted at the Springfield Convention, but excused himself by saying that he was not there when they were adopted, but had gone to Tazewell court in order to avoid being present at the Convention. He saw them published as having been adopted at Springfield, and so did I, and he knew that if there was a mistake in regard to them, that I had nothing under heaven to do with it. Besides, you find that in all these northern counties where the Republican candidates are running pledged to him, that the Conventions which nominated them adopted that identical platform.

One cardinal point in that platform which he shrinks from is this: that there shall be no more Slave States admitted into the Union, even if the people want them. Lovejoy stands pledged against the admission of any more Slave States. ["Right, so do we."] So do you, you say. Farnsworth stands pledged against the admission of any more Slave States. Washburne stands pledged the same way. ["Most right." "Good, good."] The candidate for the Legislature who is running on Lincoln's ticket in Henderson and Warren, stands committed by his vote in the Legislature to the same thing; and I am informed, but do not know of the fact, that your candidate here is also so pledged. ["Hurrah for him! good!"]

Now, you Republicans all hurrah for him, and for the doctrine of "no more Slave States," and yet Lincoln tells you that his conscience will not permit him to sanction that doctrine, [immense applause] and complains because the resolutions I read at Ottawa made him, as a member of the party, responsible for sanctioning the doctrine of no more Slave States. You are one way, you confess, and he is, or pretends to be, the other; and yet you are both governed by *principle* in supporting one another. If it be true, as I have shown it is, that the whole Republican party in the northern part of the State stands committed to the doctrine of no more Slave States, and that this same doctrine is repudiated by the Republicans in the other part of the State, I wonder whether Mr. Lincoln and his party do not present the case which he cited from the Scriptures, of a house divided against itself which cannot stand! [Tremendous shouts of applause.]

I desire to know what are Mr. Lincoln's principles and the principles of his party? I hold, and the party with which I am identified holds, that the people of each State, old and new, have the right to decide the slavery question for themselves; ["That's it," "Right," and immense applause.] and when I used the remark that I did not care whether slavery was voted up or down, I used it in the connection that I was for allowing Kansas to do just as she pleased on the slavery question. I said that I did not care whether they voted slavery up or down, because they had the right to do as they pleased on the question, and therefore my action would not be controlled by any such consideration. ["That's the doctrine."] Why cannot Abraham Lincoln, and the party with which he acts, speak out their principles so that they may be understood? Why do they claim to be one thing in one part of the State, and another in the other part? Whenever I allude to the Abolition doctrines, which he considers a slander to be charged with being in favor of, you all endorse them, and hurrah for them, not knowing that your candidate is ashamed to acknowledge them. ["You have them;" and cheers.]

I have a few words to say upon the Dred Scott decision, which has troubled the brain of Mr. Lincoln so much. [Laughter.] He insists that that decision would carry slavery into the Free States, notwithstanding that the decision says directly the opposite, and goes into a long argument to make you believe that I am in favor of, and would sanction, the doctrine that would allow slaves to be brought here and held as slaves contrary to our Constitution and laws. Mr. Lincoln knew better when he asserted this; he knew that one newspaper, and, so far as is within my knowledge, but one, ever asserted that doctrine, and that I was the first man in either House of Congress that read that article in debate, and denounced it on the floor of the Senate as Revolutionary. When the *Washington Union*, on the 17th of last November, published an article to that effect, I branded it at once, and denounced it; and hence the *Union* has been pursuing me ever since. Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, replied to me, and said that there was not a man in any of the Slave States south of the Potomac River that held any such doctrine.

Mr. Lincoln knows that there is not a member of the Supreme Court who holds that doctrine; he knows that every one of them, as shown by their opinions, holds the reverse. Why this attempt, then, to bring the Supreme Court into disrepute among the people? It looks as if there was an effort being made to destroy public confidence in the highest judicial tribunal on earth. Suppose he succeeds in destroying public confidence in the court, so that the people will not respect its decisions but will feel at liberty to disregard them and resist the laws of the land, what will he have gained? He will have changed the Government from one of laws into that of a mob, in which the strong arm of violence will be substituted for the decisions of the courts of justice. ["That's so."] He complains because I did not go into an argument reviewing Chief Justice Taney's opinion, and the other opinions of the different judges, to determine whether their reasoning is right or wrong on the questions of law. What use would that be?

He wants to take an appeal from the Supreme Court to this meeting, to determine whether the questions of law were decided properly. He is going to appeal from the Supreme Court of the United States to every town meeting, in the hope that he can excite a prejudice against that court, and on the wave of that prejudice ride into the Senate of the United States, when he could not get there on his own principles or his own merits. [Laughter and cheers; "Hit him again."] Suppose he should succeed in getting into the Senate of the United States, what then will he have to do with the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case? Can he reverse that decision when he gets there? Can he act upon it? Has the Senate any right to reverse it or revise it? He will not pretend that it has. Then why drag the matter into this contest, unless for the purpose of making a false issue, by which he can direct public attention from the real issue.

He has cited General Jackson in justification of the war he is making on the decision of the court. Mr. Lincoln misunderstands the history of the country if he believes there is any parallel in the two cases. It is true that the Supreme Court once decided that if a Bank of the United States was a necessary fiscal agent of the Government, it was constitutional, and if not, that it was unconstitutional, and also, that whether or not it was necessary for that purpose, was a political question for Congress, and not a judicial one for the courts to determine. Hence the court would not determine the bank unconstitutional. Jackson respected the decision, obeyed the law, executed it, and carried it into effect during its existence; ["That's so."] but after the charter of the bank expired and a proposition was made to create a new bank, General Jackson said, "It is unnecessary and improper, and therefore I am against it on constitutional grounds as well as those of expediency." Is Congress bound to pass every Act that is Constitutional? Why, there are a thousand things that are constitutional, but yet are inexpedient and unnecessary, and you surely would not vote for them merely because you had the right to? And because General Jackson would not do a thing which he had a right to do, but did not deem expedient or proper, Mr. Lincoln is going to justify himself in doing that which he has no right to do. [Laughter.]

I ask him whether he is not bound to respect and obey the decisions of the Supreme Court as well as I?[1] The Constitution has created that court to decide all constitutional questions in the last resort; and when such decisions have been made, they become the law of the land, ["That's so."] and you, and he, and myself, and every other good citizen, are bound by them. Yet he argues that I am bound by their decisions, and he is not. He says that their decisions are binding on Democrats, but not on Republicans. [Laughter and applause.] Are not Republicans bound by the laws of the land as well as Democrats? And when the court has fixed the construction of the Constitution on the validity of a given law, is not their decision binding upon Republicans as well as upon Democrats? ["It ought to be."] Is it possible that you Republicans have the right to raise your mobs and oppose the laws of the land and the constituted authorities, and yet hold us Democrats bound to obey them?

My time is within half a minute of expiring, and all I have to say is, that I stand by the laws of the land. ["That's it; hurrah for Douglas."] I stand by the Constitution as our fathers made it, by the laws as they are enacted, and by the decisions of the courts, upon all points within their jurisdiction as they are pronounced by the highest tribunal on earth; and any man who resists these must resort to mob law and violence to overturn the government of laws.

When Senator Douglas concluded the applause was perfectly furious and overwhelming.

[*Galesburg, Ill., Democrat*, October 9, 1858]

GALESBURG DEBATE

Great Outpouring of the People!—20,000 Persons Present

The expectations of all parties were far surpassed in the results of Thursday. The crowd was immense notwithstanding the remarkably heavy rains of the day previous, and the sudden change during the night to a fiercely blowing, cutting wind which lasted during the whole day, ripping and tearing banners and sending signs pell mell all over town.

At early dawn our gunners announced the opening day and at an

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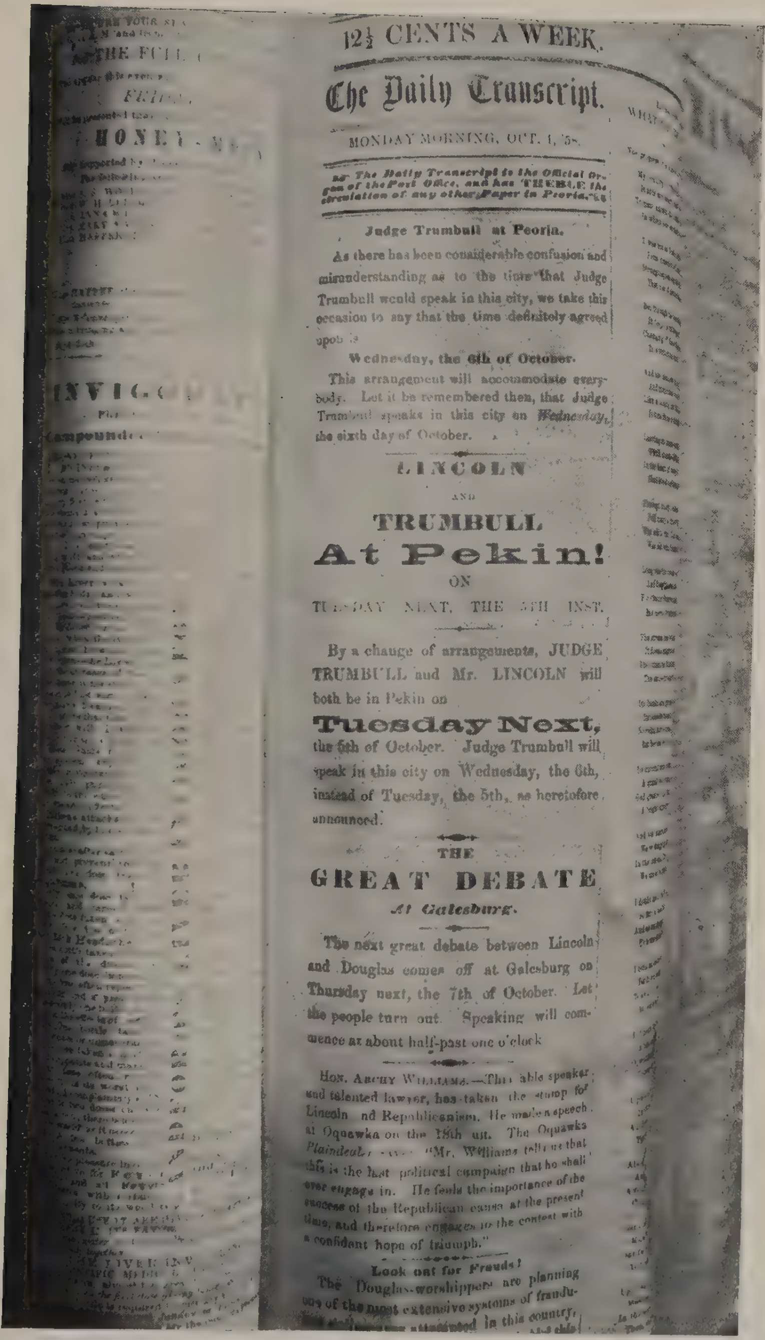
[1] Reads: "me" for "I."



12½ CENTS A WEEK.

The Daily Transcript.

MONDAY MORNING, OCT. 4, '58.

The Daily Transcript is the Official Organ of the Post Office, and has TREBLE the circulation of any other Paper in Peoria.

Judge Trumbull at Peoria.

As there has been considerable confusion and misunderstanding as to the time that Judge Trumbull would speak in this city, we take this occasion to say that the time definitely agreed upon is

Wednesday, the 6th of October.

This arrangement will accommodate everybody. Let it be remembered then, that Judge Trumbull speaks in this city on *Wednesday*, the sixth day of October.

LINCOLN

AND

TRUMBULL

At Pekin!

ON

TUESDAY NEXT, THE 5TH INST.

By a change of arrangements, JUDGE TRUMBULL and Mr. LINCOLN will both be in Pekin on

Tuesday Next,

the 5th of October. Judge Trumbull will speak in this city on Wednesday, the 6th, instead of Tuesday, the 5th, as heretofore announced.

THE

GREAT DEBATE

At Galesburg.

The next great debate between Lincoln and Douglas comes off at Galesburg on Thursday next, the 7th of October. Let the people turn out. Speaking will commence at about half-past one o'clock

HON. ARCHY WILLIAMS.—This able speaker and talented lawyer, has taken the stump for Lincoln and Republicanism. He made a speech at Oquawka on the 18th ult. The Oquawka *Plaindealer* says: "Mr. Williams tells us that this is the last political campaign that he shall ever engage in. He feels the importance of the success of the Republican cause at the present time, and therefore engages in the contest with a confident hope of triumph."

Look out for Frauds!

The Douglas-worshippers are planning one of the most extensive systems of fraudu-

ADVERTISEMENTS IN A PEORIA NEWSPAPER

early hour the people began to pour in from every direction in wagons, on horseback and on foot.

At about ten o'clock the Burlington train arrived with Mr. Douglas and a large delegation of both Douglas and Lincoln men from the West.

Mr. Douglas was escorted to the Bancroft House, when a portion of the students of Lombard University presented him with a beautiful banner. A well prepared but somewhat fulsome address was made on its delivery by Geo. Elwell, who was followed by two young ladies, each with a symbolic address, the whole of which we could not catch.

Mr. Douglas responded with great felicity and his friends were well satisfied with their part of the performance. The banner was a "true circle" of silk, with a beautifully embroidered wreath within which was inscribed "Presented to Stephen A. Douglas, by the students of Lombard University." The speaker said the "circle" was emblematic of Mr. Douglas's course. So it was in a different sense from that meant by them.

Mr. Douglas was then escorted to the Bonney House, where a large multitude of all parties gathered to see and shake hands with him.

At 12 o'clock the Republicans with the military went to meet Mr. Lincoln, who was to come in with the Knoxville delegation.—Hard by two they reached the place of rendezvous; when the delegation came along "mammoth" would not describe it. It was like one of Cobb's tales, of monstrous length and *to be continued.*

Lincoln was escorted to the house of Mr. Henry R. Sanderson, when a reception speech was made by T. G. Frost, Esq., and the most beautiful banner of the day prepared by the ladies of Galesburg was presented by Miss Ada Hurd. It was an American Shield handsomely embroidered. Upon one side was the inscription, "PRESENTED TO THE HON. A. LINCOLN BY THE REPUBLICAN LADIES OF GALESBURG, Oct. 7, 1858. On the reverse was the Declaration of Independence upon a scroll, executed with a pen by a Mr. Clark of Peoria. Miss Hurd, who is of a queenly appearance, rode up at the head of the troop of equestrians and receiving the banner from the attendant presented it in a very neat and well spoken address. Mr. Lincoln's remarks in reply were very happy. It was the most beautiful ceremony of the day.

A banner was also presented to Mr. Lincoln from the students of Lombard University.

By this time the delegations of both parties began to come in strong.

Mercer Co. turned out a large delegation for Douglas as well as a large one for Lincoln; but Wataga, Henderson and the adjoining villages bore off the palm for numbers, their delegation alone being over half a mile in length.

Monmouth sent up a rousing delegation for Lincoln. Somebody down there is great on crayon sketches, as the banners of this delegation were of the most amusing kind.

First—came one inscribed the "MONMOUTH GLEE CLUB."

Second—A crayon sketch of Douglas and Toombs "*modifying*," in which Douglas with pen in hand is erasing the clause referring the Kansas Constitution back to the people.

Third—A representation of Jim Davidson with his head just stricken from his shoulders. In a scroll Jim learns that it is 184 miles to Monmouth.

Fourth—"Dug at Freeport," "my platform," in which Douglas stands "*reversed*" upon the Dred Scott platform, one leg of which is giving way beneath.

Fifth—"Coming from Egypt," in which Douglas roaring with rage, is being punched up with Lincoln's cane.

Other banners in that delegation we have not time to notice.

Of the notable banners in the procession, we observed the following:

A representation of the Capitol, and over the Senate room door Douglas' complaint, "He's got my place." Douglas is turning away while Lincoln is coming in.

A representation of a two donkey act, or Douglas attempting to ride Popular Sovereignty and Dred Scott. His straddle is remarkable but not equal to the task as both animals kicking up their heels send him sprawling.

"KNOX COLLEGE GOES FOR LINCOLN," stretched across the south front and north end of the College building.

"WE WILL SUBDUE YOU" Stephen A. Douglas.

"ABE LINCOLN THE CHAMPION OF FREEDOM." Upon this banner was also a portrait of 'Long Abe.'

Three figures, one taking a chair from beneath Mr. Douglas and dropping him plump upon the floor, at which he exclaims, "Oh my place!" Mr. Lincoln standing by blandly remarks, "The people say it." The "*place*" Mr. Douglas referred to was doubtless the portion which came in contact with the floor.

Upon a four sided banner the following: "Macomb Lincoln Club." "We honor the man who brands the Traitor and Nullifier." "Small-fisted Farmers, Mud Sills of Society, Greasy Mechanics, for A. Lincoln." "The dose of milk Abe gave Dug down in Egypt made him very sick."

A well painted banner with a terrible Lion on one side and ditto Dog on the other, with the inscriptions "Douglas the dead Lion," "Lincoln the living Dog." If we are not mistaken this came upon the cars from the west with Douglas.

The best banner upon the ground was a painting of the locomotive "FREEDOM" with a long train of Free State cars rushing round a curve, with the warning, "Clear the track for Freedom," while sticking upon the track a little in advance of the train was Douglas' ox cart laden with cotton. His negro driver had just taken the alarm and springing up in terror exclaims, "Fore God, Massa, I bleves we's in danger!"

Another ludicrous banner had a representation upon one side of Douglas going down to Egypt, pail in hand, to bring Abe to his milk. On the other, "How he succeeded."—Like Mr. Sniggs, in his first effort at milking a cow, he gave the customary command to "*histe*" the foot. Abe *histed*, and Douglas and his pail are seen "laying around loose."

Star spangled banners were numberless.

The principal banner on the Douglas side was a large blue one with an inscription in favor of Douglas and Popular Sovereignty. Lithographs of Douglas abounded.

Knox College, by the east end of which the stand was erected, was gaily decorated with flags and streamers. Immediately over the stand was one bearing the inscription, "Knox College for Lincoln."

At noon the people began to collect and for an hour before the appointed time more than ten thousand people stood waiting the arrival of the speakers, and in the meantime the crowd was addressed by Mr. Reed of the *Aledo Record*, in a spicy and humorous speech, so the *Lincoln* friends thought.

At 2 o'clock Lincoln and Douglas in two four horse carriages driven abreast, were escorted to the ground by the military and a large body of citizens on horseback and on foot.

Hon. James Knox, of Knoxville, acted as chairman, and as soon as order could be obtained he introduced Mr. Douglas who by the arrangement was to occupy one hour, then Mr. Lincoln an hour and a half and Mr. Douglas a half hour in conclusion.

[*Galesburg, Ill., Democrat*, October 9, 1858]

The Monmouth Republican Glee Club enlivened the evening with some of the most laughable songs, ground out by one of their number, who gets them up to suit the times. One was written after the speeches of the day were over and portrayed the manner in which Lincoln shaved Douglas, in the most side splitting style. The Club is said to be making more Republicans in Warren county than all the stumpers put together.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 11, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Joint Discussion at Galesburg.—Douglas "Concludes" on Lincoln, and Takes Him between Wind and Water.—Twenty Thousand People Present

Tremont House, Chicago
October 8, 1857

Editor Missouri Republican: I have just returned from the chief city of the Abolitionists of this State, where I was attending the fifth debate between Douglas and Lincoln. I have come back with plenty of interesting notes, which I purpose to empty into your sheet for the edification of your many readers.

The Abolitionists, by their committee of arrangements, had published a secret circular to call upon their followers to make a great show of numbers and banners for this occasion, which, I take it, indicates the fact that they are badly weakened about the knees. They know that the battle has been already won by Douglas, and it is only by the most extraordinary exertions that they can whip in their crestfallen men. Without any such claptrap, the Democrats turned out "formidable as an army with banners." You could not only discover the proportion of each, as they entered the city in long processions, by the badges they wore, or by the shouts they gave, but you could more signally "spot" them by noting that the Abolitionists, obeying the behests of their leading men, paraded dirty designs and beastly caricatures, indicating their vexation at the way things are working, while the Democrats, having some respect for the feelings of their neighbors, bore no banners but such as served to decorate the procession, and such as no living man could take exception to, unless it be some very radical Abolitionist, who might object to the number of stars which flaunted on the American ensign.

Senator Douglas had spent the day prior to the discussion at Monmouth whence he came by morning train, which, though it had to it eleven cars, could not afford sitting room, and barely standing room for its passengers. At every station, large and small, between the two places fresh accessions were made, and this, too, although an hour or two later an excursion train ran over the same track. It was likewise filled to overflow.

Lincoln came from some place, to this deponent unknown.

During the entire morning the delegations were coming in from all quarters, and as the Senator's face was seen in the window of an upper room at the hotel, thousands stopped and cheered him, and wished him God speed. The old men were out with their growing and grown sons, and the old women were along—indeed it would be harder to describe who all were present than to say who of the adjoining counties were not.

When Mr. Douglas arrived he was received by a well ordered procession, led by a band, and headed by three military companies, the Light Guards, the Scandinavians (a Swiss company), and the artillery. Placed in a four horse barouche, he was conducted to the stand, where a short reception address was made to him by Mr. J. B. Boggs. When Mr. D. had, in a few words, replied, a young man named Ellewood, a student in Lombard University, stepped forward and presented the Senator with a satin banner, the gift of his co-laborers in study. Another banner was then paraded on which was the following inscription—"And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders among the people. They set up false witnesses which said this man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against the law, but they were not able to resist the wisdom with which he spoke."

Escorted then to his hotel he was constantly aroused by the arrival of delegations from out of town and by the noise of their enthusiastic cheering. Hickory poles were plenty in these several Democratic processions, and among other things were two sets of ladies, each representing a State till the duplicate of States was complete.

When all was ready for the speaking a joint procession was made and Lincoln and his suite, and Douglas and his drove side by side as near to the stand as the presence of twenty thousand people, probably two thirds being Democrats, around it would permit. Through this compact mass of human bodies, these several parties had to force their way to the stand which, when attained, afforded a relief from the pushing and squeezing which can be appreciated but not described. I observed in the crowd what Lincoln remarked would be a good likeness of him but it was too red in the face. I thought so too, but it was after a debate when Douglas gets at him in style, I guess, for the face was a little longer than a horse's collar and the eyes looked wofully like weeping.

B. B.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 9, 1858]

GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT GALESBURG

Sixteen to Eighteen Thousand Persons Present.—Largest Procession of the Campaign for Old Abe.—New and Powerful Argument by Mr. Lincoln.—Douglas Tells the Same Old Story.—Verbatim Report of the Speeches

An Arctic frost, accompanied by a sour north-west wind, invaded the city of Galesburg and county of Knox, on Thursday, and sent Republicans and Democrats shivering indoors. The preceding day and night had brought a semi-deluge of rain. The elements seemed to have conspired to dampen and congeal all political ardor, but the attendance upon the public debate between Lincoln and Douglas was some two or three thousand larger than the largest of its predecessors.

Until ten o'clock the streets gave no evidence of anything unusual about to transpire. The weather, notwithstanding the sun shone bright and clear, was too tedious for anything but the most explosive enthusiasm. Shortly after ten, Mr. Douglas arrived on a train of cars from the west, and was escorted from the depot by a respectable procession. Mr. Lincoln's approach to the city was heralded by a long procession of citizens of Galesburg, the most noticeable feature of which was a cavalcade of one hundred ladies and gentlemen on horseback. This escort moved out of town on the Knoxville road about eleven o'clock in the direction Mr. Lincoln was expected to come. Half an hour afterwards THE GREAT PROCESSION OF THE CAMPAIGN entered the city from the East. It was about long enough, taken altogether, to reach around the town and tie in a bow knot. It marched through the principal streets of the city from east of the public square, thence south two squares, thence north and east two squares, crossing its own track. At this point the rear end of the procession had not yet entered town. Banners and devices of every description fluttered in the wind. One of them, which elicited shouts of laughter, was a painting of the Capitol at Washington, over which were the words "March 4, 1859." The Little giant was observed blubbering at the door "Lincoln has got *my place.*"

The ceremonies at the house of Mr. Sanderson, where Mr. Lincoln alighted, were of unusually pleasant character. In addition to the customary welcoming speech, the students of Lombard University presented Mr. Lincoln a fine banner; after which one of the ladies of the cavalcade, Miss Hurd, of Galesburg, rode forward, and presented a beautiful shield and coat of arms, worked in silk of the "red, white and blue." On one side was the inscription:

PRESENTED TO HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN
BY THE
REPUBLICAN LADIES OF GALESBURG
OCT. 7, 1858

On the other was the whole of the Declaration of Independence in fine and beautiful handwriting. I cannot help adding that Miss Hurd's part in this ceremony was performed with peculiar grace and dignity.

Several other processions came during the morning—a decided preponderance of which carried banners for "Lincoln and Kellogg." Several long special trains came also—that from Chicago and the intermediate stations consisting of eleven cars. A special train from Peoria, consisting of *twenty-two cars and over two thousand persons*, did not arrive until nearly five o'clock—the engine having given out with the unexpected enormous load, some miles east of the city.

The speaking commenced at half past two in the college grounds—the platform having been erected on the east side of the fine college building. The crowd was unprecedented. The number on the ground during the afternoon must have exceeded the audience at the Freeport debate by 3000. The weather continued cold and raw all day, but very few left the grounds until the speaking was concluded at half past five.

[*Chicago Times*, October 9, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN.—DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT GALESBURG

Immense Concourse of People Present.—Upwards of 20,000 on the Ground.—Great Revolution in Popular Sentiment in Knox County.—Black Republicanism Beaten in Its Stronghold and Outnumbered by the Democracy.—Splendid Reception of Senator Douglas.—Interesting Debate.—Lincoln Again Defeated before the People

SPEECHES, INCIDENTS, ETC. ETC.

The fifth joint debate between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln took place at Galesburg on Thursday last. A larger number of people than have been present on any former occasion were in attendance, from fifteen to twenty thousand being on the ground. The Black Republicans had made every effort to bring out a large crowd, sparing neither money or pains to induce their friends to come out. As early as the 13th of September their committee addressed private letters to the leading Republicans in various sections of the surrounding country, begging them to bring their people to Galesburg in delegations with flags and banners; but notwithstanding all this drumming, the Democrats outnumbered them always two to one, and made a much finer demonstration.

Senator Douglas arrived in Galesburg at 10 o'clock, and was received by the Galesburg Light Guards, the Scandinavians, a corps composed of our foreign-born citizens, the artillery company of Galesburg, and the Democracy. J. Boggs, esq., welcomed him in the following speech.

. . . .

Senator Douglas made an appropriate response, after which the ceremony of presentation to him of a magnificent banner, beautifully worked by the young women of the Lombard University, took place. The presentation was made on behalf of the young ladies by G. W. Elwell, esq., and, in the course of it, two of the young ladies united their voices with his in complimenting their illustrious visitor. We give their remarks entire.

. . . .

Senator Douglas responded with much feeling. The banner was composed of white satin, trimmed with blue, upon which was worked a splendid wreath of flowers. It bore the inscription, "From the Democracy of Lombard University to Stephen A. Douglas." After these interesting ceremonies, Senator Douglas was escorted to the Bonney House which from the time of his arrival, was thronged with an immense crowd of people, whilst the street in front was crowded with processions passing and repassing, filling the air with shouts for Douglas.

Lincoln arrived about 12 o'clock, and was escorted into town by the Republican procession, which numbered about one-third the strength of ours, and was a poor one so far as the display of flags, and banners and decorations were concerned. If a cheer was proposed for Lincoln, the faint response it called forth was instantly drowned in the overwhelming shout that the Democracy would send up for Douglas, and the Republicans were forced to admit that they were outnumbered, and beaten. In 1854 it was as much as a man's life was worth, in Galesburg, to advocate Democratic principles; but now owing to the wonderful change in popular sentiment within the past year or two, Democracy has hosts of friends and supporters in this abolition stronghold, and on Thursday last had possession of the town. The debate was a most interesting one, and we commend it to the careful attention of our readers. Mr. Lincoln experienced one of the most complete defeats which he has made during the campaign. His argument was lamentably weak, and as usual he confined himself to petty personal charges and insinuations against the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, refusing to meet Senator Douglas upon any of the great principles advocated by him. He attempted to pander to the passions and prejudices of his abolition friends by again declaring his predilection for negro equality, and in his rejoinder Senator Douglas took occasion to expose his inconsistencies by comparing these declarations with Lincoln's denunciations of negro equality, and negro citizenship at Jonesboro and Charleston.

The day was a most unpleasant one for speaking in the open air A strong northwest wind was blowing, which rendered talking difficult; and although the stand was built on the east side of Knox College (the meeting being held in the college grounds), the current of air which swept around the building rendered it impossible for the speakers at times to make themselves heard at all. Besides this, the cold was intense. Mr. Lincoln, when he mounted the stand, was nervous and trembling; whether from cold, or through fear of what was in store for him, we are unable to say; but before the close of the debate, he was the most abject picture of wretchedness we have ever witnessed. His knees knocked together, and the chattering of his teeth could be heard all over the stand. When Senator Douglas replied to his charge that he had forced a set of resolutions at Ottawa, he looked pitiful beyond expression, and curled himself up in a corner to avoid facing the bitter denunciation of the Senator and the scorn and derision with which he was treated by the crowd. The speeches will repay perusal, and we earnestly hope that they will be carefully read by both our friends and opponents. We now proceed to give a correct and faithful report of both parties:

. . . .

When Senator Douglas concluded, the applause was perfectly furious and overwhelming, he was surrounded by an immense mass of people who accompanied him to his hotel, which, during the whole evening, was thronged with people going and coming to congratulate him upon his great success; whilst Lincoln entirely forgotten, was taken care of by a few friends, who wrapped him in flannels and tried to restore the circulation of blood in his almost inanimate body. Poor Lincoln! He was not even *visible* to the friends who came to weep with him.

[*Chicago Times*, October 12, 1858]

EDITOR'S CORRESPONDENCE

VIVID DESCRIPTION OF THE GALESBURG MEETING

GALESBURG, ILL., October 7, 1858

Messrs. Editors: To-day is a great day for Galesburg—great for Illinois. The fifth discussion between the Hon. S. A Douglas and Abraham Lincoln which was set for to-day, came off, and the events of the day signal one of the most thorough and complete triumphs that the great Democratic party has experienced. I say this, because it happened right here in what is notoriously known to be the very hot-bed of abolitionism in Illinois.

At the early dawn of day, our citizens were aroused from their slumbers by the continued booming of cannon which made the welkin ring with its echoing reports. The weather was chilly, cold, an autumn wind prevailed, and only for that, it would have been one of the most pleasant of days; however, this was nothing, great events were in store for the people. At about 10 o'clock A. M. an immense crowd gathered at the depot where our several military companies assembled anticipating the arrival of the Burlington train in which was the Little Giant. Presently it arrived—there were 12 or 14 cars added to the train, and all crowded to overflowing with Democrats from the western part of this county, and a very few abolitionists—in the midst of the great crowd which immediately surrounded the Senator, I was standing, waiting the time when the welcoming speech should be delivered. The crowd moved to the steps of the Bancroft House, where the Hon. J. B. Boggs welcomed the Senator to Knox county in a short speech, to which a most happy reply was given. Immediately a delegation from Lombard University approached where the Senator was standing, and through their chairman, Mr. G. W. Elwell, a young gentleman of promising attainments, presented him with a beautiful banner which was made by the young ladies of that institution. The banner was emblematical of the Senator's public career—one continued round of consistencies—wreathed with flowers, and encircled by white and blue ribbons which spoke of the virtue of his life, and his unimpeachable fidelity to party and principle. The banner had written on its folds the inscription: "*The Democracy of Lombard University to Stephen A. Douglas.*"

The Senator entered a carriage, drawn by six beautifully caparisoned horses, and the mass formed into procession, proceeding to the Bonney House. We need say nothing of the great length of the cortège, nor of the many enthusiastic shouts which rent the air as the Senator passed by the thousands of individuals who thronged the sidewalks. Main street was full as it could possibly be; it seemed that everybody gathered—and brought all their relationns. A "vast sea of human faces" met my vision which ever way I looked; before me, beside me and behind me, thousands of men looked eagerly toward the carriage which contained the Hon. Senator, and the eager aspects of the crowd proved the interest his presence excited. Delegations from all the surrounding country began making themselves visible. From the flourishing city of Abingdon, in this county, a delegation of some 500 men arrived, with many banners flying to the breeze, and filled the air with loud shouts of approbation for the course of the great expounder of the doctrine of our party. At the hour of one, the various delegations formed into one large common procession which was several miles in length, each vehicle containing from 10 to 20 persons, and holding aloft banners with appropriate inscriptions. Large cars, containing each 35 young ladies, dressed in white, with banners representing the States of the Union and the territories, these last having the words "Popular Sovereignty" written on their banners. It was an imposing spectacle.

At half past 1 P. M., the hosts commenced gathering at the large and spacious park—which adds so much to the comeliness of our city—where a stand was erected—where the speakers were to hold forth, and where thousands had assembled.

. . . .

Mr. Douglas was followed in the debate by that scare-crow looking individual, "Old Abe," or, as the numerous ejaculations of the spectators indicated—"Spot."

. . . .

If he had any dignity—if in the course of the previous discussions he entered into the polemic with dignity, he lost it all here to-day. He descended to the level of the street blackguard, and vilified Judge Douglas in a most ungentlemanly manner. Many a Republican had his cheek to blanch with shame at the unmanly attacks that this man Lincoln made upon Judge Douglas. Republicans told me that Lincoln over-stepped the rules of gentlemanly conduct when he plead his case, by wilfully, maliciously, and falsely charging Senator Douglas with fraud and forgery!

In the course of his harangue he remembered that Judge Douglas' speech was identical with those he had delivered in the previous debates. He repented that candid and truthful acknowledgment when the Judge said: "Would to Heaven he could say the same for Lincoln," for he (Abe) delivered himself of speeches suited to localities—as the reports would demonstrate.

. . . .

Whilst the Judge was fastening him to a very awkward position, with the most unequivocal truths—telling of the loathing and scorn he felt for such charges, Abe gazed at him with a blank stare, as if fascinated, and looked a humiliating askance of pity, which plainly told how simply he repented him of his false charges. DEMOCRAT

[*Daily Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 9, 1858]

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT GALESBURG

12,000 to 15,000 People Present! Four-Fifths Republicans!—"Old Abe" Skins the "Little Giant!"

Thursday last was the day appointed for a joint discussion at Galesburg, between Hon. ABRAHAM LINCOLN and JUDGE DOUGLAS.

We arrived on the ground about half past 12 o'clock, and at that time a dense crowd surrounded the stand, while the streets of the city, and the roads leading to the city, were alive with people.

About 3 o'clock, JUDGE DOUGLAS was introduced to the audience by Hon. Jos. Knox, and was received with such a faint cheer by his few friends in attendance, that it caused universal laughter. He spoke for one hour; and in the spirit of a man who was suffering martyrdom.

. . . .

Douglas actually foamed at the mouth, during his speech. It *may* have been the *milk* that he imbibed while sojourning in Egypt; but the general belief was that it was *foam*. It should be borne in mind that hydrophobia is not confined to the dog-days. We don't wish to lull the people here into any false security, by stating that it was *milk* that whitened the corners of Douglas' mouth, when it might actually be the saliva of incipient madness. Forewarned is to be forearmed.

When Douglas concluded, "Old Abe" mounted to the stand, and was received with three such tremendous cheers as made the welkin ring again. His happy, good-humored countenance—in such marked contrast with that of Douglas, which is black and repulsive enough to turn all the milk in Egypt sour—at once cheered and animated the immense crowd. They pressed forward to the stand; but, when he commenced, the struggle ceased, for so clear, ringing, and distinct was every word he uttered, that he could be heard by every man in the crowd. He met, and successfully refuted, every argument made by Judge Douglas.

[*Chicago Democrat*, October 9, 1858]

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT GALESBURG

Eleven carloads of people came on the Chicago train, and from other directions large delegations arrived during the day with flags, banners and other devices, nearly all of which were for Lincoln.

Unfortunately, a very large excursion train from Peoria, consisting of 22 cars, all filled with people who were coming to the debate, met with an accident on the Peoria and Oquawka Railroad, and was delayed so that they did not arrive until 4 o'clock, just as the debate was closing, which was a great disappointment.

[*Peoria Transcript*, October 8, 1858]

THE GALESBURG DEBATE

The fourth great debate between Lincoln and Douglas came off at Galesburg yesterday. Mr. Douglas having the opening and closing speech. It is estimated that between sixteen and eighteen thousand persons were present—much the largest crowd that has yet been called together during the campaign.

Of the debate we are unable to give any account, the train from this city, consisting of twenty-four cars loaded with two thousand passengers, having, by an unfortunate combination of circumstances, been delayed on its way until near the close of the discussion. We shall print the report of the speeches *in full* as soon as they come to hand and shall relate the sad experience of the Peoria delegation as soon as we have slept off our disappointment and fatigue—having arrived home at a late hour last night.

[*Chicago Times*, October 13, 1858]

A MOTTLED CANDIDATE

The next appearance of Mr. Lincoln was at Galesburg, the center of abolitiondom in this State. He had damaged himself extensively in the estimation of the abolitionists by his Jonesboro and Charleston speeches, and they insisted that he should decamp, and put on the black garb of negro equality once more. He did so, and behold the white man of Jonesboro and the Dred Scottite of Charleston came forth at Galesburg clothed in the habiliments of Uncle Tom, praying the admission of his colored brethren to the rights and privileges of white men. He speaks at Quincy today, and at Alton on Friday, and the regalia of the "negro's friend" will be thrown aside, and he will clamor again against the negro race, and the ridiculous idea of their ever becoming citizens.

Such, men of Illinois, is the candidate before you asking for your suffrages. He belongs to the white men's party at one place, and anon! he becomes the most piteous complainant for the poor race which Douglas would make "inferior." At Charleston he declares negroes to be inferior in the eyes of God and man, and should be treated as their Creator intended they should be treated—as "inferiors"—men outside of the political party—and at Galesburg he asserts that God created them the political equals of the white race, and that it is inhuman and anti-Christian to deny them that equality. Such is the mottled candidate. Such are the mottled principles, and such the mottled exhibition presented to the people of Illinois in the person of Abraham Lincoln.

[*Illinois State Register*, October 12, 1858]

THE GALESBURG DEBATE

Nearly all of our available space to-day is occupied with a report of the speeches of Douglas and Lincoln at Galesburg—The meeting was very large—much the largest of the campaign. The republicans had spared neither money nor pains to have a large crowd, and letters had been sent to all parts of the country begging their people to be present. Notwithstanding all their efforts, the democrats outnumbered them two to one, and made a much finer and more imposing demonstration. A wonderful change seems to have been effected in that place for the democracy during the last year or two.

Lincoln confined himself to his old hobby—that of making war upon the supreme court, and an attempt to pander to the prejudices of the abolitionists. He avowed himself in favor of negro equality, simply because he was in an abolition district. In his reply Senator Douglas showed him up in his true colors, by referring to his denunciations of the negro at Jonesboro and Charleston. The arguments of Lincoln were miserably weak, and all *candid* persons must, after a careful perusal of the speeches, admit that he was badly worsted by Douglas.

We trust that the speeches will be carefully read by men of all parties, as they will amply repay for the time thus employed.

The republicans are fast becoming disheartened, and are daily losing ground. Their "spotty" principles are not adapted to the tastes of any person claiming to be in favor of the Union, the constitution and the laws.

The conclusion of the debate will appear tomorrow.

[*Chicago Journal*, October 8, 1858]

THE FIFTH JOINT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

GALESBURG, Oct. 7, 1858

The fifth joint debate between the champion of bogus "Popular Sovereignty" and Mr. Lincoln, his formidable Free Laborer opponent, took place here this afternoon in the presence of enthusiastic thousands. It is estimated that there were not less than 10,000 people present, and after a diligent circulation among the crowd, we came to the conclusion that at least two-thirds of the great multitude of voters were Lincoln men.

Eleven car-loads of people came on the Chicago train, and from other directions large delegations arrived during the day, with flags, banners and other devices, nearly all of which were for Lincoln.

Unfortunately a very large excursion train from Peoria, consisting of twenty-two cars, all filled with people who were coming to the debate, met with an accident on the Peoria and Oquawka railroad, and was delayed so that it did not arrive until 4 o'clock, just as the debate was closing. It was a sore disappointment. Your correspondent was in this train, and it is therefore impossible for him, not having heard the debate, to give you an account of what was said by the speakers; but the opinions of those who did hear the speeches, as far as I can ascertain, coincide pretty generally that Lincoln completely used up the Little Giant. —The Lincoln men here are full of enthusiasm, and feel that our noted champion of freedom, Free Soil and Free Labor has achieved one more great and telling triumph over the shifting, time-serving and Slavery-worshipping Douglas.

Yours in the good cause. W.

CHAPTER X

THE QUINCY DEBATE

[*Herald*, Quincy, Ill., September 29, 1858]

MISSOURI COMING TO HEAR DOUGLAS

LINEUS, LINN CO., MO., Sept. 25

AUSTIN BROOKS—*Dear Sir:* The people in northern Missouri are taking a lively interest in the canvass in Illinois between Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, and the Democrats are wishing success to the "Little Giant."

Although Lineus is 120 miles from Quincy, there are many here making preparations to go to Quincy, and be there on the 13th. of next month, at the speaking. It is a long way to travel to hear a man speak, where we have to stage it nearly half the way, but such is the enthusiasm of the people, and their curiosity to hear the exponent of popular sovereignty, that from 5,000 to 10,000 will go from Missouri to be there on the occasion. OTSELIC

[*Gate City*, Keokuk, Iowa, October 5, 1858]

HO, FOR QUINCY

The Republicans will meet at the *Gate City* Reading Room at 10 o'clock today, to consult as to going to Quincy on the 13th to hear the discussion between Lincoln and Douglas.

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 7, 1858]

THE FRIENDS OF HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The city and country are invited to rally in their strength, at QUINCY on Wednesday, Oct. 13th. ABRAHAM LINCOLN and JUDGE DOUGLAS will address the masses then assembled. MR. LINCOLN is expected to arrive at Quincy on a special train, from the north, on the morning of the 13th, at half-past 9 o'clock, at which time the Republicans from the city and country, under the charge of the Marshal of the day, will proceed in procession, to receive our champion at the depot, and conduct him to the Court House. It is hoped our country friends will be in the city in time to co-operate with the Republicans of the city. The programme and order of procession will be published by the Marshal in a day or two.

All who desire to hear the true principles of the Republican party expounded, and the unsound doctrines of the Douglas Democracy exposed, are invited to attend.

By order of the Republican Committee of Arrangements,

A. Jonas, *Ch'n.*

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 11, 1858]

DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

Great preparations are being made for the Grand debate to come off in this city on Wednesday next, 'the 13th. inst. It is expected that one of the largest crowds that ever assembled in Quincy, will be present. Our friends, in all parts of the country, promise to be on hand.

Again we urge upon Republicans to come, and hear the great champion of Freedom.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 11, 1858]

A DOUGLAS CROWD ENGAGED

(Correspondence of the Press and Tribune)

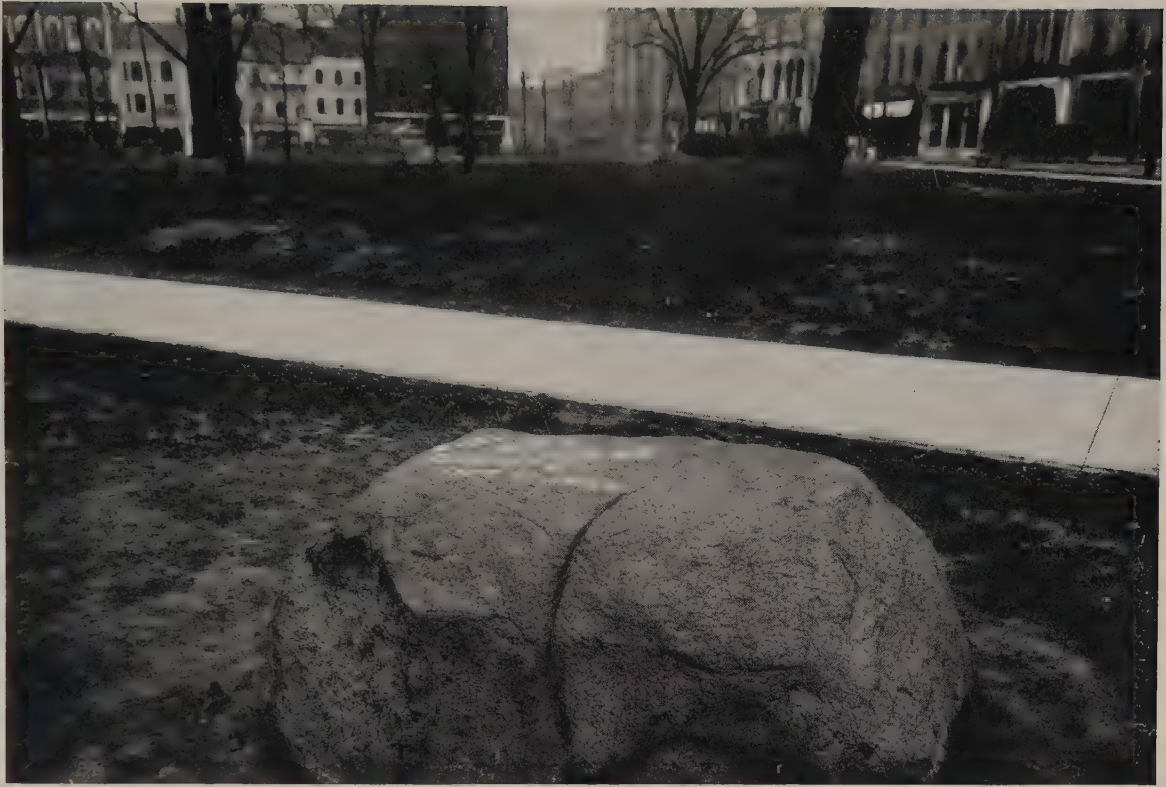
Galesburg, Oct. 7, 1858

A great joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas comes off at Quincy on the 13th of October, and I have a word or two to say to you about it. I am living down in Pike County, Illinois, and day before yesterday, on my way up here, I had occasion to go over into Missouri, and there I found large handbills up calling on the Democrats of the State to turn out at Quincy. Several steamers have been engaged by the Missourians to convey them up the river. I was told by several of them that they intended to make Lincoln "dry up." What they meant by it I do not know. Douglas' friends in Quincy are looking to that State for their crowd on the 13th. Now I write you this for the purpose of having you urge the Republicans to turn out their strength, and sustain and cheer our noble champion by their presence.

Old Pike

[*Gate City*, Keokuk, Iowa, October 11, 1858]

The Committee, appointed to make arrangements for the excursion to Quincy on the 13th to hear the Discussion between Lincoln and Douglas, recommend the Keokuk and St. Louis Packet and have



MARKER FOR THE QUINCY DEBATE

The platform for the debaters was erected in front of the old Court House which stood opposite the square in the upper right hand corner of the illustration

made arrangements as follows: The Packet will leave here on the 13th at 6½ o'clock, carrying passengers to the discussion and back, leaving Quincy at 6 o'clock. Fare $1.50 for the round trip including supper.

REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 11, 1858]

THE LADIES, GOD BLESS THEM!

We understand that a number of our Republican ladies intend to unite in the Lincoln demonstration on the 13th. inst., and that a large number of private carriages, loaded with the fair freight, will be in the procession. We are requested by the Marshal of the Day to state that the ladies generally are invited to attend, and a selected location in the procession will be reserved for carriages containing ladies. We hope our fair friends will grace the proceedings with their presence. Such has been the case at all points at which Lincoln, the champion of Free Labor and Free Territory, has spoken.

[*Herald*, Quincy, Ill., October 11, 1858]

WELCOME DOUGLAS!

Order of Procession

On Wednesday morning, 13th. inst., at 9-½ o'clock, a procession will be formed at the court house, in this city, in which every person who prefers the election of S. A. Douglas, to Abe Lincoln, to the United States Senate, is invited to participate. The procession will leave the court house at 9-½ o'clock, precisely, and proceed to Broadway, up Broadway to 12th street, throwing right of procession to 12th and front south, where the delegations from the northern part of the county will be attached; thence to Maine, throwing right of procession to Maine and attach all the delegations from the east and south of the county; thence proceed down Maine to 3rd, up 3rd to the Virginia House, where the river delegations will be attached, and will there take the right of the procession, which will then proceed to Vermont, up Vermont to 7th, down 7th to Hampshire, down Hampshire to 4th, and around the public square to the south-east corner, where the procession will enter and surround the stand, whereupon Judge Douglas will make his appearance, and in a few remarks, adjourn the crowd until half-past

2 o'clock P. M., when the discussion between himself and Mr. Lincoln will commence.

Whig and *Republican* please copy.

I. T. Wilson, *Chief Marshal*

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 12, 1858]

PROGRAMME

Reception of Lincoln

On Wednesday, the 13th. inst., at 9 A. M., *precisely*, the Republican procession will be formed, for the purpose of proceeding to the Rail Road Depot, to receive the Hon. A. Lincoln.

The line of procession will be formed on Broadway, the right resting on Sixth street.

The Republican Clubs and citizens on foot will assemble and form in order, in *Jefferson* Square, and form the head of the procession. Clubs, and citizens in carriages and wagons, will form immediately in the rear of those on foot. The order of procession will be as follows:

Marshal and Aids.

Steig's Brass Band.

Quincy and other Republican Clubs, on foot.

Carriages, with Mr. Lincoln and Committee of Reception, and distinguished strangers.

Private carriages, *with ladies*.

Delegations in carriages and wagons.

Delegations and citizens on horseback.

Route of the Procession

The procession on foot will advance to Front street.

The carriages, wagons, and citizens on horseback, will remain and rest at Third street.

The carriages for Mr. Lincoln and strangers, will receive them at the Depot, and Delegations and others arriving by the train, will be formed on foot, under the directions of Assistant Marshals.

The foot procession, and carriages with Mr. Lincoln and strangers, will then countermarch up Broadway, and the entire procession will proceed down Third to Jersey street, up Jersey to Eighth, up Eighth to Hampshire, down Hampshire to Fourth, down Fourth to Maine up Maine to Fifth, up Fifth to the front of the Court House, where Mr. Lincoln will be received and welcomed by the Committee of Reception. The procession will then be dismissed, and Mr. Lincoln taken by the Committee of Reception to the residence of O. H. Browning, Esq.

Speaking will commence at the stand in Washington Square, at 2 o'clock P. M.

E. K. STONE, *Marshal*

[*Herald*, Quincy, Ill., October 12, 1858]

JUDGE DOUGLAS COMING TONIGHT

Grand Torchlight Procession

The friends of Judge Douglas will meet at The Court House,

THIS EVENING AT 8 O'CLOCK

where a grand procession with transparencies, torchlights, music, and live Democrats, will be formed under the direction of Dr. Wilson, Chief Marshal, and marched to the railroad depot, where Judge Douglas will arrive by the nine o'clock train.

Let every Democrat in the city be on hand at the hour—the procession will move at precisely half past 8 o'clock—to extend to our distinguished Senator a hearty and enthusiastic welcome.

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 12, 1858]

TORCH-LIGHT PROCESSION!

On Wednesday night, the Republicans intend to have a grand torch-light procession. The most extensive preparations are being made. Let there be a general turn out.

PREPARATIONS

Messrs. Bond and Holton have been appointed by the respective Committees of the Republican and Douglas parties, to attend to the erection of a stand and seats for tomorrow. Mr. N. Pinkham has very kindly and generously furnished the seats for the occasion, which are to be reserved entirely for the ladies—800 of whom can thus be accommodated.

At the request of Dr. I. T. Wilson, Marshal for the Douglas procession, we publish the programme in to-day's paper.

LINCOLN BADGES

Messrs. Laage & Barnum are prepared to furnish persons with any number of Lincoln Badges. We hope our Republican friends will not fail to get one, and turn out with the procession tomorrow.

[*Whig*, Oct. 16, 1858]

THE DOUGLAS PICTURES

The agent who sells photographic likenesses of Judge Douglas was in the city on Wednesday, hawking them through the crowd during the speeches. While Mr. Lincoln was closing the debate, a gentleman asked him if he was not willing to sell his pictures at a discount now? He said that he was—that the price was 75 cents when Douglas was speaking—that they had been reduced to 60 cents, and that he thought he would be compelled to reduce them to 25 cents before Lincoln got through!

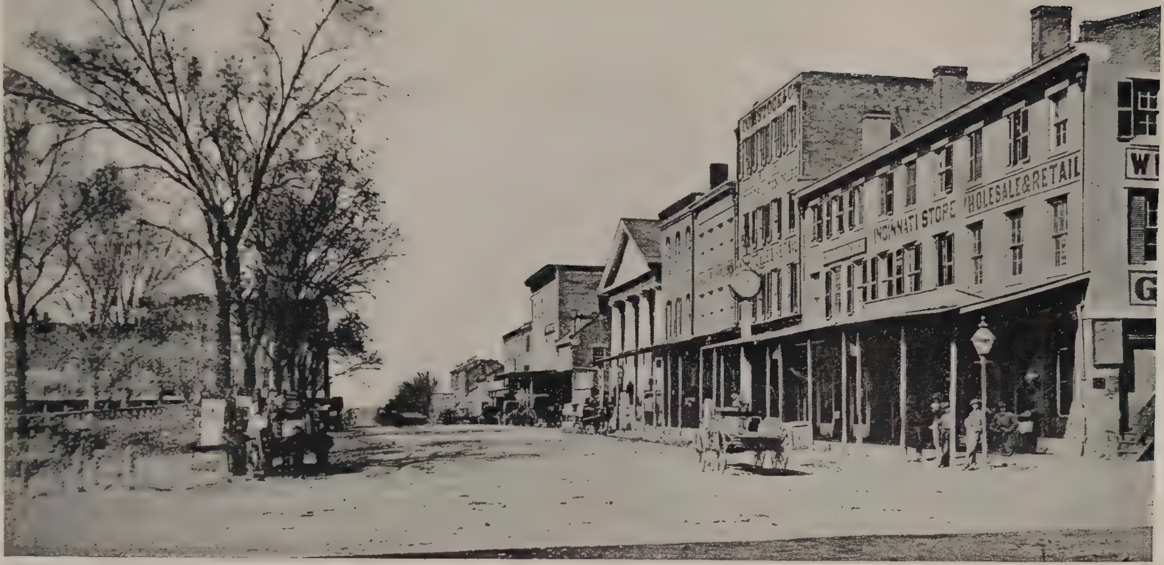
We don't believe there was a Douglasite in Quincy who had the remotest desire to buy a picture when Lincoln had concluded his half hour's speech.

[*Herald*, Quincy, Ill., October 16, 1858]

JUDGE DOUGLAS RECEPTION

The Torch-Light Procession

The most magnificent display that has ever been made in this city, was made by the Democracy on Tuesday last, on the occasion of the reception of Judge Douglas. Our distinguished Senator was received at half past nine o'clock, at the railroad depot, amid the booming of cannon, and a most splendid display of torch lights and transparencies, accompanied by the welcoming, enthusiastic shouts of not less than three thousand live Democrats.—Four hundred blazing torches, and beautiful transparencies in proportion, with bands of music and a procession more than half a mile in length,—and the streets of the city literally thronged with people, in honor of the great statesman of the day, was a sight that did the hearts of the Democracy good to witness, while it struck terror to the hearts of their black republican foes. Judge Douglas was escorted by the procession to the Quincy House, where, with three times three hearty and enthusiastic cheers, the Democracy left him for the night, repairing, however, to the public square, where



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FOURTH STREET, QUINCY, 1858

The old Court House is seen on the right hand side of the street, in front of which the stand for the debates was erected

they were addressed in a most able, entertaining and unanswerable manner by Dr. Bane, after which, the demonstrations of the evening were brought to a close. The black republicans themselves admit that nothing equal to this demonstration made by the friends of Judge Douglas, on Tuesday evening last, has ever been seen in Quincy.

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 16, 1858]

THE TWO PROCESSIONS

A gentleman informed us that he timed the two processions of Wednesday, as they passed his place of business. The Republican procession was 19½ minutes in passing, without any stoppages, while the Douglas procession was 12½ minutes, including a brief stoppage. This would indicate that the Republican procession was the largest by from 500 to 600.

SIXTH JOINT DEBATE

Quincy, October 13, 1858

Mr. Lincoln's Speech

At precisely half past two o'clock Mr. Lincoln was introduced to the audience and having been received by two cheers, he proceeded:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have had no immediate conference with Judge Douglas, but I will venture to say that[1] he and I will perfectly agree that your entire silence, both when I speak and when he speaks, will be most agreeable to us.

In the month of May, 1856, the elements in the State of Illinois, which have since been consolidated into the Republican party, assembled together in a State Convention at Bloomington. They adopted at that time what, in political language, is called a platform. In June of the same year the elements of the Republican party in the nation assembled together in a National Convention at Philadelphia. They adopted what is called the National Platform. In June, 1858,—the present year,—the Republicans of Illinois reassembled at Springfield, in State Convention, and adopted again their platform, as I suppose not differing in any essential particular from either of the former ones, but perhaps adding something in relation to the new developments of political progress in the country.

The Convention that assembled in June last did me the honor, if it be one, and I esteem it such, to nominate me as their candidate for the United States Senate. I have supposed that, in entering upon this canvass, I stood generally upon these platforms. We are now met together on the 13th of October of the same year, only four months from the adoption of the last platform, and I am unaware that in this canvass, from the beginning until to-day, any one of our adversaries has taken hold of our platforms, or laid his finger upon anything that he calls wrong in them.

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[1] Omits "that."

In the very first one of these joint discussions between Senator Douglas and myself, Senator Douglas, without alluding at all to these platforms, or any one of them, of which I have spoken, attempted to hold me responsible for a set of resolutions passed long before the meeting of either one of these Conventions of which I have spoken. And as a ground for holding me responsible for these resolutions, he assumed that they had been passed at a State Convention of the Republican party, and that I took part in that Convention. It was discovered afterward that this was erroneous, that the resolutions which he endeavored to hold me responsible for had not been passed by any State Convention anywhere,—had not been passed at Springfield, where he supposed they had, or assumed that they had; and that they had been passed in no Convention in which I had taken part.

The Judge, nevertheless, was not willing to give up the point that he was endeavoring to make upon me, and he therefore thought to still hold me to the point that he was endeavoring to make, by showing that the resolutions that he read had been passed at a local Convention in the northern part of the State, although it was not a local Convention that embraced my residence at all, nor one that reached, as I suppose, nearer than one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles of where I was when it met, nor one in which I took any part at all. He also introduced other resolutions, passed at other meetings, and by combining the whole, although they were all antecedent to the two State Conventions and the one National Convention I have mentioned, still he insisted, and now insists, as I understand, that I am in some way responsible for them.

At Jonesboro, on our third meeting, I insisted to the Judge that I was in no way rightfully held responsible for the proceedings of this local meeting or Convention, in which I had taken no part, and in which I was in no way embraced; but I insisted to him that if he thought I was responsible for every man or every set of men everywhere, who happen to be my friends, the rule ought to work both ways, and he ought to be responsible for the acts and resolutions of all men or sets of men who were or are now his supporters and friends; ["Good, good."] and gave him a pretty long string of resolutions, passed by men who are now his friends, and announcing doctrines for which he does not desire to be held responsible.

This still does not satisfy Judge Douglas. He still adheres to his proposition, that I am responsible for what some of my friends in different parts of the State have done, but that he is not responsible for what his have done. At least, so I understand him. But in addition to that, the Judge, at our meeting in Galesburg, last week, undertakes to establish that I am guilty of a species of double dealing with the public; that I make speeches of a certain sort in the north, among the Abolitionists, which I would not make in the south, and that I make speeches of a certain sort in the south which I would not make in the north. I apprehend, in the course I have marked out for myself, that I shall not have to dwell at very great length upon this subject.

As this was done in the Judge's opening speech at Galesburg, I had an opportunity, as I had the middle speech then, of saying something in answer to it. He brought forward a quotation or two from a speech of mine delivered at Chicago, and then, to contrast with it, he brought forward an extract from a speech of mine at Charleston, in which he insisted that I was greatly inconsistent, and insisted, that his conclusion followed, that I was playing a double part, and speaking in one region one way, and in another region another way. I have not time now to dwell on this as long as I would like, and wish[1] only now to requote that portion of my speech at Charleston which the Judge quoted, and then make some comments upon it. This he quotes from me as being delivered at Charleston, and I believe correctly:—

> "I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry[2] with white people; and I will say, in addition to this, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which will ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain

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[1] Inserts "I" before "wish."

[2] Reads: "mingling" for "marry."

together there must be the position of superior and inferior,[1] and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." ["Good, good," and loud cheers.]

This, I believe, is the entire quotation from the Charleston speech, as Judge Douglas made it. His comments are as follows:—

> "Yes, here you find men who hurrah for Lincoln, and say he is right when he discards all distinction between races, or when he declares that he discards the doctrine that there is such a thing as a superior and inferior race; and Abolitionists are required and expected to vote for Mr. Lincoln because he goes for the equality of races, holding that in the Declaration of Independence the white man and negro were declared equal, and endowed by divine law with equality. And down South, the Old Line Whigs, with the Kentuckians, the Virginians, and the Tennesseans, he tells you that there is a physical difference between the races, making the one the superior, the other inferior, and he is in favor of maintaining the superiority of the white race over the negro."

Those are the Judge's comments. Now, I wish to show you that a month, or only lacking three days of a month, before I made the speech at Charleston, which the Judge quotes from, he had himself heard me say substantially the same thing. It was in our first meeting at Ottawa —and I will say a word about where it was, and the atmosphere it was in, after awhile—but at our first meeting, at Ottawa, I read an extract from an old speech of mine, made nearly four years ago, not merely to show my sentiments, but to show that my sentiments were long entertained and openly expressed; in which extract I expressly declared that my own feelings would not admit a social and political equality between the white and black races, and that even if my own feelings would admit of it, I still knew that the public sentiment of the country would not, and that such a thing was an utter impossibility, or substantially that. That extract from my old speech, the reporters, by some sort of accident passed over, and it was not reported. I lay no blame upon anybody. I suppose they thought that I would hand it over to them, and dropped reporting while I was reading it, but afterward went away without getting it from me.[2] At the end of that quotation from my old speech, which I read at Ottawa, I made the comments which were reported at that time, and which I will now read, and ask you to notice how very nearly they are the same as Judge Douglas says were delivered by me, down in Egypt. After reading, I added these words:—

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[1] Omits "and inferior."

[2] The extract has been printed in full in all subsequent editions of the debates.

"Now, gentlemen, I don't want to read at any greater length; but this is the true complexion[1] of all I have ever said in regard to the institution of slavery or the black race, and this is the whole of it: anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious and[2] fantastical arrangement of words by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut horse. I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery[3] in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful[4] right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, will probably forever forbid their living together on the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong, having the superior position. [Cheers; "That's the doctrine."] I have never said anything to the contrary, but I hold that notwithstanding all this, there is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence,—the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas that he is not my equal in many respects, certainly not in color, perhaps not in intellectual and moral endowments; but in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living[5] man."

I have chiefly introduced this for the purpose of meeting the Judge's charge that the quotation he took from my Charleston speech was what I would say down South among the Kentuckians, the Virginians, etc., but would not say in the regions in which was supposed to be more of the Abolition element. I now make this comment: That speech from which I have now read the quotation, and which is there given correctly —perhaps too much so for good taste—was made away up North in the Abolition District of this State *par excellence*, in the Lovejoy District,— in the personal presence of Lovejoy, for he was on the stand with us when I made[6] it. It had been made and put in print in that region only three days less than a month before the speech made at Charleston, the like of which Judge Douglas thinks I would not make where there was any abolition element. I only refer to this matter to say that I am altogether unconscious of having attempted any double-dealing anywhere, that upon one occasion I may say one thing, and leave other things unsaid, and *vice versa;* but that I have said anything on one occasion that is inconsistent with what I have said elsewhere, I deny,—

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[1] Reads: "application" for "complexion."

[2] Reads: "species of" for "specious and."

[3] Omits, "of slavery."

[4] Omits "lawful."

[5] Reads: "any other" for "every living."

[6] Reads: "read" for "made."

at least I deny it so far as the intention is concerned. I find that I have devoted to this topic a larger portion of my time than I had intended. I wished to show, but I will pass it upon this occasion, that in the sentiment I have occasionally advanced upon the Declaration of Independence, I am entirely borne out by the sentiments advanced by our old Whig leader, Henry Clay, and I have the book here to show it from; but because I have already occupied more time than I intended to do on that topic, I pass over it.

At Galesburg, I tried to show that by the Dred Scott decision, pushed to its legitimate consequences, slavery would be established in all the States as well as in the Territories. I did this because, upon a former occasion, I had asked Judge Douglas whether, if the Supreme Court should make a decision declaring that the States had not the power to exclude slavery from their limits, he would adopt and follow that decision as a rule of political action; and because he had not directly answered that question, but had merely contented himself with sneering at it, I again introduced it, and tried to show that the conclusion that I stated followed inevitably and logically from the proposition already decided by the court. Judge Douglas had the privilege of replying to me at Galesburg, and again he gave me no direct answer as to whether he would or would not sustain such a decision if made. I give[1] him this third chance to say yes or no. He is not obliged to do either,—probably he will not do either; [laughter] but I give him the third chance. I tried to show then that this result, this conclusion, inevitably followed from the point already decided by the court. The Judge, in his reply, again sneers at the thought of the court making any such decision, and in the course of his remarks upon this subject uses the language which I will now read. Speaking of me, the Judge says: "He goes on and insists that the Dred Scott decision would carry slavery into the Free States, notwithstanding the decision itself says the contrary." And he adds: "Mr. Lincoln knows that there is no member of the Supreme Court that holds that doctrine. He knows that every one of them in their opinions held the reverse."

I especially introduce this subject again, for the purpose of saying that I have the Dred Scott decision here, and I will thank Judge Douglas to lay his finger upon the place in the entire opinions of the court where any one of them "says the contrary." It is very hard to affirm a negative with entire confidence. I say, however, that I have examined that decision with a good deal of care, as a lawyer examines a decision, and, so far as I have been able to do so, the court has nowhere in its opinions said that the States have the power to exclude slavery, nor have they used other language substantially that. I also say, so far as I can find, not one of the concurring Judges has said that the States can exclude slavery, nor said anything that was substantially that. The nearest approach that any one of them has made to it, so far as I can find, was by Judge Nelson, and the approach he made to it was exactly, in substance, the Nebraska bill,—that the States had the exclusive power over the question of slavery, so far as they are not limited by the Constitution of the United States. I asked the question, therefore, if the non-concurring Judges, McLean or Curtis, had asked to get an express declaration that the States could absolutely exclude slavery from their limits, what reason have we to believe that it would not have been voted down by the majority of the Judges, just as Chase's amendment was voted down by Judge Douglas and his compeers when it was offered to the Nebraska bill. [Cheers.]

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[1] Reads: "gave" for "give."

Also, at Galesburg, I said something in regard to those Springfield resolutions that Judge Douglas had attempted to use upon me at Ottawa, and commented at some length upon the fact that they were, as presented, not genuine. Judge Douglas in his reply to me seemed to be somewhat exasperated. He said he never would have believed that Abraham Lincoln, as he kindly called me, would have attempted such a thing as I had attempted upon that occasion; and among other expressions which he used toward me, was that I dared to say forgery,—that I had *dared* to say forgery [turning to Judge Douglas.] Yes, Judge, I did dare to say forgery. [Loud applause.] But in this political canvass, the Judge ought to remember that I was not the first who *dared* to say forgery. At Jacksonville, Judge Douglas made a speech in answer to something said by Judge Trumbull, and at the close of what he said upon that subject, he *dared* to say that Trumbull had forged his evidence. He said, too, that he should not concern himself with Trumbull any more, but thereafter he should hold Lincoln responsible for the slanders upon him. [Laughter.] When I met him at Charleston after that, although I think that I should not have noticed the subject if he had not said he would hold me responsible for it, I spread out before him the statements of the evidence that Judge Trumbull had used, and I asked Judge

Douglas, piece by piece, to put his finger upon one piece of all that evidence that he would say was a forgery! When I went through with each and every piece, Judge Doulgas did not *dare* then to say that any piece of it was a forgery. [Laughter and cries of "Good, good."] So it seems that there are some things that Judge Douglas dares to do, and some that he dares not to do. [Great applause and laughter.]

A Voice.—It's the same thing with you.

Mr. Lincoln.—Yes, sir, it's the same thing with me. I do dare to say forgery when it's true, and don't[1] dare to say forgery when it's false. [Thunders of applause. Cries of "Hit him again. Give it to him, Lincoln."] Now I will say here to this audience and to Judge Douglas, I have not dared to say he committed a forgery, and I never shall until I know it; but I did dare to say—just to suggest to the Judge—that a forgery had been committed, which by his own showing had been traced to him and two of his friends. [Roars of laughter and loud cheers.] I dared to suggest to him that he had expressly promised in one of his public speeches to investigate that matter, and I dared to suggest to him that there was an implied promise that when he investigated it he would make known the result. I dared to suggest to the Judge that he could not expect to be quite clear of suspicion of that fraud, for since the time that promise was made he had been with those friends, and had not kept his promise in regard to the investigation and the report upon it. [Loud laughter. Cries of "Hit him hard;" "Good, good."] I am not a very daring man, [laughter] but I dared that much, Judge, and I am not much scared about it yet. [Uproarious laughter and applause.]

When the Judge says he wouldn't have believed of Abraham Lincoln that he would have made such an attempt as that, he reminds me of the fact that he entered upon this canvass with the purpose to treat me courteously. That touched me somewhat. [Great laughter.] It set me to thinking. I was aware, when it was first agreed that Judge Douglas and I were to have these seven joint discussions, that they were the successive acts of a drama,—perhaps I should say, to be enacted not merely in the face of audiences like this, but in the face of the nation, and to some extent, by my relation to him, and not from anything in myself, in the face of the world; and I am anxious that they should be conducted with dignity and in the good temper which would be befitting the vast audience before which it was conducted.

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[1] Inserts "I" before "don't."

But when Judge Douglas got home from Washington and made his first speech in Chicago, the evening afterward I made some sort of a reply to it. His second speech was made at Bloomington, in which he commented upon my speech at Chicago, and said that I had used language ingeniously contrived to conceal my intentions,—or words to that effect. Now, I understand that this is an imputation upon my veracity and my candor. I do not know what the Judge understood by it, but in our first discussion, at Ottawa, he led off by charging a bargain, somewhat corrupt in its character, upon Trumbull and myself,—that we had entered into a bargain, one of the terms of which was that Trumbull was to Abolitionize the old Democratic party, and I (Lincoln) was to Abolitionize the old Whig party; I pretending to be as good an Old Line Whig as ever. Judge Douglas may not understand that he implicated my truthfulness and my honor when he said I was doing one thing and pretending another; and I misunderstood him if he thought he was treating me in a dignified way, as a man of honor and truth, as he now claims he was disposed to treat me. Even after that time, at Galesburg, when he brings forward an extract from a speech made at Chicago, and an extract from a speech made at Charleston, to prove that I was trying to play a double part,—that I was trying to cheat the public, and get votes upon one set of principles at one place, and upon another set of principles at another place,—I do not understand but what he impeaches my honor, my veracity, and my candor; and because *he* does this, I do not understand that I am bound, if I see a truthful ground for it, to keep my hands off of him.

As soon as I learned that Judge Douglas was disposed to treat me in this way, I signified in one of my speeches that I should be driven to draw upon whatever of humble resources I might have,—to adopt a new course with him. I was not entirely sure that I should be able to hold my own with him, but I at least had the purpose made to do as well as I could upon him; and now I say that I will not be the first to cry "hold." I think it originated with the Judge, and when he quits, I probably will. [Roars of laughter.] But I shall not ask any favors at all.

He asks me, or he asks the audience, if I wish to push this matter to the point of personal difficulty. I tell him, no. He did not make a mistake, in one of his early speeches, when he called me an "amiable" man, though perhaps he did when he called me an "intelligent" man. [Laughter.] It really hurts me very much to suppose that I have wronged anybody on earth. I again tell him, no! I very much prefer, when this canvass shall be over, however it may result, that we at least part without any bitter recollections of personal difficulties.

The Judge, in his concluding speech at Galesburg, says that I was pushing this matter to a personal difficulty, to avoid the responsibility for the enormity of my principles. I say to the Judge and this audience, now, that I will again state our principles as well as I hastily can, in all their enormity, and if the Judge hereafter chooses[1] to confine himself to a war upon these principles, he will probably not find me departing from the same course.[2]

We have in this nation this element of domestic slavery. It is a matter of absolute certainty that it is a disturbing element. It is the opinion of all the great men who have expressed an opinion upon it, that it is a dangerous element. We keep up a controversy in regard to it. That controversy necessarily springs from difference of opinion; and if we can learn exactly,—can reduce to the lowest elements—what that difference of opinion is, we perhaps shall be better prepared for discussing the different systems of policy that we would propose in regard to that disturbing element. I suggest that the difference of opinion, reduced to its lowest terms, is no other than the difference between the men who think slavery a wrong, and those who do not think it wrong. The Republican party think it wrong; we think it is a moral, a social, and a political wrong. We think it is a wrong not confining itself merely to the persons or the States where it exists, but that it is a wrong in its tendency, to say the least, that extends itself to the existence of the whole nation. Because we think it wrong, we propose a course of policy that shall deal with it as a wrong. We deal with it as with any other wrong, in so far as we can prevent its growing any larger, and so deal with it that in the run of time there may be some promise of an end to it.

We have a due regard to the actual presence of it amongst us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. I suppose that in reference both to its actual existence in the nation, and to our constitutional obligations, we have no right at all to disturb it in the States where it exists, and we profess that we have no more inclination to disturb it than we have the right to do it. We go further than that; we don't propose to disturb it, where, in one instance, we think the Constitution would permit us. We think the Constitution would permit us to disturb it in the District of Columbia. Still, we do not propose to do that, unless it should be in terms which I don't suppose the nation is very likely soon to agree to,—the terms of making the emancipation gradual, and compensating the unwilling owners. Where we suppose we have the constitutional right, we restrain ourselves in reference to the actual existence of the institution and the difficulties thrown about it. We also oppose it as an evil so far as it seeks to spread itself. We insist on the policy that shall restrict it to its present limits. We don't suppose that in doing this we violate anything due to the actual presence of the institution, or anything due to the constitutional guarantees thrown around it.

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[1] Reads: "choose" for "chooses."

[2] Reads: "it" for "the same course."

We oppose the Dred Scott decision in a certain way, upon which I ought perhaps to address you a few words. We do not propose that when Dred Scott has been decided to be a slave by that court, we, as a mob, will decide him to be free. We do not propose that, when any other one, or one thousand, shall be decided by the court to be slaves, we will in any violent way disturb the rights of property thus settled: but we nevertheless do oppose that decision as a political rule which shall be binding on the voter to vote for nobody who thinks it wrong: which shall be binding on the members of Congress or the President to favor no measure that does not actually concur with the principles of that decision. We do not propose to be bound by it as a political rule in that way because we think it lays the foundation, not merely of enlarging and spreading out what we consider an evil, but it lays the foundation for spreading that evil into the States themselves. We propose so resisting it as to have it reversed if we can, and a new judicial rule established upon this subject.

I will add this, that if there be any man who does not believe that slavery is wrong in the three aspects which I have mentioned, or in any one of them, that man is misplaced, and ought to leave us. While, on the other hand, if there be any man in the Republican party who is impatient over the necessity springing from its actual presence, and is impatient of the constitutional guarantees thrown around it, and would act in disregard of these, he too is misplaced, standing with us. He will find his place somewhere else; for we have a due regard, so far as we are capable of understanding them, for all these things. This, gentlemen, as well as I can give it, is a plain statement of our principles in all their enormity.

I will say now that there is a sentiment in the country contrary to me,—a sentiment which holds that slavery is not wrong, and therefore it goes for the[1] policy that does not propose dealing with it as a wrong. That policy is the Democratic policy, and that sentiment is the Democratic sentiment. If there be a doubt in the mind of any one of this vast audience that this is really the central idea of the Democratic party, in relation to the[2] subject, I ask him to bear with me while I state a few things tending, as I think, to prove that proposition.

In the first place, the leading man—I think I may do my friend Judge Douglas the honor of calling him such—advocating the present Democratic policy, never himself says it is wrong. He has the high distinction, so far as I know, of never having said slavery is either right or wrong. [Laughter.] Almost everybody else says one or the other, but the Judge never does. If there be a man in the Democratic party who thinks it is wrong, and yet clings to that party, I suggest to him, in the first place, that his leader don't talk as he does, for he never says that it is wrong.

In the second place, I suggest to him that if he will examine the policy proposed to be carried forward, he will find that he carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in it. If you will examine the arguments that are made on[3] it, you will find that every one carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in slavery.

Perhaps that Democrat who says he is as much opposed to slavery as I am, will tell me that I am wrong about this. I wish him to examine his own course in regard to this matter a moment, and then see if his opinion will not be changed a little. You say it is wrong; but don't you constantly object to anybody else saying so? Do you not constantly argue that this is not the right place to oppose it? You say it must not be opposed in the Free States, because slavery is not here; it must not be opposed in the Slave States, because it is there; it must not be opposed in politics, because that will make a fuss; it must not be opposed in the pulpit, because it is not religion. [Loud cheers.] Then where is the place to oppose it? There is no suitable place to oppose it. There is no plan in the country to oppose this evil overspreading the continent, which you say yourself is coming. Frank Blair and Gratz Brown tried to get up a system of gradual emancipation in Missouri, had an election in August, and got beat, and you, Mr. Democrat, threw up your hat, and hallooed "Hurrah for Democracy." [Enthusiastic cheers.]

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[1] Omits "the."

[2] Reads: "this" for "the."

[3] Reads: "in" for "on."

So I say, again, that in regard to the arguments that are made, when Judge Douglas says he "don't care whether slavery is voted up or voted down," whether he means that as an individual expression of sentiment, or only as a sort of statement of his views on national policy, it is alike true to say that he can thus argue logically if he don't see anything wrong in it; but he cannot say so logically if he admits that slavery is wrong. He cannot say that he would as soon see a wrong voted up as voted down.

When Judge Douglas says that whoever or whatever community wants slaves, they have a right to have them, he is perfectly logical, if there is nothing wrong in the institution; but if you admit that it is wrong, he cannot logically say that anybody has a right to do wrong. When he says that slave property and horse and hog property are alike to be allowed to go into the Territories, upon the principles of equality, he is reasoning truly, if there is no difference between them as property; but if the one is property held rightfully, and the other is wrong, then there is no equality between the right and wrong; so that, turn it in any way you can, in all the arguments sustaining the Democratic policy, and in that policy itself, there is a careful, studied exclusion of the idea that there is anything wrong in slavery.

Let us understand this. I am not, just[1] here, trying[1] to prove that we are right, and they are wrong. I have been stating where we and they stand, and trying to show what is the real difference between us; and I now say that whenever we can get the question distinctly stated, can get all these men who believe that slavery is in some of these respects wrong, to stand and act with us in treating it as a wrong,—then, and not till then, I think we will in some way come to an end of this slavery agitation. [Prolonged cheers.]

Mr. Douglas's Reply

Senator Douglas, in taking the stand, was greeted with tremendous applause. He said:

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[1] Omits "just" and "trying."

Ladies and Gentlemen: Permit me to say that unless silence is observed it will be impossible for me to be heard by this immense crowd, and my friends can confer no higher favor upon me than by omitting all expressions of applause or approbation. ["We cannot help it, Douglas," etc.] I desire to be heard rather than to be applauded. I wish to address myself to your reason, your judgment, your sense of justice, and not to your passions.

I regret that Mr. Lincoln should have deemed it proper for him to again indulge in gross personalities and base insinuations in regard to the Springfield resolutions. It has imposed upon me the necessity of using some portion of my time for the purpose of calling your attention to the facts of the case, and it will then be for you to say what you think of a man who can predicate such a charge upon the circumstances as[1] he has in this. I had seen the platform adopted by a Republican Congressional Convention held in Aurora, the Second Congressional District, in September, 1854, published as purporting to be the platform of the Republican party. That platform declared that the Republican party was pledged never to admit another Slave State into the Union, and also that it was[2] pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, not only all that we then had, but all that we should thereafter acquire, and to repeal unconditionally the Fugitive-Slave law, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and prohibit the slave-trade between the different States. These and other articles against slavery were contained in this platform, and unanimously adopted by the Republican Congressional Convention in that District. I had also seen that the Republican Congressional Conventions at Rockford, in the First District, and at Bloomington, in the Third, had adopted the same platform that year, nearly word for word, and had declared it to be the platform of the Republican party. I had noticed that Major Thomas L. Harris, a member of Congress from the Springfield district, had referred to that platform in a speech in Congress as having been adopted by the first Republican State Convention which assembled in Illinois.

When I had occasion to use the fact in this canvass, I wrote to Major Harris to know on what day that Convention was held, and to ask him to send me its proceedings. He being sick, Charles H. Lanphier answered my letter by sending me the published proceedings of the

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[1] Omits "as."

[2] Omits "was."

Convention held at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854, as they appeared in the report of the *State Register*. I read those resolutions from that newspaper the same as any of you would refer back and quote any fact from the files of a newspaper which had published it. Mr. Lincoln pretends that after I had so quoted those resolutions he discovered that they had never been adopted at Springfield. He does not deny their adoption by the Republican party at Aurora, at Bloomington, and at Rockford, and by nearly all the Republican County Conventions in Northern Illinois where his party is in a majority, but merely because they were not adopted on the "*spot*" on which I said they were, he chooses to quibble about the place rather than meet and discuss the merits of the resolutions themselves. I stated when I quoted them that I did so from the *State Register*. I gave my authority. Lincoln believed at the time, as he has since admitted, that they had been adopted at Springfield, as published. Does he believe now that I did not tell the truth when I quoted those resolutions? He knows, in his heart, that I quoted them in good faith believing at the time that they had been adopted at Springfield. I would consider myself an infamous wretch, if, under such circumstances, I could charge any man with being a party to a trick or a fraud. [Great applause.] And I will tell him, too, that it will not do to charge a forgery on Charles H. Lanphier or Thomas L. Harris. No man on earth, who knows them, and knows Lincoln, would take his oath against their word. [Cheers.] There are not two men in the State of Illinois who have higher characters for truth, for integrity, for moral character, and for elevation of tone, as gentlemen, than Mr. Lanphier and Mr. Harris. Any man who attempts to make such charges as Mr. Lincoln has indulged in against them, only proclaims himself a slanderer. [Vociferous applause.]

I will now show you that I stated with entire fairness, as soon as it was made known to me, that there was a mistake about the spot where the resolutions had been adopted, although their truthfulness, as a declaration of the principles of the Republican party, had not been,[1] and could not be, questioned. I did not wait for Lincoln to point out the mistake, but the moment I discovered it, I made a speech, and published it to the world, correcting the error. I corrected it myself, as a gentleman and an honest man, and as I always feel proud to do when I have made a mistake. I wish Mr. Lincoln could show that he has acted with equal fairness and truthfulness when I have convinced him that he has been mistaken. ["Hit him again," and cheers.] I will give you an illustration to show you how he acts in a similar case: In a speech at Springfield, he charged Chief Justice Taney and his associates, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself, with having entered into a conspiracy at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, by which the Dred Scott decision was to be made by the Supreme Court, in order to carry slavery everywhere under the Constitution. I called his attention to the fact that at the time alluded to, to wit, the introduction of the Nebraska bill, it was not possible that such a conspiracy could have been entered into, for the reason that the Dred Scott case had never been taken before the Supreme Court, and was not taken before it for a year after; and I asked him to take back that charge. Did he do it? ["No."] I showed him that it was impossible that the charge could be true; I proved it by the record; and I then called upon him to retract his false charge. What was his answer? Instead of coming out like an honest man and doing so, he reiterated the charge, and said that if the case had not gone up to the Supreme Court from the courts of Missouri at the time he charged that the Judges of the Supreme Court entered into the conspiracy, yet, that there was an understanding with the Democratic owners of Dred Scott that they would take it up.

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[1] Omits "been."

I have since asked him who the Democratic owners of Dred Scott were, but he could not tell, and why? Because there were no such Democratic owners in existence. Dred Scott at the time was owned by the Rev. Dr. Chaffee, an Abolition member of Congress, of Springfield, Massachusetts, in right of his wife. He was owned by one of Lincoln's friends, and not by Democrats at all. [Immense cheers; "Give it to him," etc.] His case was conducted in court by Abolition lawyers, so that both the prosecution and the defense were in the hands of the Abolition political friends of Mr. Lincoln. [Renewed cheering.] Notwithstanding I thus proved by the record that his charge against the Supreme Court was false, instead of taking it back, he resorted to another false charge to sustain the infamy of it. [Cheers.] He also charged President Buchanan with having been a party to the conspiracy. I directed his attention to the fact that the charge could not possibly be true, for the reason that at the time specified, Mr. Buchanan was not in America but was three thousand miles off, representing the United States at the Court of St. James, and had been there for a year previous, and did not return until three years afterward. Yet I never could get Mr. Lincoln to take back his false charge, although I have called upon him over and over again. He refuses to do it, and either remains silent, or resorts to other tricks to try and palm his slander off on the country. [Cheers.] Therein you will find the difference between Mr. Lincoln and myself. When I make[1] a mistake, as an honest man I correct it without being asked to do so; but when he makes a false charge, he sticks to it, and never corrects it. ["Don't spare him," and cheers.] One word more in regard to these resolutions; I quoted them at Ottawa merely to ask Mr. Lincoln whether he stood on that platform. That was the purpose for which I quoted them. I did not think that I had a right to put idle questions to him, and I first laid a foundation for my questions by showing that the principles which I wished him either to affirm or deny had been adopted by some portion of his friends, at least, as their creed. Hence I read the resolutions and put the questions to him; and he then refused to answer them. [Laughter; "He was afraid," etc.] Subsequently, one week afterward, he did answer a part of them, but the others he has not answered up to this day. ["No, and never will," "Never can," and cheers.] My friends, if you are my friends, you will be silent, instead of interrupting me by your applause. ["We can 't help it."]

Now, let me call your attention for a moment to the answers which Mr. Lincoln made at Freeport to the questions which I propounded him at Ottawa, based upon the platform adopted by a majority of the Abolition counties of the State, which now, as then, supported him. In answer to my question whether he indorsed the Black Republican principle of "no more Slave States," he answered that he was not pledged against the admission of any more Slave States, but that he would be very sorry if he should ever be placed in a position where he would have to vote on the question; that he would rejoice to know that no more Slave States would be admitted into the Union. "But," he added, "if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the Territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union."

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[1] Reads: "made" for "make.

The point I wish him to answer is this: Suppose Congress should not prohibit slavery in the Territory, and it applied for admission with a constitution recognizing slavery, then how would he vote? His answer at Freeport does not apply to any Territory in America. I ask you, [turning to Lincoln] will you vote to admit Kansas into the Union, with just such a constitution as her people want, with slavery or without, as they shall determine? He will not answer. ["He's afraid," and cheers.] I have put that question to him time and time again, and have not been able to get an answer out of him I ask you again, Lincoln, will you vote to admit New Mexico, when she has the requisite population: with such a constitution as her people adopt, either recognizing slavery or not, as they shall determine? He will not answer. I put the same question to him in reference to Oregon and the new States to be carved out of Texas in pursuance of the contract between Texas and the United States, and he will not answer.

He will not answer these questions in reference to any Territory now in existence, but says that if Congress should prohibit slavery in a Territory, and when its people asked for admission as a State, they should adopt slavery as one of their institutions, that he supposes he would have to let it come in. [Laughter.] I submit to you whether that answer of his to my question does not justify me in saying that he has a fertile genius in devising language to conceal his thoughts. ["Good for you;" "Hurrah for Douglas," etc.] I ask you whether there is an intelligent man in America who does not believe that that answer was made for the purpose of concealing what he intended to do. ["No, no," and cheers.] He wished to make the Old Line Whigs believe that he would stand by the Compromise Measures of 1850, which declared that the States might come into the Union with slavery, or without, as they pleased, while Lovejoy and his Abolition allies up north explained to the Abolitionists that in taking this ground he preached good Abolition doctrine, because his proviso would not apply to any territory in America, and therefore there was no chance of his being governed by it. It would have been quite easy for him to have said that he would let the people of a State do just as they pleased, if he desired to convey such an idea. Why did he not do it? ["He was afraid to."] He would not answer my question directly, because up north, the Abolition creed declares that there shall be no more Slave States, while down south, in Adams County, in Coles, and in Sangamon, he and his friends are afraid to advance that doctrine. Therefore, he gives an evasive and equivocal answer, to be construed one way in the south and another way in the north, which, when analyzed, it is apparent is not an answer at all with reference to any Territory now in existence. ["Hit him on the woolly side;" "Hurrah for Douglas," etc.]

Mr. Lincoln complains that in my speech the other day at Galesburg I read an extract from a speech delivered by him at Chicago, and then another from his speech at Charleston, and compared them, thus showing the people that he had one set of principles in one part of the State, and another in the other part. And how does he answer that charge? Why, he quotes from his Charleston speech as I quoted from it, and then quotes another extract from a speech which he made at another place, which he says is the same as the extract from his speech at Charleston; but he does not quote the extract from his Chicago speech, upon which I convicted him of double-dealing. [Cheers.] I quoted from his Chicago speech to prove that he held one set of principles up north among the Abolitionists, and from his Charleston speech to prove that he held another set down at Charleston and in southern Illinois. In his answer to this charge, he ignores entirely his Chicago speech, and merely argues that he said the same thing which he said at Charleston at another place. If he did, it follows that he has twice instead of once, held one creed in one part of the State, and a different creed in another part. ["He can't get out of it," and cheers.] Up at Chicago, in the opening of the campaign, he reviewed my reception speech, and undertook to answer my argument attacking his favorite doctrine of negro equality. I had shown that it was a falsification of the Declaration of Independence to pretend that that instrument applied to and included negroes in the clause declaring that all men are[1] created equal. What was Lincoln's reply? I will read from his Chicago speech and the one which he did not quote, and dare not quote, in this part of the State. ["Good," "Hear, hear," etc.] He said:—

> "I should like to know, if taking this old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? If one man says it does not mean a negro, why may not another man say it does not mean another man? If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the Statute book in which we find it, and tear it out."

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[1] Reads: "were" for "are."

There you find that Mr. Lincoln told the Abolitionists of Chicago that if the Declaration of Independence did not declare that the negro was created by the Almighty the equal of the white man, that you ought to take that instrument and tear out the clause which says that all men were created equal. ["Hurrah for Douglas."] But let me call your attention to another part of the same speech. You know that in his Charleston speech, an extract from which he has read, he declared that the negro belongs to an inferior race, is physically inferior to the white man, and should always be kept in an inferior position. I will now read to you what he said at Chicago on that point. In concluding his speech at that place he remarked:—

> "My friends, I have detained you about as long as I desire to do, and I have only to say, let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race, and that race, and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position, discarding our standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal."

Thus you see that when addressing the Chicago Abolitionists he declared that all distinctions of race must be discarded and blotted out, because the negro stood on an equal footing with the white man; that if one man said the Declaration of Independence did not mean a negro when it declared all men created equal, that another man would say that it did not mean another man; and hence we ought to discard all difference between the negro race and all other races, and declare them all created equal. Did old Giddings, when he came down among you four years ago, preach more radical Abolitionism than this? ["No, never."] Did Lovejoy, or Lloyd Garrison, or Wendell Phillips, or Fred Douglass ever take higher Abolition grounds than that? Lincoln told you that I had charged him with getting up these personal attacks to conceal the enormity of his principles, and then commenced talking about something else, omitting to quote this part of his Chicago speech which contained the enormity of his principles to which I alluded. He knew that I alluded to his negro-equality doctrines when I spoke of the enormity of his principles, yet he did not find it convenient to answer on that point. Having shown you what he said in his Chicago speech in reference to negroes being created equal to white men, and about discarding all distinctions between the two races, I will again read to you what he said at Charleston:—

> "I will say then, that I am not nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way, the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters of the free negroes, or jurors, or qualifying them to hold office, or having them to marry with white people. I will say in addition, that there is a physical difference between the white and black races, which I suppose, will forever forbid the two races living together upon terms of social and political equality, and inasmuch as they cannot so live, that while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and[1] I as much as any other man am in favor of the superior position being assigned to the white man."

A Voice.—That's the doctrine.

Mr. Douglas.—Yes, sir, that is good doctrine; but Mr. Lincoln is afraid to advocate it in the latitude of Chicago, where he hopes to get his votes. [Cheers.] It is good doctrine in the anti-Abolition counties for him, and his Chicago speech is good doctrine in the Abolition counties. I assert, on the authority of these two speeches of Mr. Lincoln, that he holds one set of principles in the Abolition counties, and a different and contradictory set in the other counties. ["That's so," and cheers.] I do not question that he said at Ottawa what he quoted; but that only convicts him further, by proving that he has twice contradicted himself, instead of once. ["Good," and applause.] Let me ask him why he cannot avow his principles the same in the north as in the south,—the same in every county,—if he has a conviction that they are just? But I forgot,—he would not be a Republican, if his principles would apply alike to every part of the country. The party to which he belongs is bounded and limited by geographical lines. With their principles, they cannot even cross the Mississippi River on your ferry-boats. [Immense applause.] They cannot cross over the Ohio into Kentucky. Lincoln himself cannot visit the land of his fathers, the scenes of his childhood, the graves of his ancestors, and carry his Abolition principles, as he declared them at Chicago, with him. ["Hit him again," and cheers.]

This Republican organization appeals to the North against the South; it appeals to Northern passion, Northern prejudice, and Northern ambition, against Southern people, Southern States, and Southern institutions, and its only hope of success is by that appeal. Mr. Lincoln goes on to justify himself in making a war upon slavery upon the ground that Frank Blair and Gratz Brown did not succeed in their warfare upon the institutions in Missouri. [Laughter.] Frank Blair was elected to Congress in 1856, from the State of Missouri, as a Buchanan Democrat, and he turned Fremonter after the people elected him, thus belonging to one party before his election, and another afterward. ["Treachery never succeeds."] What right then had he to expect, after having thus cheated his constituency, that they would support him at another election? ["None," "Hurrah for Douglas," etc.] Mr. Lincoln thinks that it is his duty to preach a crusade in the Free States against slavery, because it is a crime, as he believes, and ought to be extinguished, and because the people of the Slave States will never abolish it. How is he going to abolish it? Down in the Southern part of the State he takes the ground openly that he will not interfere with slavery where it exists, and says that he is not now and never was in favor of interfering with slavery where it exists in the States. Well, if he is not in favor of that, how does he expect to bring slavery in a course of ultimate extinction? ["Hit him again."] How can he extinguish it in Kentucky, in Virginia, in all the Slave States by his policy, if he will not pursue a policy which will interfere with it in the States where it exists? ["That's so."] In his speech at Springfield before the Abolition, or Republican, Convention, he declared his hostility to any more Slave States in this language:—

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[1] Reads: "that" for "and."

> "Under the operation of that policy the agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half Slave and half Free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States,—old as well as new, North as well as South."

Mr. Lincoln there told his Abolition friends that this Government could not endure permanently, divided into Free and Slave States as our fathers made it, and that it must become all Free or all Slave; otherwise, that the Government could not exist. How then does Lincoln propose to save the Union, unless by compelling all the States to become Free, so that the house shall not be divided against itself? He intends making them all free; he will preserve the Union in that way; and yet he is not going to interfere with slavery where[1] it now exists. How is he going to bring it about? Why, he will agitate, he will induce the North to agitate, until the South shall be worried out and forced to abolish slavery. Let us examine the policy by which that is to be done. He first tells you that he would prohibit slavery everywhere in the Territories. He would thus confine slavery within its present limits. When he thus gets it confined, and surrounded, so that it cannot spread, the natural laws of increase will go on until the negroes will be so plenty that they cannot live on the soil. He will hem them in until starvation seizes them, and by starving them to death, he will put slavery in the course of ultimate extinction. If he is not going to interfere with slavery in the States, but intends to interfere and prohibit it in the Territories, and thus smother slavery out, it naturally follows that he can extinguish it only by extinguishing the negro race; for his policy would drive them to starvation. This is the humane and Christian remedy that he proposes for the great crime of slavery!

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[1] Reads: "anywhere" for "where."

He tells you that I will not argue the question whether slavery is right or wrong. I tell you why I will not do it. I hold that, under the Constitution of the United States, each State of this Union has a right to do as it pleases on the subject of slavery. In Illinois we have exercised that sovereign right by prohibiting slavery within our own limits. I approve of that line of policy. We have performed our whole duty in Illinois. We have gone as far as we have a right to go under the Constitution of our common country. It is none of our business whether slavery exists in Missouri or not. Missouri is a sovereign State of this Union, and has the same right to decide the slavery question for herself that Illinois has to decide it for herself. ["Good."] Hence I do not choose to occupy the time allotted to me in discussing a question that we have no right to act upon. ["Right."]

I thought that you desired to hear us upon those questions coming within our constitutional power or[1] action. Lincoln will not discuss these. What one question has he discussed that comes within the power or calls for the action or interference of a United States Senator? He is going to discuss the rightfulness of slavery when Congress cannot act upon it either way. He wishes to discuss the merits of the Dred Scott decision when, under the Constitution, a senator has no right to interfere with the decision of judicial tribunals. He wants your exclusive attention to two questions that he has no power to act upon; to two questions that he could not vote upon if he was in Congress; to two questions that are not practical,—in order to conceal from[1] your attention other[2] questions which he might be required to vote upon should he ever become a member of Congress.

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[1] Reads: "of" for "or."

He tells you that he does not like the Dred Scott decision. Suppose he does not, how is he going to help himself? He says that he will reverse it. How will he reverse it? I know of but one mode of reversing judicial decisions, and that is by appealing from the inferior to the superior court. But I have never yet learned how or where an appeal could be taken from the Supreme Court of the United States! The Dred Scott decision was pronounced by the highest tribunal on earth. From that decision there is no appeal, this side of Heaven. Yet, Mr. Lincoln says he is going to reverse that decision. By what tribunal will he reverse it? Will he appeal to a mob? Does he intend to appeal to violence, to Lynch law? Will he stir up strife and rebellion in the land, and overthrow the court by violence? He does not deign to tell you how he will reverse the Dred Scott decision, but keeps appealing each day from the Supreme Court of the United States to political meetings in the country. [Laughter.] He wants me to argue with you the merits of each point of that decision before this political meeting.

I say to you, with all due respect, that I choose to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court as they are pronounced. It is not for me to inquire, after a decision is made, whether I like it in all the points or not. When I used to practice law with Lincoln, I never knew him to be beat in a case that he did not get mad at the judge, and talk about appealing, [laughter] and when I got beat, I generally thought the court was wrong, but I never dreamed of going out of the court-house and making a stump speech to the people against the judge, merely because I had found out that I did not know the law as well as he did. [Great laughter.] If the decision did not suit me, I appealed until I got to the Supreme Court; and then if that court, the highest tribunal in the world, decided against me, I was satisfied, because it is the duty of every law-abiding man to obey the constitutions, the laws, and the constituted authorities. He who attempts to stir up odium and rebellion in the country against the constituted authorities, is stimulating the passions of men to resort to violence and to mobs instead of to the law. Hence,

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[1] Omits "from."

[2] Inserts "from" before "other."

I tell you that I take the decisions of the Supreme Court as the law of the land, and I intend to obey them as such.

But Mr. Lincoln says that I will not answer his question as to what I would do in the event of the court making so ridiculous a decision as he imagines they would by deciding that the Free State of Illinois could not prohibit slavery within her own limits. I told him at Freeport why I would not answer such a question. I told him that there was not a man possessing any brains in America, lawyer or not, who ever dreamed that such a thing could be done. ["Right."] I told him then, as I do now, that by all the principles set forth in the Dred Scott decision, it is impossible. I told him then, as I do now, that it is an insult to men's understanding, and a gross calumny on the court, to presume in advance that it was going to degrade itself so low as to make a decision known to be in direct violation of the Constitution.

A Voice.—The same thing was said about the Dred Scott decision before it passed.

Mr. Douglas.—Perhaps you think that the court did the same thing in reference to the Dred Scott decision: I have heard a man talk that way before. The principles contained in the Dred Scott decision had been affirmed previously in various other decisions. What court or judge ever held that a negro was a citizen? [Laughter.] The State courts had decided that question over and over again, and the Dred Scott decision on that point only affirmed what every court in the land knew to be the law.

But I will not be drawn off into an argument upon the merits of the Dred Scott decision. It is enough for me to know that the Constitution of the United States created the Supreme Court for the purpose of deciding all disputed questions touching the true construction of that instrument, and when such decisions are pronounced, they are the law of the land, binding on every good citizen. Mr. Lincoln has a very convenient mode of arguing upon the subject. He holds that because he is a Republican that he is not bound by the decisions of the court, but that I, being a Democrat, am so bound. [Laughter and cheers.] It may be that Republicans do not hold themselves bound by the laws of the land and the Constitution of the country as expounded by the courts; it may be an article in the Republican creed that men who do not like a decision have a right to rebel against it: but when Mr. Lincoln preaches that doctrine, I think he will find some honest Republican—some law-abiding man in that party—who will repudiate such a monstrous doctrine. The decision in the Dred Scott case is binding on every American citizen alike; and yet Mr. Lincoln argues that the Republicans are not bound by it, because they are opposed to it, [laughter] whilst Democrats are bound by it, because we will not resist it. A Democrat cannot resist the constituted authorities of this country; ["Good."] a Democrat is a law-abiding man; a Democrat stands by the Constitution and the laws, and relies upon liberty as protected by law, and not upon mob or political violence.

I have never yet been able to make Mr. Lincoln understand, nor[1] can I make any man who is determined to support him, right or wrong, understand how it is that under the Dred Scott decision the people of a Territory, as well as a State, can have slavery or not, just as they please. I believe that I can explain that proposition to all constitution-loving, law-abiding men in a way that they cannot fail to understand it. Chief Justice Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott case, said that, slaves being property, the owner of them has a right to take them into a Territory the same as he would any other property; in other words, that slave property, so far as the right to enter a Territory is concerned, stands on the same footing with other property. Suppose we grant that proposition. Then any man has a right to go to Kansas and take his property with him; but when he gets there, he must rely upon the local law to protect his property, whatever it may be. ["That's so."] In order to illustrate this, imagine that three of you conclude to go to Kansas. One takes $10,000 worth of slaves, another $10,000 worth of liquors, and the third $10,000 worth of dry goods. When the man who owns the dry goods arrives out there and commences selling them, he finds that he is stopped and prohibited from selling until he gets a license, which will destroy all the profits he can make on his goods to pay for. When the man with the liquors gets there and tries to sell, he finds a Maine liquor law in force which prevents him. Now, of what use is his right to go there with his property unless he is protected in the enjoyment of that right after he gets there? ["That's it."] The man who goes there with his slaves finds that there is no law to protect him when he arrives there. He has no remedy if his slaves run away to another country; there is no slave code or police regulations; and the absence of them excludes his slaves from the Territory just as effectually and as positively as a constitutional prohibition could.

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[1] Reads: "or" for "nor."

Such was the understanding when the Kansas and Nebraska bill was pending in Congress. Read the speech of Speaker Orr, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, in 1856, on the Kansas question, and you will find that he takes the ground that while the owner of a slave has a right to go into a Territory and carry his slaves with him, that he cannot hold them one day or hour unless there is a slave code to protect him. He tells you that slavery would not exist a day in South Carolina, or in any other State, unless there was a friendly people and friendly legislation. Read the speeches of that giant in intellect, Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, and you will find them to the same effect. Read the speeches of Sam Smith, of Tennessee, and of all Southern men and you will find that they all understood this doctrine then as we understand it now.

Mr. Lincoln cannot be made to understand it, however. Down at Jonesboro, he went on to argue that if it be the law that a man has a right to take his slaves into territory of the United States under the Constitution, that then a member of Congress was perjured if he did not vote for a slave code. I ask him whether the decision of the Supreme Court is not binding upon him as well as on me? If so, and he holds that he would be perjured if he did not vote for a slave code under it, I ask him whether, if elected to Congress, he will so vote? I have a right to his answer, and I will tell you why. He put that question to me down in Egypt, and did it with an air of triumph. This was about the form of it: "In the event that[1] a slave-holding citizen of one of the Territories should need and demand a slave code to protect his slaves, will you vote for it?" I answered him that a fundamental article in the Democratic creed, as put forth in the Nebraska bill and the Cincinnati platform, was non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, ["Good," "That's the doctrine," and cheers.] and hence that I would not vote in Congress for any code of laws, either for or against slavery, in any Territory. I will leave the people perfectly free to decide that question for themselves. [Cheers.]

Mr. Lincoln and the Washington *Union* both think this a monstrous bad doctrine. Neither Mr. Lincoln nor the Washington *Union* likes my Freeport speech on that subject. The *Union* in a late number, has been reading me out of the Democratic party because I hold that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, have the right to have slavery or not, as they please. It has devoted three and a half columns to prove certain propositions, one of which I will read. It says:—

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[1] Reads: "of" for "that."

"We propose to show that Judge Douglas's action in 1850 and 1854 was taken with especial reference to the announcement of doctrine and programme which was made at Freeport. The declaration at Freeport was, that 'in his opinion the people can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from a Territory before it comes in as a State;' and he declared that his competitor had 'heard him argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over Illinois in 1854, 1855, and 1856, and had no excuse to pretend to have any doubt upon that subject.'"

The Washington *Union* there charges me with the monstrous crime of now proclaiming on the stump the same doctrine that I carried out in 1850, by supporting Clay's Compromise Measures. The *Union* also charges that I am now proclaiming the same doctrine that I did in 1854 in support of the Kansas and Nebraska bill. It is shocked that I should now stand where I stood in 1850, when I was supported by Clay, Webster, Cass, and the great men of that day, and where I stood in 1854 and 1856, when Mr. Buchanan was elected president. It goes on to prove, and succeeds in proving, from my speeches in Congress on Clay's Compromise Measures, that I held the same doctrines at that time that I do now, and then proves that by the Kansas and Nebraska bill I advanced the same doctrine that I now advance. It remarks:—

"So much for the course taken by Judge Douglas on the Compromises of 1850. The record shows, beyond the possibility of cavil or dispute, that he expressly intended in those bills to give the Territorial Legislatures power to exclude slavery. How stands his record in the memorable session of 1854, with reference to the Kansas-Nebraska bill itself? We shall not overhaul the votes that were given on that notable measure, our space will not afford it. We have his own words, however, delivered in his speech closing the great debate on that bill on the night of March 3, 1854, to show that *he meant* to do in 1854 precisely what *he had meant* to do in 1858. The Kansas-Nebraska bill being upon its passage, he said:"—

It then quotes my remarks upon the passage of the bill as follows:—

"'The principle which we propose to carry into effect by this bill is this: That Congress shall neither legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor out of the same; but the people shall be left free to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. In order to carry this principle into practical operation, it becomes necessary to remove whatever legal obstacles might be found in the way of its free exercise. It is only for the purpose of carrying out this great fundamental principle of self-government that the bill renders the eighth section of the Missouri Act inoperative and void.

" 'Now, let me ask, will those senators who have arraigned me, or any one of them, have the assurance to rise in his place and declare that this great principle was never thought of or advocated as applicable to Territorial bills, in 1850; that, from that session until the present, nobody ever thought of incorporating this principle in all new Territorial organizations, etc., etc. I will begin with the Compromises of 1850. Any senator who will take the trouble to examine our journals will find that on the 25th of March of that year I reported from the Committee on Territories two bills, including the following measures: the admission of California, a Territorial government for Utah, a Territorial government for New Mexico, and the adjustment of the Texas boundary. These bills proposed to leave the people of Utah and New Mexico free to decide the slavery question for themselves, *in the precise language of the Nebraska bill* now under discussion. A few weeks afterward the committee of thirteen took those bills and put a wafer between them, and reported them back to the Senate as one bill, with some slight amendments. *One of these amendments was, that the Territorial Legislatures should not legislate upon the subject of African slavery. I objected to this provision*, upon the ground that it subverted the great principle of self-government, *upon which the bill had been originally framed by the Territorial Committee.* On the first trial the Senate refused to strike it out, but subsequently did so, upon full debate, in order to establish that principle as the rule of action in Territorial organizations."

The *Union* comments thus upon my speech on that occasion:—

"Thus it is seen that, in framing the Nebraska-Kansas bill, Judge Douglas framed it in the terms and upon the model of those of Utah and New Mexico, and that in the debate he took pains expressly to revive the recollection of the voting which had taken place upon amendments affecting the powers of the Territorial Legislatures over the subject of slavery in the bills of 1850, in order to give the same meaning, force, and effect to the Nebraska-Kansas bill on this subject as had been given to those of Utah and New Mexico."

The *Union* proves the following propositions: First, that I sustained Clay's Compromise Measures on the ground that they established the principle of self-government in the Territories. Secondly, that I brought in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, founded upon the same principles as Clay's Compromise Measures of 1850; and, thirdly, that my Freeport speech is in exact accordance with those principles. And what do you think is the imputation that the *Union* casts upon me for all this? It says that my Freeport speech is not Democratic, and that I was not a Democrat in 1854 or in 1850! Now is not that funny? [Great laughter and cheers.] Think that the author of the Kansas and Nebraska bill was not a Democrat when he introduced it! The *Union* says I was not a sound Democrat in 1850, nor in 1854, nor in 1856, nor am I in 1858, because I have always taken and now occupy the ground that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, have the right to decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist in a Territory! I wish to cite, for the benefit of the Washington *Union* and the followers of that sheet, one authority on that point, and I hope the authority will be deemed satisfactory to that class of politicians. I will read from Mr. Buchanan's letter accepting the nomination of the Democratic Convention, for the Presidency. You know that Mr. Buchanan, after he was nominated, declared to the Keystone Club, in a public speech, that he was no longer James Buchanan, but the embodiment of the Democratic platform. In his letter to the committee which informed him of his nomination accepting it, he defined the meaning of the Kansas and Nebraska bill and the Cincinnati platform in these words:—

> "The recent legislation of Congress respecting domestic slavery, derived as it has been from the original and pure fountain of legitimate political power, the will of the majority, promises ere long to allay the dangerous excitement. This legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself, and, in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits."

Thus you see that James Buchanan accepted the nomination at Cincinnati, on the conditions that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, should be left to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their limits. I sustained James Buchanan for the Presidency on that platform as adopted at Cincinnati, and expounded by himself. He was elected President on that platform, and now we are told by the Washington *Union* that no man is a true Democrat who stands on the platform on which Mr. Buchanan was nominated, and which he has explained and expounded himself. [Laughter.] We are told that a man is not a Democrat who stands by Clay, Webster, and Cass, and the Compromise Measures of 1850, and the Kansas and Nebraska bill of 1854. Whether a man be a Democrat or not on that platform, I intend to stand there as long as I have life. ["Stick to it."] I intend to cling firmly to that great principle which declares the right of each State and each Territory to settle the question of slavery, and every other domestic question, for themselves. I hold that if they want a Slave State, they have a right under the Constitution of the United States to make it so, and if they want a Free State, it is their right to have it.

But the *Union*, in advocating the claims of Lincoln over me to the

Senate, lays down two unpardonable heresies which it says I advocate. The first is the right of the people of a Territory, the same as a State, to decide for themselves the question whether slavery shall exist within their limits, in the language of Mr. Buchanan; and the second is, that a Constitution shall be submitted to the people of a Territory for its adoption or rejection before their admission as a State under it. It so happens that Mr. Buchanan is pledged to both these heresies, for supporting which the Washington *Union* has read me out of the Democratic church. In his annual message he said he trusted that the example of the Minnesota case would be followed in all future cases, requiring a submission of the Constitution; and in his letter of acceptance, he said that the people of a Territory, the same as a State, had the right to decide for themselves whether slavery should exist within their limits.

Thus you find that this little corrupt gang who control the *Union* and wish to elect Lincoln in preference to me,—because, as they say, of these two heresies which I support,—denounce Presdent Buchanan when they denounce me, if he stands now by the principles upon which he was elected. Will they pretend that he does not now stand by the principles on which he was elected? Do they hold that he has abandoned the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Cincinnati platform, and his own letter accepting his nomination, all of which declare the right of the people of a Territory, the same as a State, to decide the slavery question for themselves? I will not believe that he has betrayed or intends to betray the platform which elected him; ["good"] but if he does, I will not follow him. ["Good."] I will stand by that great principle, no matter who may desert it. I intend to stand by it, for the purpose of preserving peace between the North and the South, the Free and the Slave States. ["Hurrah for Douglas."] If each State will only agree to mind its own business and let its neighbors alone, there will be peace forever between us.

We in Illinois tried slavery when a Territory, and found it was not good for us in this climate, and with our surroundings, and hence we abolished it. We then adopted a Free State constitution, as we had a right to do. In this State we have declared that a negro shall not be a citizen, ["All right."] and we have also declared that he shall not be a slave. We had a right to adopt that policy. Missouri has just as good a right to adopt the other policy. ["That's it."] I am now speaking of rights under the Constitution, and not of moral or religious rights. I do not discuss the morals of the people of Missouri, but let them settle that matter for themselves. I hold that the people of the slaveholding State are civilized men as well as ourselves, that they bear consciences as well as we, and that they are accountable to God and their posterity, and not to us. It is for them to decide, therefore, the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves, within their own limits. I assert that they had as much right under the Constitution to adopt the system of policy which they have as we had to adopt ours. So it is with every other State in this Union. Let each State stand firmly by that great constitutional right, let each State mind its own business and let its neighbors alone, and there will be no trouble on this question.

If we will stand by that principle, then Mr. Lincoln will find that this Republic can exist forever, divided into Free and Slave States, as our fathers made it and the people of each State have decided. Stand by that great principle, and we can go on as we have done, increasing in wealth, in population, in power; and in all the elements of greatness, until we shall be the admiration and terror of the world. We can go on and enlarge as our population increase,[1] require more room, until we make this continent one ocean-bound republic. Under that principle the United States can perform that great mission, that destiny, which Providence has marked out for us. Under that principle we can receive with entire safety that stream of intelligence which is constantly flowing from the Old World to the New, filling up our prairies, clearing our wildernesses, and building cities, towns, railroads, and other internal improvements, and thus make this the asylum of the oppressed of the whole earth. We have this great mission to perform, and it can only be performed by adhering faithfully to that principle of self-government on which our institutions were all established.

I repeat that the principle is the right of each State, each Territory, to decide this slavery question for itself, to have slavery or not, as it chooses; and it does not become Mr. Lincoln, or anybody else, to tell the people of Kentucky that they have no consciences, that they are living in a state of iniquity, and that they are cherishing an institution to their bosoms in violation of the law of God. Better for him to adopt the doctrine of "Judge not, lest ye shall be judged." ["Good," and applause.] Let him perform his own duty at home, and he will have a better fate in the future. I think there are objects of charity enough in the Free States to excite the sympathies and open the pockets of all the benevolence we have amongst us, without going abroad in search of negroes, of whose condition we know nothing. We have enough objects of charity at home, and it is our duty to take care of our own poor and of our own suffering, before we go abroad to intermeddle with other peoples' business.

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[1] Reads: "increases and" for "increase."

My friends, I am told that my time is within two minutes of expiring. I have omitted many topics that I would like[1] to have discussed before you at length. There were many points touched by Mr. Lincoln that I have not been able to take up for the want of time. I have hurried over each subject that I have discussed as rapidly as possible, so as to omit but few; but one hour and a half is not time sufficient for a man to discuss at length one half of the great questions which are now dividing the public mind.

In conclusion, I desire to return to you my grateful acknowledgments for the kindness and the courtesy with which you have listened to me. It is something remarkable that in an audience as vast as this, composed of men of opposite politics and views, with their passions highly excited, there should be so much courtesy, kindness, and respect exhibited, not only toward one another, but toward the speakers; and I feel that it is due to you that I should thus express my gratitude for the kindness with which you have treated me. [Nine cheers were here given for Douglas.]

Mr. Lincoln's Rejoinder

On taking the stand Mr. Lincoln was received with a tremendous cheer. He said:

My Friends: Since Judge Douglas has said to you in his conclusion that he had not time in an hour and a half to answer all I had said in an hour, it follows of course that I will not be able to answer in half an hour all that he said in an hour and a half. [Cheers and laughter.]

I wish to return to Judge Douglas my profound thanks for his public annunciation here to-day, to be put on record, that his system of policy in regard to the institution of slavery *contemplates that it shall last forever.* [Great cheers, and cries of "Hit him again."] We are getting a little nearer the true issue of this controversy, and I am profoundly grateful for this one sentence. Judge Douglas asks you, "Why cannot the institution of slavery, or rather, why cannot the nation, part Slave and part Free, [Applause, and "That's so."] continue as our fathers made it, *forever?*" In the first place, I insist that our fathers did not make this nation half Slave and half Free, or part Slave and part Free. [Applause, and "That's so."] I insist that they found the institution of slavery existing here. They did not make it so, but they left it so because they knew of no way to get rid of it at that time. ["Good," "Good;" "That's true."]

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[1] Reads: "liked" for "like."

When Judge Douglas undertakes to say that, as a matter of choice, the fathers of the Government made this nation part Slave and part Free, *he assumes what is historically a falsehood.* [Long continued applause.] More than that: when the fathers of the Government cut off the source of slavery by the abolition of the slave trade, and adopted a system of restricting it from the new Territories where it had not existed, I maintain that they placed it where they understood, and all sensible men understood, it was in the course of ultimate extinction; ["That's so."] and when Judge Douglas asks me why it cannot continue as our fathers made it, I ask him why he and his friends could not let it remain as our father made it? ["Tremendous cheering."]

It is precisely all I ask of him in relation to the institution of slavery, that it shall be placed upon the basis that our fathers placed it upon. Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, once said, and truly said, that when this Government was established, no one expected the institution of slavery to last until this day, and that the men who formed this Government were wiser and better[1] than the men of these days; but the men of these days had experience which the fathers had not, and that experience had taught them the invention of the cotton-gin, and this had made the perpetuation of the institution of slavery a necessity in this country. Judge Douglas could not let it stand upon the basis where[2] our fathers placed it, but removed it, and *put it upon the cotton-gin basis.* [Roars of laughter and enthusiastic applause.] It is a question, therefore, for him and his friends to answer, why they could not let it remain where the fathers of the Government originally placed it. [Cheers and cries of "Hurrah for Lincoln;" "Good;" "Good."]

I hope nobody has understood me as trying to sustain the doctrine that we have a right to quarrel with Kentucky, or Virginia, or any of the Slave States, about the institution of slavery,—thus giving the Judge an opportunity to make himself eloquent and valiant against us in fighting for their rights. I expressly declared in my opening speech that I had neither the inclination to exercise, nor the belief in the existence of, the right to interfere with the States of Kentucky or Virginia in doing as they pleased with slavery or any other existing institution. [Loud applause.] Then what becomes of all his eloquence in behalf of the rights of the States, which are assailed by no living man? [Applause; "He knows it's all humbuggery."]

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[1] Inserts "men" after "better."

[2] Reads: "upon which" for "where"

But I have to hurry on, for I have but a half hour. The Judge has informed me, or informed this audience, that the Washington *Union* is laboring for my election to the United States Senate. [Cheers and laughter.] This is news to me,—not very ungrateful news either. [Turning to Mr. W. H. Carlin, who was on the stand]—I hope that Carlin will be elected to the State Senate, and will vote for me. [Mr. Carlin shook his head.] Carlin don't fall in, I perceive, and I suppose he will not do much for me; [laughter] but I am glad of all the support I can get anywhere, if I can get it without practising any deception to obtain it. In respect to this large portion of Judge Douglas's speech in which he tries to show that in the controversy between himself and the Administration party he is in the right, I do not feel myself at all competent or inclined to answer him. I say to him, "Give it to them, [laughter]—give it to them just all you can;" [renewed laughter and cheers] and, on the other hand, I say to Carlin, and Jake Davis, and to this man Wogley up here in Hancock, "Give it to Douglas, [roars of laughter]—just pour it into him." [Cheers and laughter; "Good for you;" "Hurrah for Lincoln."]

Now, in regard to this matter of the Dred Scott decision, I wish to say a word or two. After all, the Judge will not say whether, if a decision is made, holding that the people of the *States* cannot exclude slavery he will support it or not. He obstinately refuses to say what he will do in that case. The Judges of the Supreme Court as obstinately refused to say what they would do on this subject. Before this I reminded him that at Galesburg he said[1] the judges had expressly declared the contrary, and you remember that in my opening speech I told him I had the book containing that decision here, and I would thank him to lay his finger on the place where any such thing was said. He has occupied his hour and a half, and he has not ventured to try to sustain his assertion. [Loud cheers.] *He never will.* [Renewed cheers.]

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[1] Inserts "had" before "said."

But he is desirous of knowing how we are going to reverse the Dred Scott decision. Judge Douglas ought to know how. Did not he and his political friends find a way to reverse the decision of that same court in favor of the constitutionality of the National Bank? [Cheers and laughter.] Didn't they find a way to do it so effectually that they have reversed it as completely as any decision ever was reversed, so far as its practical operation is concerned? [Cheers, and cries of "Good;" "Good."] And let me ask you didn't Judge Douglas find a way to reverse the decision of our Supreme Court when it decided that Carlin's father—old Governor Carlin—had not the constitutional power to remove a Secretary of State? [Great cheers and laughter.] Did he not appeal to the "MOBS," as he calls them? Did he not make speeches in the lobby to show how villainous that decision was, and how it ought to be overthrown? Did he not succeed, too, in getting an Act passed by the Legislature to have it overthrown? And didn't he himself sit down on that bench as one of the five added judges, who were to overslaugh the four old ones,—getting his name of "Judge" in that way, and no other? [Thundering cheers and laughter.] If there is a villainy in using disrespect or making opposition to Supreme Court decisions, I commend it to Judge Douglas's earnest consideration. [Cheers and laughter.] I know of no man in the State of Illinois who ought to know so well about *how much* villainy it takes to oppose a decision of the Supreme Court as our honorable friend Stephen A. Douglas. [Long continued applause.]

Judge Douglas also makes the declaration that I say the Democrats are bound by the Dred Scott decision, while the Republicans are not. In the sense in which he argues, I never said it; but I will tell you what I have said and what I do not hesitate to repeat to-day. I have said that as the Democrats believe that decision to be correct, and that the extension of slavery is affirmed in the National Constitution, they are bound to support it as such; and I will tell you here that General Jackson once said each man was bound to support the Constitution "as he understood it." Now, Judge Douglas understands the Constitution according to the Dred Scott decision, and he is bound to support it as he understands it. [Cheers.] I understand it another way, and therefore I am bound to support it in the way in which I understand it. [Prolonged applause.]

And as Judge Douglas believes that decision to be correct, I will re-make that argument if I have time to do so.

Let me talk to some gentleman down there among you who looks me in the face. We will say you are a member of the Territorial Legislature, and, like Judge Douglas, you believe that the right to take and hold slaves there is a constitutional right. The first thing you do is to *swear you will support the Constitution* and all rights guaranteed therein; that you will, whenever your neighbor needs your legislation to support his constitutional rights, not withhold that legislation. If you withhold that necessary legislation for the support of the Constitution and constitutional rights, do you not commit perjury? [Cries of "Yes."] I ask every sensible man if that is not so? ["Yes;" "Yes;" "That's a fact."] That is undoubtedly just so, say what you please. Now, that is precisely what Judge Douglas says, that this is a constitutional right. Does the Judge mean to say that the Territorial Legislature in legislating may, by withholding necessary laws, or by passing unfriendly laws, *nullify that constitutional right?* Does he mean to say that? Does he mean to ignore the proposition so long[1] and well established in law,[2] that what you cannot do directly, you cannot do indirectly? Does he mean that?

The truth about the matter is this: Judge Douglas has sung pæans to his "Popular Sovereignty" doctrine until his Supreme Court, co-operating with him, has *squatted* his Squatter Sovereignty out. [Uproarious laughter and applause.] But he will keep up this species of humbuggery about Squatter Sovereignty. He has at last invented this sort of *do-nothing Sovereignty*, [renewed laughter]—that the people may exclude slavery by a sort of "Sovereignty" that is exercised by doing nothing at all. [Continued laughter.] Is not that running his Popular Sovereignty down awfully? [Laughter.] Has it not got down as thin as the homœpathic soup that was made by boiling the shadow of a pigeon that had starved to death? [Roars of laughter and cheering.] But at last when it is brought to the test of close reasoning, there is not even that thin decoction of it left. It is a presumption impossible in the domain of thought. It is precisely no other than the putting of that most unphilosophical proposition, that two bodies can[3] occupy the same space at the same time. The Dred Scott decision covers the whole ground, and while it occupies it, there is no room even for the shadow of a starved pigeon to occupy the same ground. [Loud cheers and laughter. A voice on the platform—"Your time is almost out." Loud cries of "Go on, go on;" "We'll listen all day."]

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[1] Inserts "known" after "long."

[2] Inserts "the" before "law."

[3] Reads: "may" for "can."

Judge Douglas, in reply to what I have said about having upon a previous occasion made the speech at Ottawa as the one he took an extract from, at Charleston, says it only shows that I practiced the deception twice. Now, my friends, are any of you obtuse enough to swallow that? ["No, no, we're not such fools."] Judge Douglas had said I had made a speech at Charleston that I would not make up north, and I turned around and answered him by showing I *had* made that same speech up north,—had made it at Ottawa; made it in his hearing; made it in *the* Abolition district,—in Lovejoy's District,—in the personal presence of Lovejoy himself,—in the same atmosphere exactly in which I had made my Chicago speech, of which he complains so much.

Now, in relation to my not having said anything about the quotation from the Chicago speech: he thinks that is a terrible subject for me to handle. Why, gentlemen, I can show you that the substance of the Chicago speech I delivered two years ago in "Egypt," as he calls it. It was down at Springfield. That speech is here in this book, and I could turn to it and read it to you but for the lack of time. I have not now the time to read it. ["Read it, read it."] No, gentlemen, I am obliged to use discretion in disposing most advantageously of my brief time. The Judge has taken great exception to my adopting the heretical statement in the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal," and he has a great deal to say about negro equality. I want to say that in sometimes alluding to the Declaration of Independence, I have only uttered the sentiments that Henry Clay used to hold. Allow me to occupy your time a moment with what he said. Mr. Clay was at one time called upon in Indiana, and in a way that I suppose was very insulting, to liberate his slaves; and he made a written reply to that application, and one portion of it is in these words—

> "What is the *foundation* of this appeal to me in Indiana to liberate the slaves under my care in Kentucky? It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that '*men are created equal.*' Now, as an abstract principle, *there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration*, and it is desirable in the *original construction* of society, and in organized societies, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle."

When I sometimes, in relation to the organization of new societies in new countries, where the soil is clean and clear, insist[1] that we should keep that principle in view, Judge Douglas will have it that I want a negro wife. [Great laughter.] He never can be brought to understand that there is any middle ground on this subject. I have lived until my fiftieth year, and have never had a negro woman either for a slave or a wife, and I think I can live fifty centuries, for that matter, without having had one for either. [Cheers and laughter.] I maintain that you may take Judge Douglas's quotations from my Chicago speech, and from my Charleston speech, and the Galesburg speech,—in his speech of to-day,—and compare them over, and I am willing to trust them with you upon his proposition that they show rascality or double-dealing. I deny that they do. [Great applause.]

The Judge does not seem at all disposed to have peace, but I find he is disposed to have a personal warfare with me. He says that my oath would not be taken against the bare word of Charles H. Lanphier or Thomas L. Harris. Well, that is altogether a matter of opinion. [Laughter.] It is certainly not for me to vaunt my word against oaths of these gentlemen, but I will tell Judge Douglas again the facts upon which I "*dared*" to say they proved a forgery. I pointed out at Galesburg that the publication of these resolutions in the *Illinois State Register* could not have been the result of accident, as the proceedings of that meeting bore unmistakable evidence of being done by a man who *knew* it was a forgery; that it was a publication partly taken from the real proceedings of the Convention, and partly from the proceedings of a Convention at another place,—which showed that he had the real proceedings before him, and taking one part of the resolutions, he threw out another part, and substituted false and fraudulent ones in their stead. I pointed that out to him, and also that his friend Lanphier, who was editor of the *Register* at that time and now is, must have known how it was done. Now, whether *he* did it, or got some friend to do it for him, I could not tell, but he certainly knew all about it. I pointed out to Judge Douglas that in his Freeport speech he had promised to *investigate* that matter. Does he now say he did not make that promise? ["No;" "No."] I have a right to ask, *why he did not keep it?* [Tremendous applause.] I call upon him to tell here to-day why he did not keep that promise. That fraud has been traced up so that it lies between him, Harris, and Lanphier. There is little room for escape for Lanphier. [Laughter.] Lanphier is doing the Judge good service, and Douglas desires his word to be taken for the truth. He desires Lanphier to be taken as authority in what he states in his newspaper. He desires Harris to be taken as a man of vast credibility; and when this thing lies among them, they will not press it to show where the guilt really belongs. Now, as he has said that he would investigate it, and implied that he would tell us the result of his investigation, I demand of him to tell why he did not investigate it, if he did not; and if he did, *why he won't tell the result.* [Great cheers.] I call upon him for that.

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[1] Reads: "insisted" for "insist."

This is the third time that Judge Douglas has assumed that he learned about these resolutions by Harris's attempting to use them against Norton on the floor of Congress. I tell Judge Douglas the public records of the country show that *he* himself attempted it upon Trumbull a month before Harris tried them on Norton; [great applause] that Harris had the opportunity of *learning it from him*, rather than he from Harris. I now ask his attention to that part of the record on the case. My friends, I am not disposed to detain you longer in regard to that matter.

I am told that I still have five minutes left. There is another matter I wish to call attention to. He says, when he discovered there was a mistake in that case, he came forward magnanimously, without my calling his attention to it, and explained it. I will tell you how he became so magnanimous. When the newspapers of our side had discovered and published it, and put it beyond his power to deny it, then he came forward and made a virtue of necessity by acknowledging it. [Great applause.] Now he argues that all the point there was in those resolutions, although never passed at Springfield, is retained by their being passed at other localities. Is that true? He said I had a hand in passing them, in his opening speech,— that I was in the Convention and helped to pass them. Do the resolutions touch me at all? It strikes me there is some difference between holding a man responsible for an act which he *has not* done and holding him responsible for an act that he *has* done. You will judge whether there is any difference in the "*spots*." [Laughter and cheers.] And he has taken credit for great magnanimity in coming forward and acknowledging what is proved on him beyond even the capacity of Judge Douglas to deny; and he has more capacity in that way than any other living man. [Laughter and cheers.]

Then he wants to know why I won't withdraw the charge in regard to a conspiracy to make slavery national, as he has withdrawn the one he made. May it please his worship, I will withdraw it *when it is proven false on me as that was proven false on him.*[1] [Shouts of applause and laughter.] I will add a little more than that. I will withdraw it whenever a reasonable man shall be brought to believe that the charge is not true. [Renewed applause.]

I have asked Judge Douglas's attention to certain matters of fact tending to prove the charge of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery, and he says he convinces me that this is all untrue because Buchanan was not in the country at that time, and because the Dred Scott case had not then got into the Supreme Court; and he says that I say the *Democratic* owners of Dred Scott got up the case. I never did say that. [Applause.] I defy Judge Douglas to show that I ever said so, *for I never uttered it.* [One of Mr. Douglas's reporters gesticulated affirmatively at Mr. Lincoln.] I don't care if your hireling does say I did, I tell you myself that *I never said the "Democratic" owners of Dred Scott got up the case.* [Tremendous enthusiasm.] I have never pretended to know whether Dred Scott's owners were Democrats, or Abolitionists, or Free-soilers or Border Ruffians. I have said that there is evidence about the case tending to show that it was a made up case, for the purpose of getting that decision. I have said that that evidence was very strong in the fact that when Dred Scott was declared to be a slave, the owner of him made him free, showing that he had had the case tried and the question settled for such use as could be made of that decision; he cared nothing about the property thus declared to be his by that decision. [Enthusiastic applause.] But my time is out and I can say no more.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune,* October 15, 1858]

GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT QUINCY

Twelve Thousand Persons Present!—Great Triumph of the Republicans of the Fifth District.—Lincoln "Concludes" on the "Artful Dodger" with a Vengeance.—Verbatim Report of Speeches

A clear sky and altogether an admirable day, after a series of cold, dismal storms, was accorded to the sixth public debate between Lincoln and Douglas at Quincy, on Wednesday last. The crowd was very large, and though less in number than that at the Galesburg debate, the excitement and enthusiasm on both sides were more marked and vociferous.

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[1] Reads: "when it is proven on me as that was proved on him."

The hubbub commenced about nine o'clock, shortly before the arrival of a long special train from Macomb and the intermediate stations on which Mr. Lincoln was expected. An immense procession was formed, commencing in Jefferson square and marching down Broadway to Front Street to receive the Republican champion. At half past nine the booming of cannon announced the arrival of the train, and a tumultuous rush was made for the depot. Six rousing cheers were given as Mr. Lincoln stepped from the cars; after which the procession marched up Broadway to Third street, down Third to Jersey, up Jersey to Eighth, up Eighth to Hampshire, and then through several streets to the front of the Court House. The entire line was fully an hour in passing the corner of Third and Jersey streets. The principal device in the train was a model ship on wheels, drawn by four horses, and labelled "CONSTITUTION." It was filled with sailors and the helm was managed by a *live coon*. A suitable contrast to this was one of the contrivances of the Douglas procession. As though not sufficiently insulting to the Old Line Whigs in the general run of their banners and mottoes, a dead coon was borne aloft, suspended by the tail, from the principal Dred Scott wagon.

Mr. Lincoln was finally escorted to the residence of O. H. Browning, Esq., and after giving him three cheers which were heard all over the city, the multitude dispersed for dinner.

Mr. Douglas arrived on Tuesday evening, and was received at the depot by a small sized Irish mob. A torch-light procession had been advertised for the occasion, but it fell through so lamentably that the Dred Scottites themselves denied their responsibility for it the next morning.

Among the listeners to the debate were a boat load of passengers from Keokuk, Iowa, and another from Hannibal, Missouri.

The speaking commenced at half past two o'clock, in Washington Square. A serious accident occurred shortly before the arrival of the speakers, caused by the giving away of a part of the railing around the platform. Twelve or fifteen persons were precipitated backwards to the ground, accompanied in their fall by a heavy wooden bench. Three persons were severely bruised, though not dangerously injured.

Mr. Lincoln's Speech

At precisely half past two o'clock, Mr. Lincoln was introduced to the audience, and having been received with three cheers, he proceeded.

[Here follow the speeches of Lincoln and Douglas, together with Lincoln's rejoinder.]

As Mr. Lincoln retired, a deafening cheer went up and was continued with unabated enthusiasm for some minutes. The crowd then gradually dispersed, hurrahing for Lincoln and Douglas, each man to his taste, and generally at the top of his lungs.

In the evening a delightful speech was made at the Court House in the German language by Hon. Carl Schurz. The building was crowded to its utmost capacity.

A splendid torch-light procession concluded the day on the part of the Republicans. The streets finally became quiet about 11 o'clock, and the good people of Quincy rested from their patriotic zeal.

[*Chicago Times*, October 15, 1858]

SIXTH GREAT DEBATE.—IMMENSE MEETING AT QUINCY!

Speeches of Douglas and Lincoln.—The People for Douglas!

The sixth great debate between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln came off on Wednesday, October 13, at Quincy: and though the weather was unfavorable, the people attended in immense numbers, filling all the public houses in Quincy, and literally crowding the city.

Senator Douglas had been stopping for a brief time at Augusta, whence he left on Tuesday evening, for Quincy, in the cars of the Chicago and Quincy railroad. At Camp Point, on the route—a small town of about one thousand inhabitants—the senator was met by a great cavalcade of military, bands of music, and citizens gathered from that and the adjacent towns. In front of the station house a splendid bonfire was flaming, and hundreds of torches were carried in the streets. Every house in the town was illuminated,—presenting, altogether, one of the finest spectacles witnessed during this splendid campaign. The train having a few minutes to spare, short speeches were made by Senator Douglas, J. N. Morris, and Major Roosevelt. The last named gentleman is candidate for the legislature in Hancock County.

The Senator arrived in Quincy at 9 o'clock and 50 minutes, where he was received by one of the most extensive and brilliant torch light processions ever witnessed. On either side of the immense procession by which Senator Douglas was escorted to his hotel—the Quincy House—stood in line hundreds of men holding up to view appropriate and gorgeous transparencies. The evening reception was complete in all respects, and brilliant beyond description.

All the morning of the following day—Wednesday—was taken up in receiving delegations of the Democracy, from all the surrounding country, and from Iowa and Missouri.

The people came in displaying hickory poles and flags till Quincy looked like a forest of hickories.

There were present at the meeting upwards of Fifteen Thousand people—of which number full three-fourths were Democrats. A grand, a glorious day and occasion indeed. The enthusiasm was with the Democracy; and the victory was theirs.

Lincoln's Opening

Mr. Lincoln took the stand, and received the welcome of three cheers from his friends; considerable of a mixture occurred in cheering. He proceeded with his remarks as follows:

[Here follows the opening speech of Lincoln and the reply of Mr. Douglas.]

Lincoln's Reply

Mr. Lincoln, on taking the stand, was again greeted with three cheers. During the course of his reply, the reporter would here add, that his party kept up a perfect bedlam let loose. There was such a confusion even on the side of the platform occupied by the Republican marshalls, that great difficulty was experienced in hearing him. He said:

[Here follows the rejoinder of Mr. Lincoln.]

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 15, 1858]

THE GREAT DISCUSSION OF THE CANVASS!

Lincoln and Douglas!—Tremendous Outpouring of the People!!!—10,000 to 12,000 Present.—Lincoln Gets Douglas Down!!!—Great Enthusiasm among the Republicans!!—The Douglasites Flaxed Out!

Wednesday was a day that will long be remembered by the citizens of Quincy, and by the great crowd of people who were in attendance to listen to the joint discussion between Lincoln and Douglas. They came from all quarters—from all parts of the District, and from Iowa and Missouri.

Douglas arrived on Tuesday night, and the Douglasites got up a kind of a torch light procession to receive him. The thing was a most miserable fizzle. About fifty boys carried the torches, and the crowd itself did not number more than two hundred, many of whom were Republicans. They went to the depot, got Douglas, and brought him up to the Quincy House. They then assembled at the public square. Douglas was called for, but didn't make his appearance. Dr. Bayne addressed the people in attendance; but it is generally conceded by Democrats that he didn't do much for himself or the cause in which he is engaged. So ended the Douglas demonstration.

On Wednesday morning, at an early hour, our streets were thronged with people. The Republican procession formed on Broadway for the purpose of receiving Mr. Lincoln. It was one of the finest demonstrations that ever occurred in this city. It is impossible to arrive at anything like a reliable estimate of the number in the procession.

Mr. Lincoln was received at the depot and greeted with enthusiastic cheers by the crowd. The procession then proceeded through the principal streets of the city to the residence of Hon. O. H. Browning, where a beautiful and elegant bouquet was presented by the Republican ladies of Quincy, through the hands of John Tillson, Esq., our candidate for Senator, in a neat and appropriate speech, which elicited much applause. Mr. Lincoln replied in a few brief remarks, saying that it was a source of much gratification to him to find that the ladies, everywhere, took such a deep interest in this contest. Before and at the close of the presentation, a choir of young ladies and gentlemen present sang to the air of "Columbia, the gem of the ocean," a very appropriate campaign song. The procession was then dismissed for dinner.

Long before the speaking commenced, the public square literally swarmed with people. The number present is variously estimated at from eight to fourteen thousand. Mr. Lincoln opened the debate.

. . . .

The only incident of a disagreeable character was the falling of the seats which had been put up for the ladies. They were crowded at the time, and the fall created great consternation. Two or three ladies were injured—but no one seriously or severely.

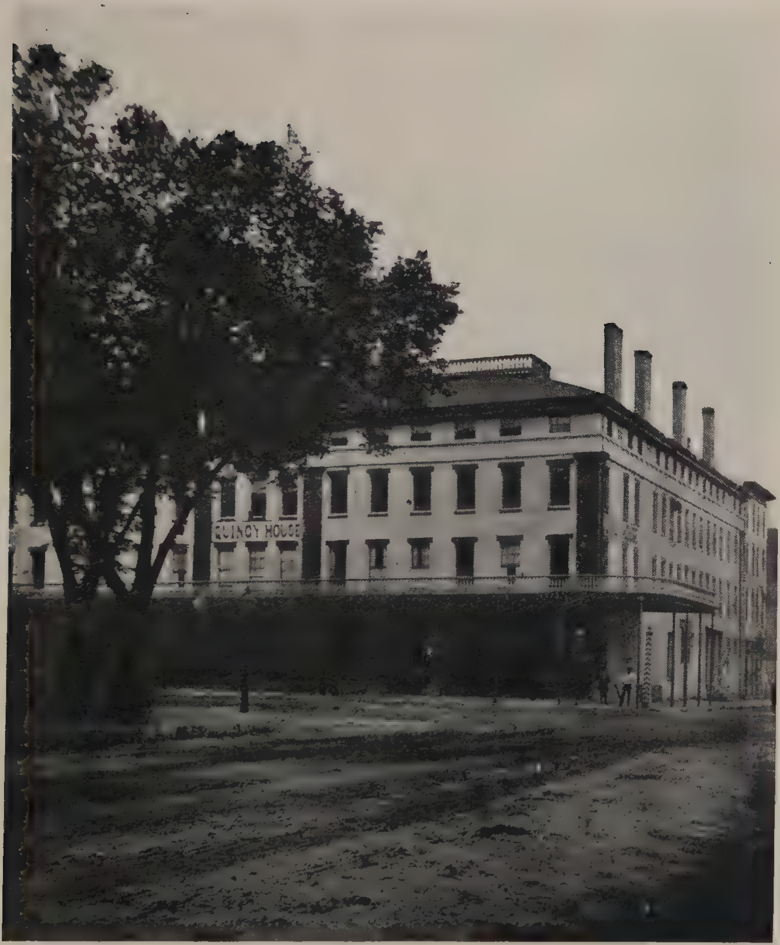
There were perhaps more than two hundred flags, mottoes and transparencies in the Republican procession.

[*Herald*, Quincy, Ill., October 16, 1858]

THE DISCUSSION OF WEDNESDAY

Douglas and Lincoln.—Twenty Thousand Persons in Quincy!

The Democracy of Illinois have reason to be proud of the demonstration in this city on Wednesday last—the day that had been appointed for a joint discussion between Senator Douglas and Mr. Lincoln. At an early hour in the morning, the crowds that everywhere thronged the streets of our city, gave indication that a great day was before us. At nine o'clock in the morning, the black republicans went into procession to the railroad depot to receive Mr. Lincoln. Their procession was probably half a mile in length, and numbered four or five hundred persons, on foot, on horseback, and in carriages and wagons.—They spent the greater part of the forenoon marching and countermarching through the city, displaying their banners and whatever enthusiasm they managed to manufacture for the occasion. At about the hour of 10 o'clock, a procession of the Democracy, composed exclusively of delegations from the country townships, under the direction of Dr. Wilson, the Chief Marshal, made its appearance upon the public square. This procession was over an hour passing the Quincy house, and is thought to have been not less than two miles in length. In the lead were thirty-two young ladies on horseback, bearing that number of flags with the name of each State upon them. In the black republican procession, we are told there were but seventeen young ladies with banners representing only the seventeen free States. In the Democratic procession, there were twenty large American flags, and an almost countless array of smaller ones. A likeness of Judge Douglas, handsomely ornamented with a beautiful wreath, was carried at the head of the procession, and along the line were a great number of similar likenesses, and several bands of music. As the procession passed the Quincy House, Judge Douglas made his appearance at a second story window, where he was greeted with cheer after cheer along the whole line. The procession was afterwards joined by large delegations from Brown county and from various points in Missouri. It was the largest procession that was ever seen in Quincy, and probably larger than any that



THE OLD QUINCY HOUSE, QUINCY, ILLINOIS, 1858

Douglas stopped at this hotel at the time of the debate

has ever before been seen in the State. At about twelve o'clock, the procession was disbanded, in order to give those who participated in it an opportunity to make themselves ready for hearing the speeches. At two o'clock, some twelve or fifteen thousand persons assembled around the stand upon the public square, when they were addressed for an hour by Mr. Lincoln, who was followed in a speech of an hour and a half by Judge Douglas, and the debate closed with a response of half an hour by Mr. Lincoln.

[*Missouri Republican, St. Louis,* October 16, 1858]

FROM CARTHAGE TO AUGUSTA

A Rainy Day No Bar to Democratic Enthusiasm.—Meeting at Augusta. —Ride to Quincy.—Passage through Camp Point.—Arrival at Quincy.—Reception, etc., etc.

Quincy, Adams Co.
October 13, 1858

. . . .

Shortly after this speech was concluded, the Senator left Augusta by the cars, for this place. It was by the accommodation train, which usually carries but one passenger coach; on this occasion, others had to be added, for, although some three or four trains would pass the same points in time to carry people to the great debate here, there were very many who desired to be in the Judge's company, and many others who desired to see his reception. At every station upon the road fresh accessions were made to the number of the crowd.

At Camp Point, a wayside station that was, a year or so since, but now quite a little town, with the life, stir and bustle of a miniature city, where, not long since, a Democratic voter could not have been found, without the aid of a search warrant, the Judge was most cordially received. The train was stopped to accommodate the Camp Towners in the wish to have a little talk from Douglas. Two thirds of the houses were illuminated from ground to garret. Torch lights flamed in the hands of many men, but, however, were few in comparison to the large number of persons who were out cheering for Douglas, and crowing over the growth of strength which to-day nominates this little town as a Democratic town. The flag pole, ever bearing the stars and stripes in the accustomed height, or overflying everything within the extreme distance of vision, was lighted up by torches and to the top bore lights which hung from the halyards. A military company was out, with its fife and drum, playing merry tunes. Bonfires were blazing, and rockets and fire balls were flying about mid air. To such a crowd, when they appealed to see the Judge, no refusal was possible, so he stepped out upon the platform of the car, and addressed them a few words of appropriate acknowledgment, after which Ike Morris and Gen. Rosevelt made a few remarks, when the train moved on mid the hearty and heart stirring sounds of good Democratic cheering.

Some few dirty dogs of Abolitionists tried to break up the meeting by bellowing for Lincoln. One of their cheers was for "Negro Equality," after which, evidently under the supposition that they had capped the climax, they ceased their brawling, nor did not longer interrupt.

At about ten o'clock, the Judge and those who were of his escort arrived at Quincy. On the near approach of the train, the loud snapping tones of a six pounder was to be heard. A moment or two later, and a few torchlights could be seen by the side of the roads, in the hands of persons who were either signalizing to the people in the mass or were directing some arrangements by the roadside. When the depot itself was reached a splendid sight gratified the vision of the delighted crowd which was aboard. The air was burdened by the smoke from many torches, which, in its turn, was pierced by the shouts of men, by the stirring sounds of music, and by the thunder tones of the cannon. The lights of the torches caused a general blaze, and the colored lights of hundreds of transparencies, bearing as many devices and mottoes, cast a subdued but pleasant and steady glare upon the many thousands who followed them, in honor of the man of the occasion. It is impossible to estimate the strength of the crowd, as it is unlikely that I could number the torches or lights which were now here then hither, waved over heads, now held aloft midst such shouting and such a general manifestation of joy as was exhibited.

The procession, large as it was, fell not off in any particular until it had conducted Mr. D. to the hotel; it then adjourned to the public square where speeches were made by sundry and divers gentlemen who are Democrats.

B. B.

[*Missouri Democrat*, October 15, 1858]

MEETING OF LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT QUINCY

The Little Giant Out of Humor and the People Enthusiastic for Lincoln

(Correspondence of the *Missouri Democrat.*)

Quincy, Ill., October 13, 1858

The appointed meeting of Illinois' two great antagonists took place here to-day. The arrival of each, Lincoln and Douglas, had previously been heralded by crowds of their respective friends, and everything done that could be done in order to attract as many of the adherents of each to the public square—the appointed place of meeting—as was possible. Crowds of people were present from all accessible points—Missouri turning out her full proportion.

There was a striking difference in the personal appearance of the two men—Mr. Lincoln seemingly bearing up under the fatigue and labor of a four months' canvass, as though it were nothing more than the regular daily routine of his business and apparently inspired to new and greater efforts by the success and encouragement he meets before the people of Illinois. I was of the opinion (but I don't like to accuse Mr. Lincoln of glorying in human misery), that he even felt encouraged by the disconsolate appearance of his antagonist. Douglas, on the contrary, looked very much the worse for wear. Bad whisky and the wear and tear of conscience have had their effect. So much has he changed since the commencement of the campaign that even his political enemies begin to have charitable proclivities towards him. Even in his manner of address a great difference is perceptible between Douglas four months ago and Douglas now. He speaks very slowly—making a distinct pause at the end of each word, but giving as much force and accent as possible.

Mr. Lincoln opened the discussion with an able speech, although somewhat personal. He literally tortured the Little Giant by sticking at him, by piecemeal, the record of his past public life, and showing him up as one of the most accomplished political dodgers of the age.

Mr. Douglas replied to Mr. Lincoln in his usual style—being well spiced with vituperation and abuse. He wrought himself up to an immense pitch, and although he did not call anybody *liar*, had considerable to say about veracity. This was in answer to the charge of Lincoln that the forged Republican resolutions had been traced back to

Stephen A. Douglas and two of his friends. Altogether the speeches were not dissimilar to those already published and as you will shortly have a full report of them I shall not at present trouble you with extracts. Mr. Lincoln was particularly happy in his hits at the Little Giant in his rejoinder, and altogether, had decidedly the advantage of his competitor.

Judging from appearances here Mr. Lincoln had a goodly majority of the crowd in his favor. The number present were estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand persons. The meeting passed with little or no interruption, and was decidedly favorable to the success of the Republican party. It is certainly to be regretted that the canvass in Illinois has turned so much on personal issues, but as Mr. Douglas and his friends commenced the onslaught upon Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party, there was probably no way of avoiding this result—and certainly the instigators of this course suffer most severely from it.

Yours, etc.

[no signature.]

[*The Gate City*, Keokuk, Iowa, October 26, 1858]

The people poured into Quincy on Wednesday last from all quarters. The Quincy, the Col. Morgan and the ferry boat, Hamilton Belle, starting from this point, took down several hundred. The City of Louisiana arrived there from below at an early hour crowded to the guards. Each party had processions, with music, each headed by young ladies on horseback representing the States. The speaking commenced at two o'clock P. M., by which time the public square was pretty well filled with a living, moving multitude.—Before the speaking commenced, the seats which had been erected in front of the speaker's stand gave way and several ladies were taken out more or less injured.

[*Chicago Journal*, October 15, 1858]

THE SIXTH JOINT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

At Quincy, on Wednesday last, the sixth joint debate took place between Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas. The multitude present is estimated at from eight to ten thousand. There were delegations present from Iowa and Missouri. There was much enthusiasm manifested for both speakers though that for Lincoln, we are assured, was much the heartiest and most general.

Mr. Lincoln arrived in Quincy on Wednesday morning, and was received and escorted to his quarters by an immense procession—literally "an army with banners," who made the streets resound with that inspiring watchword which is now heard all over the State—"Hurrah for Lincoln!"

The speaking took place at Washington Square, commencing at half past two o'clock. Mr. Lincoln opened the debate, Mr. Douglas followed, and Mr. Lincoln closed the debate.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 17, 1858]

THE JOINT DEBATE AT QUINCY.—GREAT TURNOUT

QUINCY, ADAMS COUNTY, ILLS.
Oct. 14

The joint debate of yesterday was a grand affair for the Democratic party. The people turned out nobly to the number of perhaps from twelve to fifteen thousand, the Democrats being greatly in the majority, although circulars had been sent to the different precincts begging that the Republicans should turn out. The enthusiasm which greeted Douglas while he was speaking and when he had concluded, was so unlike the shouts of the Lincoln trained band that our hearts rejoiced at the discomfiture of the enemy. These latter, instructed to shout, did so at all times, with and without reason, so that during the closing half hour there was such a din and confusion that I think it very doubtful if even the tall Sucker was able to hear himself think. Had he not studied his lesson so as to be perfect therein, and that his grammatical construction might be more perfect than in his ordinary speeches, we should again have to note that he ran down before the expiration of his time—an event which has served to show his weakness on more than one occasion during this campaign.

. . . .

B. B.

[*Galesburg, Ill., Democrat*, October 16, 1858]

LINCOLN AT QUINCY

The editor of the *Macomb Enterprise* says that "Lincoln gave Doug. the completest drubbing he has got yet. In the rejoinder Abe got 'warmed up' and threw a perfect storm of hot shot into the Douglas ranks and when he closed they cheered him till they were too hoarse to hallo any more. The crowd was quite large. The enjoyment was somewhat marred by the raised seats falling, when they were filled with people, a short time previous to the commencement of the speaking. A few persons were injured, but not dangerously. One or two had limbs broken."

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., October 25, 1858]

The last joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas demonstrated that the latter, like the comet, is getting farther and farther from the earth.

[Hon. Carl Schurz in *McClure's Magazine*, January, 1907, by permission of the S. S. McClure Co.]

"When we arrived at Quincy, we found a large number of friends waiting for him [Lincoln]; there was much hand-shaking, and many familiar salutations were exchanged. Then they got him into a carriage, much against his wish, for he said that he would prefer to 'foot it to Browning's,' an old friend at whose house he was to have supper and a quiet night. But the night was by no means quiet outside. The blare of brass bands and the shouts of enthusiastic and not in all cases quite sober Democrats and Republicans, cheering and hurrahing for their respective champions, did not cease until the small hours.

The next morning the country people began to stream into town for the great meeting, some singly, on foot or on horseback, some in small parties of men and women and even children, in buggies or farm wagons; while others were marshaled in solemn procession from outlying towns or districts, with banners and drums, tricolored scarfs, who represented the Goddess of Liberty and the different states of the Union, and whose beauty was duly admired by everyone, including themselves.

On the whole, the Democratic displays were much more elaborate and gorgeous than those of the Republicans, and it was said that Douglas had plenty of money to spend for such things. He himself traveled in what was called in those days great style, with a secretary and servants and a numerous escort of somewhat loud companions, moving from place to place by special train, with cars especially decorated for the occasion, all of which contrasted strongly with Lincoln's extremely modest simplicity. There was no end of cheering and shouting and jostling on the streets of Quincy that day. But in spite of the excitement created by the political contest, the crowds remained very good natured, and the occasional jibes flung from one side to the other were uniformly received with a mere laugh.

The great debate took place in the afternoon in the open square, where a large, pine-board platform had been built for the committee of arrangements, the speakers, and the persons they wished to have with them. I thus was favored with a seat on that platform. In front of it many thousands of people were assembled, Republicans and Democrats standing peacefully together, only chaffing one another now and then in a good-tempered way.

As the champions arrived, they were demonstratively cheered by their adherents. The presiding officer agreed upon by the two parties called the meeting to order and announced the program of proceedings. Mr. Lincoln was to open with a speech of one hour, Senator Douglas was to follow with a speech of one hour and a half, and Mr. Lincoln was to close with a speech of a half hour. The first part of Mr. Lincoln's opening address was devoted to a refutation of some things Douglas had said at previous meetings. This refutation may, indeed, have been required for the settlement of disputed points, but it did not strike me as anything extraordinary, either in substance or in form.

Neither had Mr. Lincoln any of those physical advantages which usually are thought to be very desirable, if not necessary, to the orator. His voice was not musical, being rather high-keyed and apt to turn into a shrill treble in moments of excitement; but it was not positively disagreeable. It had an exceedingly penetrating, far-reaching quality. The looks of the audience convinced me that every word he spoke was understood at the remotest edges of the vast assemblage. His gestures were awkward. He swung his long arms sometimes in a very ungraceful manner. Now and then, to give particular emphasis to a point, he would bend his knees and body with a sudden downward jerk and then shoot up again with a vehemence that raised him to his tiptoes and made him look much taller than he really was—a manner of enlivening a speech which at that time was, and perhaps still is, not unusual in the West, but which he succeeded in avoiding at a later period.

There was, however, in all he said, a tone of earnest truthfulness, of elevated, noble sentiment, and of kindly sympathy, which added greatly to the strength of his argument, and became, as in the course of his speech he touched upon the moral side of the question in debate, powerfully impressive. Even when he was attacking his opponent with keen satire or invective, which, coming from any other speaker, would have sounded bitter and cruel, there was still a certain something in his utterance which made his hearers feel that those thrusts came from a reluctant heart, and that he would much rather have treated his foe as a friend.

When Lincoln had sat down amid the enthusiastic plaudits of his adherents, I asked myself with some trepidation in my heart, 'What will Douglas say now?' Lincoln's speech had struck me as something very clear, logical, persuasive, convincing even, and very sympathetic; but not as something overwhelming. Douglas, I thought, might not be able to confute it, but by the cunning sophistry at his command, and by one of his forceful appeals to prejudice, he might succeed in neutralizing its effects.

No more striking contrast could have been imagined than that between those two men as they appeared upon the platform. By the side of Lincoln's tall, lank and ungainly form, Douglas stood almost like a dwarf, very short of stature, but square-shouldered and broad-chested, a massive head upon a strong neck—the very embodiment of force, combativeness, and staying power. On the stage at Quincy he looked rather natty and well-groomed, being clothed in excellently fitting broadcloth and shining linen. But his face seemed a little puffy, and it was said that he had been drinking hard with some boon companions either on his journey or since his arrival. The deep horizontal wrinkle between his keen eyes was unusually dark and scowling. While he was listening to Lincoln's speech, a contemptuous smile now and then flitted across his lips, and when he arose, the tough parliamentary gladiator, he tossed his mane with an air of overbearing superiority, of threatening defiance, as if to say: 'How dare any one dare stand up against me?'

When the debate at Quincy was over, the champions were heartily cheered by their partisans, the assemblage dissolved peaceably, the brass bands began to play again—several of them within hearing of one another, so as to fill the air with discordant sounds—and the country people, with their wagons and their maidens in white, got in motion to return to their homes."

CHAPTER XI

THE ALTON DEBATE

[*St. Louis Evening News*, October 14, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT ALTON

Douglas and Lincoln will speak at Alton to-morrow at ten o'clock. To enable persons in St. Louis to attend, the Baltimore will leave the levee at 7 o'clock, A. M., and return in the evening.

Also, the White Cloud will start from the Union Line wharf-boat at half past 8 A. M. for Alton, and return in the evening. These are excellent chances offered our citizens to attend the great speaking match.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 15, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

At Alton To-day, Friday, 15th

The Fine Passenger Steamer

"WHITE CLOUD"

Will leave the Union Railroad Line wharf-boat, foot of Olive street, at half past 9 o'clock, returning in the evening, after the speaking. Fare for round trip $1. Come one, come all.

[*Illinois State Register*, October 14, 1858]

THE ALTON DEBATE

All democrats intending to go to Alton tomorrow to attend the discussion, will please report themselves at the rooms of Gen. Curran by 10 o'clock this morning, for the purpose of entering into certain arrangements for the excursion. The military and music will be on hand. The railroad company will carry passengers at half fare. The train will leave at 6.30 to-morrow morning.

[*Illinois State Journal*, October 14, 1858]

Excursion to Alton.—In accordance with our suggestion, the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company has consented to issue excursion tickets at half fare for all who desire to visit Alton tomorrow to witness the last great debate of the season between Lincoln and Douglas

This is a fine opportunity for such as desire to be present, and we hope there will be a large turn-out.

All persons who design going on this excursion are requested to leave word at the JOURNAL OFFICE, or Gen. Curran, in order that sufficient cars may be provided. It is expected that a band of music and one of the military companies will go with the party from this city.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 15, 1858]

THE DEBATE AT ALTON

To-day comes off the debate between Douglas and Lincoln, at Alton, which is the last of the joint discussions between the two. It is expected that there will be a great attendance. The applications for special trains on the railroads, by persons desirous of being present on the occasion, show the general interest which is felt in this meeting.

[*Illinois State Journal*, October 16, 1858]

FOR ALTON.—A delegation of our citizens including the "Springfield Cadets," and "Merritt's Cadet Band" visited Alton on yesterday to hear the last debate between Lincoln and Douglas. The "Little Dodger" thanks his stars that these joint debates are ended at last.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 15, 1858]

THE LAST OF THE SERIES

The last of the seven discussions between Lincoln and Douglas, into which the latter was forced by his friends much against his own inclination and judgment, takes place today at Alton.

. . . .

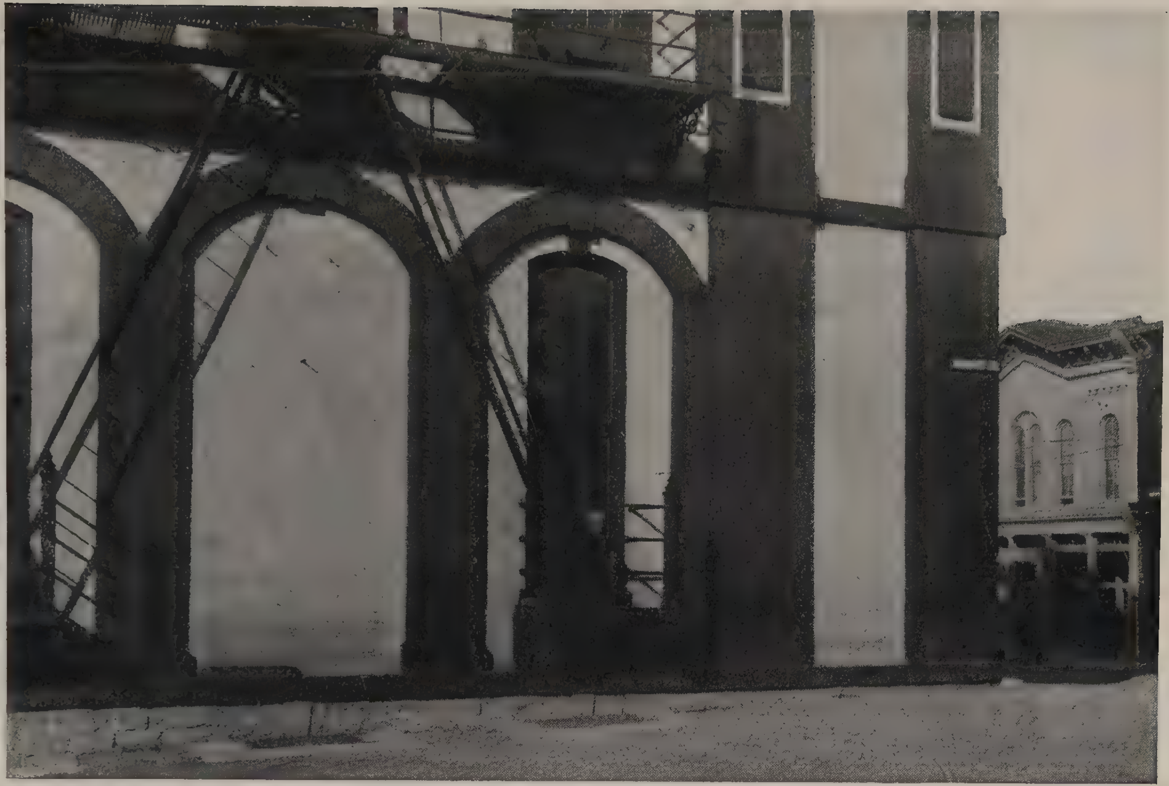
It is entirely safe to predict, whatever may be the future political relations of the two men, that Douglas will never again dare to break the lance with Lincoln. He has had enough of that to satisfy him the remainder of his natural life.

THE ALTON DEBATE

Alton, October 15, 1858

Senator Douglas's Speech

Long and loud bursts of applause greeted Senator Douglas, when he appeared on the stand. As he was about to commence speaking, he was interrupted by Dr. Hope, one of the Danite faction.



CORNER OF CITY HALL, ALTON, ILLINOIS

The platform from which Lincoln and Douglas spoke was erected in front of the first floor window

Dr. Hope.—Judge, before you commence speaking, allow me to ask you a question.

Senator Douglas.—If you will not occupy too much of my time.

Dr. Hope.—Only an instant.

Senator Douglas.—What is your question?

Dr. Hope.—Do you believe that the Territorial legislatures ought to pass laws to protect slavery in the territories?

Senator Douglas.—You will get an answer in the course of my remarks. [Applause.]

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is now nearly four months since the canvass between Mr. Lincoln and myself commenced. On the 16th of June the Republican Convention assembled at Springfield and nominated Mr. Lincoln as their candidate for the United States Senate, and he, on that occasion, delivered a speech in which he laid down what he understood to be the Republican creed, and the platform on which he proposed to stand during the contest.

The principal points in that speech of Mr. Lincoln's were: First, that this Government could not endure permanently divided into Free and Slave States, as our fathers made it; that they must all become Free or all become Slave; all become one thing, or all become the other,—otherwise this Union could not continue to exist. I give you his opinions almost in the identical language he used. His second proposition was a crusade against the Supreme Court of the United States because of the Dred Scott decision, urging as an especial reason for his opposition to that decision that it deprived the negroes of the rights and benefits of that clause in the Constitution of the United States which guarantees to the citizens of each State all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the citizens of the several States.

On the 10th of July I returned home, and delivered a speech to the people of Chicago, in which I announced it to be my purpose to appeal to the people of Illinois to sustain the course I had pursued in Congress. In that speech I joined issue with Mr. Lincoln on the points which he had presented. Thus there was an issue clear and distinct made up between us on these two propositions laid down in the speech of Mr. Lincoln at Springfield, and controverted by me in my reply to him at Chicago.

On the next day, the 11th of July, Mr. Lincoln replied to me at Chicago, explaining at some length and reaffirming the positions which he had taken in his Springfield speech. In that Chicago speech he even went further than he had before, and uttered sentiments in regard to the negro being on an equality with the white man. ["That's so."] He adopted in support of this position the argument which Lovejoy and Codding and other Abolition lecturers had made familiar in the northern and central portions of the State; to wit, that the Declaration of Independence having declared all men free and equal, by divine law, also that negro equality was an inalienable right, of which they could not be deprived. He insisted, in that speech, that the Declaration of Independence included the negro in the clause asserting that all men were created equal, and went so far as to say that if one man was allowed to take the position that it did not include the negro, others might take the position that it did not include other men. He said that all these distinctions between this man and that man, this race and the other race must be discarded, and we must all stand by the Declaration of Independence, declaring that all men were created equal.

The issue thus being made up between Mr. Lincoln and myself on three points, we went before the people of the State. During the following seven weeks, between the Chicago speeches and our first meeting at Ottawa, he and I addressed large assemblages of the people in many of the central counties. In my speeches I confined myself closely to those three positions which he had taken, controverting his proposition that this Union could not exist as our fathers made it, divided into Free and Slave States; controverting his proposition of a crusade against the Supreme Court because of the Dred Scott decision; and controverting his proposition that the Declaration of Independence included and meant the negroes as well as the white men, when it declared all men to be created equal. [Cheers for Douglas.] I supposed at that time that these propositions constituted a distinct issue between us, and that the opposite positions we had taken upon them we would be willing to be held to in every part of the State. I never intended to waver one hair's breadth from that issue, either in the north or the south, or wherever I should address the people of Illinois. I hold that when the time arrives that I cannot proclaim my political creed in the same terms, not only in the northern, but the southern part of Illinois, not only in the Northern, but the Southern States, and wherever the American flag waves over American soil, that then there must be something wrong in that creed; ["Good, good," and cheers.] so long as we live under a common Constitution, so long as we live in a confederacy of sovereign and equal States, joined together as one for certain purposes, that any political creed is radically wrong which cannot be proclaimed in every State and every section of that Union, alike.

I took up Mr. Lincoln's three propositions in my several speeches, analyzed them, and pointed out what I believed to be the radical errors contained in them. First, in regard to his doctrine that this Government was in violation of the law of God, which says that a house divided against itself cannot stand, I repudiated it as a slander upon the immortal framers of our Constitution. I then said, I have often repeated, and now again assert, that in my opinion our[1] Government can endure forever, ["Good."] divided into Free and Slave States as our fathers made it,—each State having the right to prohibit, abolish, or sustain slavery, just as it pleases. ["Good;" "right;" and cheers.]

This Government was made upon the great basis of the sovereignty of the States, the right of each State to regulate its own domestic institutions to suit itself; and that right was conferred with the understanding and expectation that inasmuch as each locality had separate interests, each locality must have different and distinct local and domestic institutions, corresponding to its wants and interests. Our fathers knew when they made the Government that the laws and institutions which were well adapted to the Green Mountains of Vermont were unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina. They knew then, as well as we know now, that the laws and institutions which would be well adapted to the beautiful prairies of Illinois would not be suited to the mining regions of California. They knew that in a Republic as broad as this, having such a variety of soil, climate, and interest, there must necessarily be a corresponding variety of local laws,—the policy and institutions of each State adapted to its condition and wants. For this reason this Union was established on the right of each State to do as it pleased on the question of slavery, and every other question; and the various States were not allowed to complain of, much less interfere with, the policy of their neighbors. ["That's good doctrine;" "that's the doctrine," and cheers.]

Suppose the doctrine advocated by Mr. Lincoln and the Abolitionists of this day had prevailed when the Constitution was made, what would have been the result? Imagine for a moment that Mr. Lincoln had been a member of the Convention that framed the Constituton of the United States, and that when its members were about to sign that wonderful document, he had arisen in that Convention as he did at Springfield this summer, and, addressing himself to the President, had said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand; [laughter] this Government, divided into Free and Slave States cannot endure, they must all be Free or all be Slave; they must all be one thing, or all[1] the other,—otherwise, it is a violation of the law of God, and cannot continue to exist;"—suppose Mr. Lincoln had convinced that body of sages that that doctrine was sound, what would have been the result? Remember that the Union was then composed of thirteen States, twelve of which were slaveholding, and one free. Do you think that the one Free State would have outvoted the twelve slaveholding States, and thus have secured the abolition of slavery? ["No, no."] On the other hand, would not the twelve slaveholding States have outvoted the one Free State, and thus have fastened slavery, by a constitutional provision, on every foot of the American Republic forever?

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[1] Reads: "this" for "our."

You see that if this Abolition doctrine of Mr. Lincoln had prevailed when the Government was made, it would have established slavery as a permanent institution in all the States, whether they wanted it or not; and the question for us to determine in Illinois now, as one of the Free States, is whether or not we are willing, having become the majority section, to enforce a doctrine on the minority which we would have resisted with our hearts' blood had it been attempted on us when we were in a minority. ["We never will;" "good, good;" and cheers.] How has the South lost her power as the majority section in this Union, and how have the Free States gained it, except under the operation of that principle which declares the right of the people of each State and each Territory to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way? It was under that principle that slavery was abolished in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; it was under that principle that one half of the slaveholding States became free; it was under that principle that the number of Free States increased until, from being one out of twelve States, we have grown to be the majority of States of the whole Union, with the power to control the House of Representatives and Senate, and the power, consequently, to elect a President by Northern votes, without the aid of a Southern State. Having obtained this power under the operation of that great principle, are you now prepared to abandon the principle and declare that merely because we have the power you will wage a war against the Southern States and their institutions until you force them to abolish slavery everywhere? ["No, never;" and great applause.]

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[1] Inserts "be" after "all."

After having pressed these arguments home on Mr. Lincoln for seven weeks, publishing a number of my speeches, we met at Ottawa in a joint discussion, and he then began to crawfish a little, and let himself down. [Immense applause.] I there propounded certain questions to him. Amongst others, I asked him whether he would vote for the admission of any more Slave States, in the event the people wanted them. He would not answer. [Applause and laughter.] I then told him that if he did not answer the question there, I would renew it at Freeport, and would then trot him down into Eygpt and again put it to him. [Cheers.] Well, at Freeport, knowing that the next joint discussion took place in Egypt, and being in dread of it, he did answer my question in regard to no more Slave States, in a mode which he hoped would be satisfactory to me, and accomplish the object he had in view. I will show you what his answer was. After saying that he was not pledged to the Republican doctrine of "no more Slave States," he declared:—

> "I state to you very[1] frankly, that I should be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in the position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into this Union."

Here permit me to remark, that I do not think the people will ever force him into a position against his will. [Great laughter and applause.] He went on to say:—

> "But I must add, in regard to this, that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territory during the Territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people should, having a fair chance and clear field, when they come to adopt a constitution, if they should do the extraordinary thing of adopting a slave constitution uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but we must admit it into the Union."

That answer Mr. Lincoln supposed would satisfy the Old Line Whigs, composed of Kentuckians and Virginians, down in the southern part of the State. Now, what does it amount to? I desired to know whether he would vote to allow Kansas to come into the Union with slavery or not, as her people desired. He would not answer, but in a roundabout way said that if slavery should be kept out of a Territory during the whole of its Territorial existence, and then the people, when they adopted a State Constitution, asked admission as a Slave State, he supposed he would have to let the State come in. The case I put to him was an entirely different one. I desired to know whether he would vote to admit a State if Congress had not prohibited slavery in it during its Territorial existence, as Congress never pretended to do under Clay's Compromise measures of 1850. He would not answer and I have not yet been able to get an answer from him. [Laughter; "he'll answer this time," "he is afraid to answer," etc.] I have asked him whether he would vote to admit Nebraska if her people asked to come in as a State with a constitution recognizing slavery, and he refused to answer. ["Put him through;" "give it to him," and cheers.] I have put the question to him with reference to New Mexico, and he has not uttered a word in answer. I have enumerated the Territories, one after another, putting the same question to him with reference to each, and he has not said, and will not say, whether, if elected to Congress, he will vote to admit any Territory now in existence with such a constitution as her people may adopt. He invents a case which does not exist, and cannot exist under this Government, and answers it; but he will not answer the question I put to him in connection with any of the Territories now in existence. ["Hurrah for Douglas;" "Three cheers for Douglas."]

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[1] Reads "freely" for "very."

The contract we entered into with Texas when she entered the Union obliges us to allow four States to be formed out of the old State, and admitted with or without slavery, as the respective inhabitants of each may determine. I have asked Mr. Lincoln three times in our joint discussions whether he would vote to redeem that pledge, and he has never yet answered. He is as silent as the grave on the subject. [Laughter; "Lincoln must answer," "he will," etc.] He would rather answer as to a state of the case which will never arise than commit himself by telling what he would do in a case which would come up for his action soon after his election to Congress. ["He'll never have to act on any question," and laughter.] Why can he not say whether he is willing to allow the people of each State to have slavery or not as they please, and to come into the Union, when they have the requisite population, as a Slave or a Free State as they decide? I have no trouble in answering the question. I have said everywhere, and now repeat it to you, that if the people of Kansas want a Slave State they have a right, under the Constitution of the United States, to form such a State, and I will let them come into the Union with slavery or without, as they determine. ["That's right;" "good;" "hurrah for Douglas all the time," and cheers.] If the people of any other Territory desire slavery, let them have it. If they do not want it, let them prohibit it. It is their business, not mine. ["That's it exactly;" "That's so;" "Hurrah," etc.] It is none of our business in Illinois whether Kansas is a Free State or a Slave State. ["That's the doctrine."] It is none of your business in Missouri whether Kansas shall adopt slavery or reject it. It is the business of her people, and none of yours. The people of Kansas have[1] as much right to decide that question for themselves as you have in Missouri to decide it for yourselves, or we in Illinois to decide it for ourselves. ["That's what we believe;" "We stand by that," and cheers.]

And here I may repeat what I have said in every speech I have made in Illinois, that I fought the Lecompton Constitution to its death, not because of the slavery clause in it, but because it was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas. I said then in Congress and I say now, that if the people of Kansas want a Slave State, they have a right to have it. If they wanted the Lecompton Constitution, they had a right to have it. I was opposed to that constitution because I did not believe that it was the act and deed of the people, but, on the contrary, the act of a small, pitiful minority acting in the name of the majority. When at last it was determined to send that constitution back to the people, and accordingly, in August last, the question of admission under it was submitted to a popular vote, the citizens rejected it by nearly ten to one, thus showing conclusively that I was right when I said that the Lecompton Constitution was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas, and did not embody their will. [Cheers.]

I hold that there is no power on earth, under our system of government, which has the right to force a constitution upon an unwilling people. ["That's so."] Suppose that there had been a majority of ten to one in favor of slavery in Kansas, and suppose there had been an Abolition President and an Abolition Administration, and by some means the Abolitionists succeeded in forcing an Abolition Constitution on those slaveholding people, would the people of the South have submitted to that act for one instant? ["No, no."] Well, if you of the South would not have submitted to it a day, how can you, as fair, honorable, and honest men, insist on putting a slave constitution on a people who desire a Free State? ["That's so," and cheers.] Your safety and ours depends upon both of us acting in good faith, and living up to that great principle which asserts the right of every people to form and regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the United States. ["That's the doctrine," and immense applause.]

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[1] Reads: "has" for "have."

Most of the men who denounced my course on the Lecompton question objected to it, not because I was not right, but because they thought it expedient at that time, for the sake of keeping the party together, to do wrong. [Cheers.] I never knew the Democratic party to violate any one of its principles, out of policy or expediency, that it did not pay the debt with sorrow. There is no safety or success for our party unless we always do right, and trust the consequences to God and the people. I chose not to depart from principle for the sake of expediency on[1] the Lecompton question, and I never intend to do it on that or any other question. ["Good."]

But I am told that I would have been all right if I had only voted for the English bill after Lecompton was killed. [Laughter and cheers.] You know a general pardon was granted to all political offenders on the Lecompton question, provided they would only vote for the English bill. I did not accept the benefits of that pardon, for the reason that I had been right in the course I had pursued, and hence did not require any forgiveness. Let us see how the result has been worked out. English brought in his bill referring the Lecompton Constitution back to the people, with the provision that if it was rejected, Kansas should be kept out of the Union until she had the full ratio of population required for a member of Congress,—thus in effect declaring that if the people of Kansas would only consent to come into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution, and have a slave State when they did not want it, they should be admitted with a population of 35,000; but that if they were so obstinate as to insist upon having just such a constitution as they thought best, and to desire admission as a Free State then they should be kept out until they had 93,420 inhabitants. I then said and I now repeat to you, that whenever Kansas has people enough for a Slave State she has people enough for a Free State. ["That's the doctrine all over;" "Hurrah for Douglas."] I was and am willing to adopt the rule that no State shall ever come into the Union until she has the full ratio of population for a member of Congress, provided that rule is made uniform. I made that proposition in the Senate last winter, but a majority of the senators would not agree to it; and I then said to them, If you will not adopt the general rule, I will not consent to make an exception of Kansas.

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[1] Reads: "in" for "on."

I hold it is a violation of the fundamental principles of this Government to throw the weight of Federal power into the scale, either in favor of the Free or the Slave States. Equality among all the States of this Union is a fundamental principle in our political system. We have no more right to throw the weight of the Federal Government into the scale in favor of the slaveholding than the Free States, and least[1] of all should our friends in the South consent for a moment that Congress should withhold its powers either way when they know that there is a majority against them in both Houses of Congress.

Fellow-citizens, how have the supporters of the English bill stood up to their pledges not to admit Kansas until she obtained a population of 93,420 in the event she rejected the Lecompton Constitution? How? The newspapers inform us that English himself, whilst conducting his canvass for re-election, and in order to secure it, pledged himself to his constituents that if returned he would disregard his own bill and vote to admit Kansas into the Union with such population as she might have when she made application. [Laughter and applause.] We are informed that every Democratic candidate for Congress in all the States where elections have recently been held was pledged against the English bill, with perhaps one or two exceptions. Now, if I had only done as these anti-Lecompton men who voted for the English bill in Congress, pledging themselves to refuse to admit Kansas if she refused to become a Slave State until she had a population of 93,420, and then returned to their people, forfeited their pledge, and made a new pledge to admit Kansas at any time she applied, without regard to population, I would have had no trouble. You saw the whole power and patronage of the Federal Government wielded in Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania to re-elect anti-Lecompton men to Congress who voted against Lecompton, then voted for the English bill, and then denounced the English bill, and pledged themselves to their people to disregard it. ["Good."]

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[1] Reads: "last" for "least."

My sin consists in not having given a pledge, and then in not having afterward forfeited it. For that reason, in this State, every postmaster, every route agent, every collector of the ports, and every Federal office-holder forfeits his head the moment he expresses a preference for the Democratic candidates against Lincoln and his Abolition associates. ["That's so," and cheers.] A Democratic Administration which we helped to bring into power deems it consistent with its fidelity to principle and its regard to duty to wield its power in this State in behalf of the Republican Abolition candidates in every county and every Congressional District against the Democratic party. All I have to say in reference to the matter is, that if that Administration have not regard enough for principle, if they are not sufficiently attached to the creed of the Democratic party, to bury forever their personal hostilities in order to succeed in carrying out our glorious principles, I have. ["Good, good," and cheers.] I have no personal difficulty with Mr. Buchanan or his Cabinet. He chose to make certain recommendations to Congress, as he had a right to do, on the Lecompton question. I could not vote in favor of them. I had as much right to judge for myself how I should vote as he had how he should recommend. He undertook to say to me, "If you do not vote as I tell you, I will take off the heads of your friends." [Laughter.] I replied to him, "You did not elect me. I represent Illinois, and I am accountable to Illinois, as my constituency, and to God; but not to the President or to any other power on earth." ["Good, good," and vociferous applause.]

And now this warfare is made on me because I would not surrender my convictions[1] of duty, because I would not abandon my constituency, and receive the orders of the executive authorities how I should vote in the Senate of the United States. ["Never do it;" "three cheers," etc.] I hold that an attempt to control the Senate on the part of the Executive is subversive of the principles of our Constitution. ["That's right."] The Executive department is independent of the Senate, and the Senate is independent of the President. In matters of legislation the President has a veto on the action of the Senate, and in appointments and treaties the Senate has a veto on the President. He has no more right to tell me how I shall vote on his appointments than I have to tell him whether he shall veto or approve a bill that the Senate has passed. Whenever you recognize the right of the Executive to say to a senator, "Do this,

[1] Reads: "connections" for "convictions."

or I will take off the heads of your friends," you convert this Government from a republic to a despotism. ["Hear, hear," and cheers.] Whenever you recognize the right of a President to say to a member of Congress, "Vote as I tell you, or I will bring a power to bear against you at home which will crush you," you destroy the independence of the representative, and convert him into a tool of Executive power. ["That's so," and applause.] I resisted this invasion of the constitutional rights of a senator, and I intend to resist it as long as I have a voice to speak or a vote to give. Yet Mr. Buchanan cannot provoke me to abandon one iota of Democratic principles out of revenge or hostility to his course. ["Good, good," "three cheers for Douglas."] I stand by the platform of the Democratic party, and by its organization, and support its nominees. If there are any who choose to bolt, the fact only shows that they are not as good Democrats as I am. ["That's so;" "good," and applause.]

My friends, there never was a time when it was as important for the Democratic party, for all national men, to rally and stand together, as it is to-day. We find all sectional men giving up past differences and uniting[1] on the one question of slavery; and when we find sectional men thus uniting, we should unite to resist them and their treasonable designs. Such was the case in 1850, when Clay left the quiet and peace of his home, and again entered upon public life to quell agitation and restore peace to a distracted Union. Then we Democrats, with Cass at our head, welcomed Henry Clay, whom the whole nation regarded as having been preserved by God for the times. He became our leader in that great fight, and we rallied around him the same as the Whigs rallied around Old Hickory in 1832 to put down nullification. [Cheers.]

Thus you see that whilst Whigs and Democrats fought fearlessly in old times about banks, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, all united as a band of brothers when the peace, harmony, or integrity of the Union was imperiled. [Tremendous applause.] It was so in 1850, when Abolitionism had even so far divided this country, North and South, as to endanger the peace of the Union; Whigs and Democrats united in establishing the Compromise Measures of that year, and restoring tranquillity and good feeling. These measures passed on the joint action of the two parties. They rested on the great principle that the people of each State and each Territory should be left perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions to suit themselves. You Whigs and we Democrats justified them in that principle. In 1854, when it became necessary to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, I brought forward the bill on the same principle. In the Kansas-Nebraska bill you find it declared to be the true intent and meaning of the Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way. ["That's so," and cheers.] I stand on that same platform in 1858 that I did in 1850, 1854, and 1856.

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[1] Reads: "continuing" for "uniting."

The Washington *Union*, pretending to be the organ of the Administration, in the number of the fifth of this month devotes three columns and a half to establish these propositions: first, that Douglas, in his Freeport speech, held the same doctrine that he did in his Nebraska bill in 1854; second, that in 1854 Douglas justified the Nebraska bill upon the ground that it was based upon the same principle as Clay's Compromise Measures of 1850. The *Union* thus proved that Douglas was the same in 1858 that he was in 1856, 1854, and 1850, and consequently argued that he was never a Democrat. [Great laughter.] Is it not funny that I was never a Democrat? [Renewed laughter.] There is no pretense that I have changed a hair's breadth. The *Union* proves by my speeches that I explained the Compromise Measures of 1850 just as I do now, and that I explained the Kansas and Nebraska bill in 1854 just as I did in my Freeport speech, and yet says that I am not a Democrat, and cannot be trusted, because I have not changed during the whole of that time. It has occurred to me that in 1854 the author of the Kansas and Nebraska bill was considered a pretty good Democrat. [Cheers.] It has occurred to me that in 1856, when I was exerting every nerve and every energy for James Buchanan, standing on the same platform then that I do now, that I was a pretty good Democrat. [Renewed applause.] They now tell me that I am not a Democrat, because I assert that the people of a Territory, as well as those of a State, have the right to decide for themselves whether slavery can or cannot exist in such Territory. Let me read what James Buchanan said on that point when he accepted the Democratic nomination for the Presidency in 1856. In his letter of acceptance, he used the following language:—

> "The recent legislation of Congress respecting domestic slavery, derived as it has been from the original and pure fountain of legitimate political power, the will of the majority, promises ere long to allay the dangerous excitement. This

> legislation is founded upon principles as ancient as free government itself, and, in accordance with them, has simply declared that the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits."

Dr. Hope will there find my answer to the question he propounded to me before I commenced speaking. [Vociferous shouts of applause.] Of course, no man will consider it an answer who is outside of the Democratic organization, bolts Democratic nominations, and indirectly aids to put Abolitionists into power over Democrats. But whether Dr. Hope considers it an answer or not, every fair-minded man will see that James Buchanan has answered the question, and has asserted that the people of a territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. I answer specifically if you want a further answer, and say that while under the decision of the Supreme Court, as recorded in the opinion of Chief Justice Taney, slaves are property like all other property, and can be carried into any[1] Territory of the United States the same as any other description of property, yet when you get them there they are subject to the local law of the Territory just like all other property. You will find in a recent speech delivered by that able and eloquent statesman, Hon. Jefferson Davis, at Bangor, Maine, that he took the same view of this subject that I did in my Freeport speech. He there said:—

> "If the inhabitants of any Territory should refuse to enact such laws and police regulations as would give security to their property or to his, it would be rendered more or less valueless in proportion to the difficulties of holding it without such protection. In the case of property in the labor of man, or what is usually called slave property, the insecurity would be so great that the owner could not ordinarily retain it. Therefore, though the right would remain, the remedy being withheld, it would follow that the owner would be practically debarred, by the circumstances of the case, from taking slave property into a Territory where the sense of the inhabitants was opposed to its introduction. So much for the oft-repeated fallacy of forcing slavery upon any community."

You will also find that the distinguished Speaker of the present House of Representatives, Hon. Jas. L. Orr, construed the Kansas and Nebraska bill in this same way in 1856, and also that great intellect of the South, Alex. H. Stephens, put the same construction upon it in Congress that I did in my Freeport speech. The whole South is[2] rallying to the support of the doctrine that if the people of a Territory want slavery

[1] Omits "any.'

[2] Reads: "are" for "is.'

they have a right to have it, and if they do not want it, that no power on earth can force it upon them. I hold that there is no principle on earth more sacred to all the friends of freedom than that which says that no institution, no law, no constitution, should be forced on an unwilling people contrary to their wishes; and I assert that the Kansas and Nebraska bill contains that principle. It is the great principle contained in that bill. It is the principle on which James Buchanan was made President. Without that principle, he never would have been made President of the United States. I will never violate or abandon that doctrine, if I have to stand alone. ["Hurrah for Douglas."] I have resisted the blandishments and threats of power on the one side, and seduction on the other, and have stood immovably for that principle, fighting for it when assailed by Northern mobs, or threatened by Southern hostility. ["That's the truth," and cheers.] I have defended it against the North and the South, and I will defend it against whoever assails it, and I will follow it wherever its logical conclusions lead me. ["So will we all;" "Hurrah for Douglas."] I say to you that there is but one hope, one safety for this country, and that is to stand immovably by that principle which declares the right of each State and each Territory to decide these questions for themselves. ["Hear him, hear him."] This Government was founded on that principle, and must be administered in the same sense in which it was founded.

But the Abolition party really think that under the Declaration of Independence the negro is equal to the white man, and that negro equality is an inalienable right conferred by the Almighty, and hence that all human laws in violation of it are null and void. With such men it is no use for me to argue. I hold that the signers of the Declaration of Independence had no reference to negroes at all when they declared all men to be created equal. They did not mean negroes, nor the savage Indians, nor the Fiji Islanders, nor any other barbarous race. They were speaking of white men. ["It's so;" "it's so," and cheers.] They alluded to men of European birth and European descent, — to white men, and to none others,—when they declared that doctrine. ["That's the truth."] I hold that this Government was established on the white basis. It was established by white men for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and should be administered by white men, and none others.

But it does not follow, by any means, that merely because the negro is not a citizen, and merely because he is not our equal, that, therefore, he should be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow that we ought to extend to the negro race, and to all other dependent races, all the rights, all the privileges, and all the immunities which they can exercise consistently with the safety of society. Humanity requires that we should give them all these privileges; Christianity commands that we should extend those privileges to them. The question then arises, What are those privileges, and what is the nature and extent of them? My answer is, that that is a question which each State must answer for itself. We in Illinois have decided it for ourselves. We tried slavery, kept it up for twelve years, and finding that it was not profitable, we abolished it for that reason, and became a Free State. We adopted in its stead the policy that a negro in this State shall not be a slave and shall not be a citizen. We have a right to adopt that policy. For my part, I think it is a wise and sound policy for us. You in Missouri must judge for yourselves whether it is a wise policy for you. If you choose to follow our example, very good; if you reject it, still well,—it is your business, not ours. So with Kentucky. Let Kentucky adopt a policy to suit herself. If we do not like it we will keep away from it; and if she does not like ours, let her stay at home, mind her own business, and let us alone. If the people of all the States will act on that great principle, and each State mind its own business, attend to its own affairs, take care of its own negroes, and not meddle with its neighbors, then there will be peace between the North and the South, the East and the West, throughout the whole Union. [Cheers.]

Why can we not thus have peace? Why should we thus allow a sectional party to agitate this country, to array the North against the South, and convert us into enemies instead of friends, merely that a few ambitious men may ride into power on a sectional hobby? How long is it since these ambitious Northern men wished for a sectional organization? Did any one of them dream of a sectional party as long as the North was the weaker section and the South the stronger? Then all were opposed to sectional parties; but the moment the North obtained the majority in the House and Senate by the admission of California, and could elect a President without the aid of Southern votes, that moment ambitious Northern men formed a scheme to excite the North against the South, and make the people be governed in their votes by geographical lines, thinking that the North, being the stronger section, would outvote the South, and consequently they, the leaders, would ride into office on a sectional hobby. I am told that my hour is out. It was very short.

Mr. Lincoln's Reply

On being introduced to the audience, after the cheering had subsided, Mr. Lincoln said:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have been somewhat, in my own mind, complimented by a large portion of Judge Douglas's speech,—I mean that portion which he devotes to the controversy between himself and the present Administration. [Cheers and laughter.] This is the seventh time Judge Douglas and myself have met in these joint discussions, and he has been gradually improving in regard to his war with the Administration. [Laughter; "That's so."] At Quincy, day before yesterday, he was a little more severe upon the Administration than I had heard him upon any occasion,[1] and I took pains to compliment him for it. I then told him to "Give it to them with all the power he had;" and as some of them were present, I told them I would be very much obliged if they would *give it to him* in about the same way. [Uproarious laughter and cheers.] I take it he has now vastly improved upon the attack he made then upon the Administration. I flatter myself he has really taken my advice on this subject. All I can say now is to re-commend to him and to them what I then commended,—to prosecute the war against one another in the most vigorous manner. I say to them again: "Go it, husband!—Go it, bear!" [Great laughter.]

There is one other thing I will mention before I leave this branch of the discussion,—although I do not consider it much of my business, any way. I refer to that part of the Judge's remarks where he undertakes to involve Mr. Buchanan in an inconsistency. He reads something from Mr. Buchanan, from which he undertakes to involve him in an inconsistency; and he gets something of a cheer for having done so. I would only remind the Judge that while he is very valiantly fighting for the Nebraska bill and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it has been but a little while since he was the *valiant advocate of* the Missouri Compromise. [Cheers.] I want to know if Buchanan has not as much right to be inconsistent as Douglas has? [Loud applause and laughter; "Good;" "Good;" "Hurrah for Lincoln."] Has Douglas the *exclusive right*, in this country, of being *on all sides of all questions?* Is nobody allowed that high privilege but himself? Is he to have an entire *monopoly* on that subject? [Great laughter.]

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[1] Inserts: "former" before "occasion."

So far as Judge Douglas addressed his speech to me, or so far as it was about me, it is my business to pay some attention to it. I have heard the Judge state two or three times what he has stated to-day,—that in a speech which I made at Springfield, Illinois, I had in a very especial manner complained that the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case had decided that a negro could never be a citizen of the United States. I have omitted by some accident heretofore to analyze this statement, and it is required of me to notice it now. In point of fact it is *untrue.* I never have complained *especially* of the Dred Scott decision because it held that a negro could not be a citizen, and the Judge is always wrong when he says I ever did so complain of it. I have the speech here, and I will thank him or any of his friends to show where I said that a negro should be a citizen, and complained especially of the Dred Scott decision because it declared he could not be one. I have done no such thing; and Judge Douglas, so persistently insisting that I have done so, has strongly impressed me with the belief of a predetermination on his part to misrepresent me. He could not get his foundation for insisting that I was in favor of this negro equality anywhere else as well as he could by assuming that untrue proposition.

Let me tell this audience what is true in regard to that matter; and the means by which they may correct me if I do not tell them truly is by a recurrence to the speech itself. I spoke of the Dred Scott decision in my Springfield speech, and I was then endeavoring to prove that the Dred Scott decision was a portion of a system or scheme to make slavery national in this country. I pointed out what things had been decided by the court. I mentioned as a fact that they had decided that a negro could not be a citizen; that they had done so, as I supposed, to deprive the negro, under all circumstances, of the remotest possibility of ever becoming a citizen and claiming the rights of a citizen of the United States under a certain clause of the Constitution. I stated that, without making any complaint of it at all. I then went on and stated the other points decided in the case; namely, that the bringing of a negro into the State of Illinois and holding him in slavery for two years here was a matter in regard to which they would not decide whether it would make[1] him free or not; that they decided the further point that taking him into a United States Territory where slavery was prohibited by Act of Congress did not make him free, because that Act of Congress, as they held, was unconstitutional. I mentioned these three things as making up the points decided in that case. I mentioned them in a lump, taken in connection with the introduction of the Nebraska bill, and the amendment of Chase, offered at the time, declaratory of the right of the people of the Territories to *exclude slavery*, which was voted down by the friends of the bill. I mentioned all these things together, as evidence tending to prove a combination and conspiracy to make the institution of slavery national. In that connection and in that way I mentioned the decision on the point that a negro could not be a citizen, and in no other connection.

Out of this, Judge Douglas builds up his beautiful fabrication of my purpose to introduce a perfect social and political equality between the white and black races. His assertion that I made an "especial objection" (that is his exact language) to the decision on this account, is untrue in point of fact.

Now, while I am upon this subject, and as Henry Clay has been alluded to, I desire to place myself, in connection with Mr. Clay, as nearly right before this people as may be. I am quite aware what the Judge's object is here by all these allusions. He knows that we are before an audience having strong sympathies southward, by relationship, place of birth, and so on. He desires to place me in an extremely Abolition attitude. He read upon a former occasion, and alludes, without reading, to-day, to a portion of a speech which I delivered in Chicago. In his quotations from that speech, as he has made them upon former occasions, the extracts were taken in such a way as, I suppose, brings them within the definition of what is called *garbling*,—taking portions of a speech which, when taken by themselves, do not present the entire sense of the speaker as expressed at the time. I propose, therefore, out of that same speech, to show how one portion of it which he skipped over (taking an extract before and an extract after) will give a different idea, and the true idea I intended to convey. It will take me some little time to read it, but I believe I will occupy the time that way.

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[1] Reads: "made" for "would make."

You have heard him frequently allude to my controversy with him in regard to the Declaration of Independence. I confess that I have had a struggle with Judge Douglas on that matter, and I will try briefly to place myself right in regard to it on this occasion. I said—and it is between the extracts Judge Douglas has taken from this speech, and put in his published speeches:—

> "It may be argued that there are certain conditions that make necessities and impose them upon us, and to the extent that a necessity is imposed upon a man he must submit to it. I think that was the condition in which we found ourselves when we established this Government. We had slaves among us, we could not get our Constitution unless we permitted them to remain in slavery, we could not secure the good we did secure if we grasped for more; and having by necessity submitted to that much, it does not destroy the principle that is the charter of our liberties. Let the charter remain as our standard."

Now, I have upon all occasions declared as strongly as Judge Douglas against the disposition to interfere with the existing institution of slavery. You hear me read it from the same speech from which he takes garbled extracts for the purpose of proving upon me a disposition to interfere with the institution of slavery, and establish a perfect social and political equality between negroes and white people.

Allow me while upon this subject briefly to present one other extract from a speech of mine, more than a year ago, at Springfield, in discussing this very same question, soon after Judge Douglas took his ground that negroes were not included in the Declaration of Independence:—

> "I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include *all* men, but they did not intend[1] to declare all men equal *in all respects*. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects[2] they did consider all men created equal,—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the *right*, so that the *enforcement* of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.
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> "They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all, and revered by all;[3] constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence, and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people, of all colors, everywhere."

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[1] Reads: "mean" for "intend."

[2] Omits "respects."

[3] Omits "and revered by all."

There again are the sentiments I have expressed in regard to the Declaration of Independence upon a former occasion,—sentiments which have been put in print and read wherever anybody cared to know what so humble an individual as myself chose to say in regard to it.

At Galesburg, the other day, I said, in answer to Judge Douglas, that three years ago there never had been a man, so far as I knew or believed, in the whole world, who had said that the Declaration of Independence did not include negroes in the term "all men." I re-assert it to-day. I assert that Judge Douglas and all his friends may search the whole records of the country, and it will be a matter of great astonishment to me if they shall be able to find that one human being three years ago had ever uttered the astounding sentiment that the term "all men" in the Declaration did not include the negro. [Cheers.]

Do not let me be misunderstood. I know that more than three years ago there were men who, finding this assertion constantly in the way of their schemes to bring about the ascendency and perpetuation of slavery, *denied the truth of it*. I know that Mr. Calhoun and all the politicians of his school denied the truth of the Declaration. I know that it ran along in the mouth[1] of some Southern men for a period of years, ending at last in that shameful, though rather forcible, declaration of Pettit of Indiana, upon the floor of the United States Senate, that the Declaration of Independence was in that respect "a self-evident lie," rather than a self-evident truth. But I say, with a perfect knowledge of all this hawking at the Declaration without directly attacking it, that three years ago there never had lived a man who had ventured to assail it in the sneaking way of pretending to believe it, and then asserting it did not include the negro. [Cheers.] I believe the first man who ever said it was Chief Justice Taney in the Dred Scott case, and the next to him was our friend Stephen A. Douglas. [Cheers and laughter.] And now it has become the catchword of the entire party. I would like to call upon his friends everywhere to consider how they have come in so short a time to view this matter in a way so entirely different from their former belief; to ask whether they are not being borne along by an irresistible current,—whither, they know not. [Great applause.]

In answer to my proposition at Galesburg last week, I see that some man in Chicago has got up a letter, addressed to the Chicago *Times*, to show, as he professes, that somebody *had* said so before; and he signs himself "An Old Line Whig," if I remember correctly. In the first place, I would say he *was not* an Old Line Whig. I am somewhat acquainted with Old Line Whigs. I was with the Old Line Whigs from the origin to the end of that party; I became pretty well acquainted with them, and I know they always had some sense, whatever else you could ascribe to them. [Great laughter.] I know there never was one who had not more sense than to try to show by the evidence he produces[1] that some man had, prior to the time I named, said that negroes were not included in the term "all men" in the Declaration of Independence. What is the evidence he produces? I will bring forward *his* evidence, and let you see what *he* offers by way of showing that somebody more than three years ago had said negroes were not included in the Declaration. He brings forward part of a speech from Henry Clay,—*the* part of *the* speech of Henry Clay which I used to bring forward to prove precisely the contrary. [Laughter.] I guess we are surrounded to some extent to-day by the old friends of Mr. Clay, and they will be glad to hear anything from that authority. While he was in Indiana a man presented a petition to liberate his negros, and he (Mr. Clay) made a speech in answer to it, which I suppose he carefully wrote out himself and caused to be published. I have before me an extract from that speech which constitutes the evidence this pretended "Old Line Whig" at Chicago brought forward to show that Mr. Clay didn't suppose the negro was included in the Declaration of Independence. Hear what Mr. Clay said:—

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[1] Read: "mouths" for "mouth."

> "And what is the foundation of this appeal to me in Indiana to liberate the slaves under my care in Kentucky? It is a general declaration in the act announcing to the world the independence of the thirteen American colonies, that all men are created equal. Now, as an abstract principle, *there is no doubt of the truth of that declaration;* and it is desirable, *in the original construction of society and in organized societies*, to keep it in view as a great fundamental principle. But, then, I apprehend that in no society that ever did exist, or ever shall be formed, was or can the equality asserted among the members of the human race be practically enforced and carried out. There are portions, large portions,—women, minors, insane, culprits, transient sojourners,—that will always probably remain subject to the government of another portion of the community.
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> "That declaration, whatever may be the extent of its import, was made by the delegation of the thirteen States. In most of them slavery existed, and had long existed, and was established by law. It was introduced and forced upon the colonies by the paramount law of England. Do you believe that in making that declaration

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[1] Omits "by the evidence he produces."

the States that concurred in it intended that it should be tortured into a virtual emancipation of all the slaves within their respective limits? Would Virginia and other Southern States have ever united in a declaration which was to be interpreted into an abolition of slavery among them? Did any one of the thirteen colonies entertain such a design or expectation? To impute such a secret and unavowed purpose, would be to charge a political fraud upon the noblest band of patriots that ever assembled in council,—a fraud upon the Confederacy of the Revolution; a fraud upon the union of those States whose Constitution not only recognized the lawfulness of slavery, but permitted the importation of slaves from Africa until the year 1808."

This is the entire quotation brought forward to prove that somebody previous to three years ago had said the negro was not included in the term "all men" in the Declaration. How does it do so? In what way has it a tendency to prove that? Mr. Clay says *it is true as an abstract principle* that all men are created equal, but that we cannot practically apply it in all cases. He illustrates this by bringing forward the cases of females, minors, and insane persons, with whom it cannot be enforced; but he says it is true as an abstract principle in the organization of society as well as in organized society and it should be kept in view as a fundamental principle. Let me read a few words more before I add some comments of my own. Mr. Clay says, a little further on:—

> "I desire no concealment of my opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. I look upon it as a great evil, and deeply lament that we have derived it from the parent[1] Government and from our ancestors. I wish every slave in the United Slates was in the country of his ancestors.[2] But here they are, and the question is, How can they be best dealt with? If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundations of society, *no man would be more strongly opposed than I should be to incorporating the institution of slavery among its elements.*"

Now, here in this same book, in this same speech, in this same extract, brought forward to prove that Mr. Clay held that the negro was not included in the Declaration of Independence, we find[3] no such statement on his part, but instead[4] the declaration *that it is a great fundamental truth* which should be constantly kept in view in the organization of society and in societies already organized. But if I say a word about it; if I attempt, as Mr. Clay said all good men ought to do, to keep it in view; if, in this "organized society," I ask to have the public eye turned upon it; if I ask, in relation to the organization of new territories, that the public eye should be turned upon it,—forthwith I am villified as you hear me to-day. What have I done that I have not the license of Henry Clay's illustrious example here in doing? Have I done aught that I have not his authority for, while maintaining that in organizing new Territories and societies this fundamental principle should be regarded, and in organized society holding it up to the public view and recognizing what *he* recognized as the great principle of free government? [Great applause and cries of "Hurrah for Lincoln."]

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[1] Reads: "parental" for "parent."

[2] Omits "I wish every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors."

[3] Omits "we find."

[4] Omits "instead."

And when this new principle—this new proposition that no human being ever thought of three years ago—is brought forward, *I combat it* as having an evil tendency, if not an evil design. I combat it as having a tendency to dehumanize the negro, to take away from him the right of ever striving to be a man. I combat it as being one of the thousand things constantly done in these days to prepare the public mind to make property, and nothing but property, of the *negro in all the States of this Union*. [Tremendous applause. "Hurrah for Lincoln. Hurrah for Trumbull."]

But there is a point that I wish, before leaving this part of the discussion, to ask attention to. I have read and I repeat the words of Henry Clay:

> "I desire no concealment of my opinions in regard to the institution of slavery. I look upon it as a great evil, and deeply lament that we have derived it from the parent[1] Government and from our ancestors. I wish every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors. But here they are; the question is, How can they best be dealt with? If a state of nature existed, and we were about to lay the foundations of society, no man would be more strongly opposed than I should be to incorporate the institution of slavery among its elements."

The principle upon which I have insisted in this canvass is in relation to laying the foundations of new societies. I have never sought to apply these principles to the old States for the purpose of abolishing slavery in those States. It is nothing but a miserable perversion of what I *have* said, to assume that I have declared Missouri, or any other Slave State, shall emancipate her slaves; I have proposed no such thing. But when Mr. Clay says that in laying the foundations of societies in our Territories where it does not exist, he would be opposed to the introduction of slavery as an element, I insist that we have *his*

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[1] Reads: "parental" for "parent."

warrant—his license—for insisting upon the exclusion of that element which he declared in such strong and emphatic language *was most hateful to him.* [Loud applause.]

Judge Douglas has again referred to a Springfield speech in which I said "a house divided against itself cannot stand." The Judge has so often made the entire quotation from that speech that I can make it from memory. I used this language:—

> "We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Under the operation of this policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half Slave and half Free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States,—old as well as new, North as well as South."

That extract and the sentiments expressed in it have been extremely offensive to Judge Douglas He has warred upon them as Satan wars[1] upon the Bible. [Laughter.] His perversions upon it are endless. Here now are my views upon it in brief.

I said we were now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Is it not so? When that Nebraska bill was brought forward four years ago last January, was it not for the "avowed object" of putting an end to the slavery agitation? We were to have no more agitation in Congress; it was all to be banished to the Territories.

By the way, I will remark here that as Judge Douglas is very fond of complimenting Mr. Crittenden in these days, Mr. Crittenden has said there was a falsehood in that whole business, for there was *no slavery agitation at that time to allay.* We were for a little while *quiet* on the troublesome thing, and that very allaying plaster of Judge Douglas's stirred it up again. [Applause and laughter.] But was it not understood or intimated with the "confident promise" of putting an end to the slavery agitation? Surely it was. In every speech you heard Judge Douglas make, until he got into this "imbroglio," as they call it, with the Administration about the Lecompton Constitution, every speech on that Nebraska bill was full of felicitations that we were *just at the end* of the slavery agitation. The last tip of the last joint of the old serpent's tail was just drawing out of view. [Cheers and laughter.] But has it proved so? I have asserted that under that policy that agitation "has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented." When was there ever a greater agitation in Congress than last winter? When was it as great in the country as to-day?

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[1] Reads: "does" for "wars."

There was a collateral object in the introduction of that Nebraska policy, which was to clothe the people of the Territories with a superior degree of self-government beyond what they had ever had before. The first object and the main one of conferring upon the people a higher degree of "self-government" is a question of fact to be determined by you in answer to a single question. Have you ever heard or known of a people anywhere on earth who had as little to do as, in the first instance of its use, the people of Kansas had with this same right of "self-government"? [Loud applause.] In its main policy and in its collateral object, it has been nothing but a living, creeping lie from the time of its introduction till to-day. [Loud cheers.]

I have intimated that I thought the agitation would not cease until a crisis should have been reached and passed. I have stated in what way I thought it would be reached and passed. I have said that it might go one way or the other. We might, by arresting the further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course ultimate extinction. [Great applause.] Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I have said, and I repeat, my wish is that the further spread of it may be arrested, and that it may be placed where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. I have expressed that as my wish. I entertain the opinion upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this Government placed that institution where the public mind *did* rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Let me ask why they made provision that the source of slavery—the African slave-trade—should be cut off at the end of twenty years? Why did they make provision that in all the new territory we owned at that time slavery should be forever inhibited? Why stop its spread in one direction, and cut off its source in another, if they did not look to its being placed in the course of ultimate extinction?

Again: the institution of slavery is only mentioned in the Constitution of the United States two or three times, and in neither of these cases does the word "slavery" or "negro race" occur; but covert language is used each time, and for a purpose full of significance. What is the language in regard to the prohibition of the African slave-trade? It runs in about this way: "The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight."

The next allusion in the Constitution to the question of slavery and the black race is on the subject of the basis of representation, and there the language used is:

> "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed,—three-fifths of all other persons."

It says "persons," not slaves, not negroes; but this "three-fifths" can be applied to no other class among us than the negroes.

Lastly, in the provision for the reclamation of fugitive slaves, it is said: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." There again, there is no mention of the word "negro" or of slavery. In all three of these places, being the only allusions to slavery in the instrument, covert language is used. Language is used not suggesting that slavery existed or that the black race were among us. And I understand the contemporaneous history of those times to be that covert language was used with a purpose, and that purpose was that in our Constitution, which it was hoped and is still hoped will endure forever,—when it should be read by intelligent and patriotic men, after the institution of slavery had passed from among us,—there should be nothing on the face of the great charter of liberty suggesting that such a thing as negro slavery had ever existed among us. [Enthusiastic applause.] This is part of the evidence that the fathers of the government expected and intended the institution of slavery to come to an end. They expected and intended that it should be in the course of ultimate extinction. And when I say that I desire to see the further spread of it arrested, I only say I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done. When I say I desire to see it placed where the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, I only say I desire to see it placed where they placed it.

It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this Government part Slave and part Free. Understand the sense in which he puts it. He assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself,—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the Government they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility—of its immediate removal. And when Judge Douglas asks me why we cannot let it remain part Slave and part Free, as the fathers of the Government made it, he asks a question based upon an assumption which is itself a falsehood; and I turn upon him and ask him the question, when the policy that the fathers of the Government had adopted in relation to this element among us was the best policy in the world, the only wise policy, the only policy that we can ever safely continue upon, that will ever give us peace, unless this dangerous element masters us all and becomes a national institution,—*I turn upon him and ask him why he could not leave it alone.* [Great and prolonged cheers.] I turn and ask him why he was driven to the necessity of introducing a *new policy* in regard to it.

He has himself said he introduced a new policy. He said so in his speech on the 22nd of March of the present year, 1858. I ask him why he could not let it remain where our fathers placed it. I ask, too, of Judge Douglas and his friends why we shall not again place this institution upon the basis on which the fathers left it. I ask you, when he infers that I am in favor of setting the Free and Slave States at war, when the institution was placed in that attitude by those who made the constitution, *did they make any war?* ["No; No," and cheers.] If we had no war out of it when thus placed, wherein is the ground of belief that we shall have war out of it if we return to that policy? Have we had any peace upon this matter springing from any other basis? ["No; No."] I maintain that we have not. I have proposed nothing more than a return to the policy of the fathers.

I confess, when I propose a certain measure of policy, it is not enough for me that I do not intend[1] anything evil in the result; but it is incumbent on me to show that it has not a *tendency* to that result. I have met Judge Douglas in that point of view. I have not only made the declaration that I do not *mean* to produce a conflict between the States; but I have tried to show by fair reasoning, and I think I have shown to the minds of fair men, that I propose nothing but what has a most peaceful tendency. The quotation that I happened to make in that Springfield speech, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," and which has proved so offensive to the Judge, was part and parcel of the same thing. He tries to show that variety in the domestic institutions of the different States is necessary and indispensable. I do not dispute it. I have no controversy with Judge Douglas about that.

I shall very readily agree with him that it would be foolish for us to insist upon having a cranberry law here in Illinois, where we have no cranberries, because they have a cranberry law in Indiana, where they have cranberries. [Laughter; "Good;" "Good."] I should insist that it would be exceedingly wrong in us to deny to Virginia the right to enact oyster laws, where they have oysters, because we want no such laws here. [Renewed laughter.] I understand, I hope, quite as well as Judge Douglas or anybody else, that the variety in the soil and climate and face of the country, and consequent variety in the industrial pursuits and productions of a country, require systems of law conforming to this variety in the natural features of the country. I understand quite as well as Judge Douglas that if we here raise a barrel of flour more than we want, and the Louisianians raise a barrel of sugar more than they want, it is of mutual advantage to exchange. That produces commerce, brings us together, and makes us better friends. We like one another the more for it. And I understand as well as Judge Douglas, or anybody else, that these mutual accommodations are the cements which bind together the different parts of this Union; that instead of being a thing to "divide the house,"—figuratively expressing the Union,—they tend to sustain it; they are the props of the house, tending always to hold it up.

But when I have admitted all this, I ask if there is any parallel between these things and this institution of slavery? I do not see that there is any parallel at all between them. Consider it. When have we had any difficulty or quarrel amongst ourselves about the cranberry laws of Indiana, or the oyster laws of Virginia, or the pine-lumber laws of Maine, or the fact that Louisiana produces sugar, and Illinois flour? When have we had any quarrels over these things? When have we had perfect peace in regard to this thing which I say is an element of discord in this Union? We have sometimes had peace; but when was it? It was when the institution of slavery remained quiet where it was. We have had difficulty and turmoil whenever it has made a struggle to spread itself where it was not. I ask, then, if experience does not speak in thunder-tones, telling us that the policy which has given peace to the country heretofore, being returned to, gives the greatest promise of peace again. [Yes;" "Yes;" "Yes."]

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[1] Reads: "perceive" for "intend."

You may say, and Judge Douglas has intimated the same thing, that all this difficulty in regard to the institution of slavery is the mere agitation of office-seekers and ambitious Northern politicians. He thinks we want to get "his place," I suppose. [Cheers and laughter.] I agree that there are office-seekers amongst us. The Bible says somewhere that we are desperately selfish. I think we would have discovered that fact without the Bible. I do not claim that I am any less so than the average of men; but I do claim that I am not more selfish than Judge Douglas. [Roars of laughter and applause.] But is it true that all the difficulty and agitation we have in regard to this institution of slavery springs from office-seeking, from the mere ambition of politicians? Is that the truth? How many times have we had danger from this question? Go back to the day of the Missouri Compromise. Go back to the Nullification question, at the bottom of which lay this same slavery question. Go back to the time of the Annexation of Texas. Go back to the troubles that led to the Compromise of 1850. You will find that every time, with the single exception of the Nullification question, they sprung from an endeavor to spread this institution.

There never was a party in the history of this country, and there probably never will be, of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country. Parties themselves may be divided and quarrel on minor questions, yet it extends not beyond the parties themselves. But does *not* this question make a disturbance outside of political circles? Does it not enter into the churches and rend them asunder? What divided the great Methodist Church into two parts, North and South? What has raised this constant disturbance in every Presbyterian General Assembly that meets? What disturbed the Unitarian Church in this very city two years ago? What has jarred and shaken the great American Tract Society recently, not yet splitting it, but sure to divide it in the end? Is it not this same mighty, deep-seated power that somehow operates on the minds of men, exciting and stirring them up in every avenue of society,—in politics, in religion, in literature, in morals, in all the manifold relations of life?

Is this the work of politicians? Is that irresistible power, which for fifty years has shaken the Government and agitated the people, to be stilled and subdued by pretending that it is an exceedingly simple thing, and we ought not to talk about it? [Great cheers and laughter.] If you will get everybody else to stop talking about it, I assure you[1] I will quit before they have half done so. [Renewed laughter.] But where is the philosophy or statesmanship which assumes that you can quiet that disturbing element in our society which has disturbed us for more than half a century, which has been the only serious danger that has threatened our institutions,—I say, where is the philosophy or the statesmanship based on the assumption that we are to quit talking about it, and that the public mind is all at once to cease being agitated by it? Yet this is the policy here in the North that Douglas is advocating,—that we are to care nothing about it! I ask you if it is not a false philosophy. Is it not a false statesmanship that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about *the very thing that everybody does care the most about?* ["Yes;" "Yes;" and applause.]—a thing which all experience has shown we care a very great deal about? [Laughter and applause.]

The Judge alludes very often in the course of his remarks to the exclusive right which the States have to decide the whole thing for themselves. I agree with him very readily that the different States have that right. He is but fighting a man of straw when he assumes that I am contending against the right of the States to do as they please about it. Our controversy with him is in regard to the new Territories. We agree that when the States come in as States they have the right and the power to do as they please. We have no power as citizens of the Free States, or in our Federal capacity as members of the Federal Union through the General Government, to disturb slavery in the States where it exists.

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[1] Omits "you."

We profess constantly that we have no more inclination than belief in the power of the Government to disturb it; yet we are driven constantly to defend ourselves from the assumption that we are warring upon the rights of the *States*. What I insist upon is, that the new Territories shall be kept free from it while in the Territorial condition. Judge Douglas assumes that we have no interest in them,—that we have no right whatever to interfere. I think we have some interest. I think that as white men we have.

Do we not wish for an outlet for our surplus population, if I may so express myself? Do we not feel an interest in getting to that outlet with such institutions as we would like to have prevail there? If *you* go to the Territory opposed to slavery, and another man comes upon the same ground with his slave, upon the assumption that the things are equal, it turns out that he has the equal right all his way, and you have no part of it your way. If he goes in and makes it a Slave Territory, and by consequence a Slave State, is it not time that those who desire to have it a Free State were on equal ground? Let me suggest it in a different way. How many Democrats are there about here ["A thousand."] who have left Slave States and come into the Free State of Illinois to get rid of the institution of slavery? [Another voice: "A thousand and one."] I reckon there are a thousand and one. [Laughter.] I will ask you, if the policy you are now advocating had prevailed when this country was in a Territorial condition, where would you have gone to get rid of it? [Applause.] Where would you have found your Free State or Territory to go to? And when hereafter, for any cause, the people in this place shall desire to find new homes, if they wish to be rid of the institution, where will they find the place to go to? [Loud cheers.]

Now, irrespective of the moral aspect of this question as to whether there is a right or wrong in enslaving a negro, I am still in favor of our new Territories being in such a condition that white men may find a home,—may find some spot where they can better their condition; where they can settle upon new soil and better their condition in life. [Great and continued cheering.] I am in favor of this, not merely (I must say it here as I have elsewhere) for our own people who are born amongst us, but as an outlet for *free white people everywhere*, the world over,—in which Hans, and Baptiste, and Patrick, and all other men from all the world, may find new homes and better their condition in life. [Loud and long continued applause.]

I have stated upon former occasions, and I may as well state again, what I understand to be the real issue in this controversy between Judge Douglas and myself. On the point of my wanting to make war between the Free and the Slave States, there has been no issue between us. So, too, when he assumes that I am in favor of introducing a perfect social and political equality between the white and black races. These are false issues, upon which Judge Douglas has tried to force the controversy. There is no foundation in truth for the charge that I maintain either of these propositions. The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong.

The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party. It is the sentiment around which all their actions, all their arguments, circle, from which all their propositions radiate. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet, having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as[1] far as may be, *be treated* as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to *make provision that it shall grow no larger.* [Loud applause.] They also desire a policy that looks to a peaceful end of slavery at some time, as being wrong.

These are the views they entertain in regard to it as I understand them; and all their sentiments, all their arguments and propositions, are brought within this range. I have said, and I repeat it here, that if there be a man amongst us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any one of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform. We disclaim sympathy with him in practical action. He is not placed properly with us.

[1] Reads: "so" for "as."

On this subject of treating it as a wrong, and limiting its spread, let me say a word. Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery,—by spreading it out and making it bigger? You can have a wen or cancer upon your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it, to engraft it and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard a wrong. You see this peaceful way of dealing with it as a wrong,—restricting the spread of it, and not allowing it to go into new countries where it has not already existed. That is the peaceful way, the old-fashioned way, the way in which the fathers themselves set us the example.

On the other hand, I have said there is a sentiment which treats it as *not* being wrong. That is the Democratic sentiment of this day. I do not mean to say that every man who stands within that range positively asserts that it is right. That class will include all who positively assert that it is right, and all who, like Judge Douglas, treat it as indifferent and do not say it is either right or wrong. These two classes of men fall within the general class of those who do not look upon it as a wrong. And if there be among you anybody who supposes that he, as a Democrat, can consider himself "as much opposed to slavery as anybody," I would like to reason with him. You never treat it as a wrong. What other thing that you consider as a wrong do you deal with as you deal with that? Perhaps, you *say* it is a wrong, *but your leader never does, and you quarrel with anybody who says it is wrong.* Although you pretend to say so yourself, you can find no fit place to deal with it as a wrong. You must not say anything about it in the Free States, *because it is not here.* You must not say anything about it in the Slave States, *because it is there.* You must not say anything about it in the pulpit, because that is religion, and has nothing to do with it. You must not say anything about it in politics, *because that will disturb the security of "my place."* [Shouts of laughter and cheers.] There is no place to talk about it as being a wrong, although you say yourself it *is* wrong.

But, finally, you will screw yourself up to the belief that if the people of the Slave States should adopt a system of gradual emancipation on the slavery question, you would be in favor of it. You would be in favor of it. You say that is getting it in the right place, and you would be glad to see it succeed. But you are deceiving yourself. You all know that Frank Blair and Gratz Brown, down there in St. Louis, undertook to introduce that system in Missouri. They fought as valiantly as they could for the system of gradual emancipation which you pretend you would be glad to see succeed. Now, I will bring you to the test. After a hard fight they were beaten, and when the news came over here, you threw up your hats and *hurrahed for Democracy.* [Great applause and laughter.] More than that, take all the argument made in favor of the system you have proposed, and it carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in the institution of slavery. The arguments to sustain that policy carefully exclude it. Even here to-day you heard Judge Douglas quarrel with me because I uttered a wish that it might sometime come to an end. Although Henry Clay could say he wished every slave in the United States was in the country of his ancestors, I am denounced by those pretending to respect Henry Clay for uttering a wish that it might sometime, in some peaceful way, come to an end. The Democratic policy in regard to that institution will not tolerate the merest breath, the slightest hint, of the least degree of wrong about it.

Try it by some of Judge Douglas's arguments. He says he "don't care whether it is voted up or voted down" in the Territories. I do not care myself, in dealing with that expression, whether it is intended to be expressive of his individual sentiments on the subject, or only of the national policy he desires to have established. It is alike valuable for my purpose. Any man can say that, who does not see anything wrong in slavery; but no man can logically say it who does see a wrong in it, because no man can logically say he don't care whether a wrong is voted up or voted down. He may say he don't care whether an indifferent thing is voted up or down; but he must logically have a choice between a right thing and a wrong thing. He contends that whatever community wants slaves has a right to have them. So they have, if it is not a wrong. But if it is a wrong, he cannot say people have a right to do wrong. He says that upon the score of equality, slaves should be allowed to go into a new Territory, like other property. This is strictly logical if there is no difference between it and other property. If it and other property are equal, his argument is entirely logical. But if you insist that one is wrong and the other right, there is no use to institute a comparison between right and wrong. You may turn over everything in the Democratic policy from beginning to end, whether in the shape it takes on the statute book, in the shape it takes in the Dred Scott decision, in the shape it takes in conversation, or the shape it takes in short maxim-like arguments,—it everywhere carefully excludes the idea that there is anything wrong in it.

That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the "divine right of kings." It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it." [Loud applause.] No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

I was glad to express my gratitude at Quincy, and I re-express it here to Judge Douglas,—*that he looks to no end of the institution of slavery*. That will help the people to see where the struggle really is. It will hereafter place with us all men who really do wish the wrong may have an end. And whenever we can get rid of the fog which obscures the real question, when we can get Judge Douglas and his friends to avow a policy looking to its perpetuation,—we can get them out from among that class of men and bring them to the side of those who treat it as a wrong. Then there will soon be an end of it, and that end will be its "ultimate extinction." Whenever the issue can be distinctly made, and all extraneous matter thrown out so that men can fairly see the real difference between the parties, this controversy will soon be settled, and it will be done peaceably too. There will be no war, no violence. It will be placed again where the wisest and best men of the world placed it. Brooks of South Carolina once declared that when this Constitution was framed, its framers did not look to the institution existing until this day. When he said this, I think he stated a fact that is fully borne out by the history of the times. But he also said they were better and wiser men than the men of these days; yet the men of these days had experience which they had not, and by the invention of the cotton-gin it became a necessity in this country that slavery should be perpetual. I now say that, willingly or unwillingly, purposely or without purpose, Judge Douglas has been the most prominent instrument in changing the position of the institution of slavery which the fathers of the Government expected to come to an end ere this,—*and putting it upon Brooks's cotton-gin basis;* [great applause] placing it where he openly confesses he has no desire there shall ever be an end of it. [Renewed applause.]

I understand I have ten minutes yet. I will employ it in saying something about this argument Judge Douglas uses, while he sustains the Dred Scott decision, that the people of the Territories can still somehow exclude slavery. The first thing I ask attention to is the fact that Judge Douglas constantly said, before the decision, that whether they could or not, *was a question for the Supreme Court.* [Cheers.] But after the court has made the decision he virtually says it is *not* a question for the Supreme Court, but for the people. [Renewed applause.] And how is it he tells us they can exclude it? He says it needs "police regulations," and that admits of "unfriendly legislation." Although it is a right established by the Constitution of the United States to take a slave into a Territory of the United States and hold him as property, yet unless the Territorial Legislature will give friendly legislation, and, more especially, if they adopt unfriendly legislation, they can practically exclude him.

Now, without meeting this proposition as a matter of fact, I pass to consider the real constitutional obligation. Let me take the gentleman who looks me in the face before me, and let us suppose that he is a member of the Territorial Legislature. The first thing he will do will be to swear that he will support the Constitution of the United States. [Great applause.] His neighbor by his side in the Territory has slaves and needs Territorial legislation to enable him to enjoy that constitutional right. Can he withhold the legislation which his neighbor needs for the enjoyment of a right which is fixed in his favor in the Constitution of the United States which he has sworn to support? Can he withhold it without violating his oath? And more especially, can he pass unfriendly legislation to violate his oath?

Why, this is a *monstrous* sort of talk about the Constitution of the

United States! [Great applause.] *There has never been as outlandish or lawless a doctrine from the mouth of any respectable man on earth.* [Tremendous cheers.] I do not believe it is a constitutional right to hold slaves in a Territory of the United States. I believe the decision was improperly made and I go for reversing it. Judge Douglas is furious against those who go for reversing a decision. But he is for legislating it out of all force while the law itself stands. I repeat that there has never been so monstrous a doctrine uttered from the mouth of a respectable man. [Loud cheers.]

I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive-Slave law,—that is a right fixed in the Constitution. But it cannot be made available to them without Congressional legislation. In the Judge's language, it is a "barren right," which needs legislation before it can become efficient and valuable to the persons to whom it is guaranteed. And as the right is constitutional, I agree that the legislation shall be granted to it,—and that, not that we like the institution of slavery. We profess to have no taste for running and catching niggers,—at least, I profess no taste for that job at all. Why then do I yield support to a Fugitive-Slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right, can be supported without it. And if I believed that the right to hold a slave in a Territory was equally fixed in the Constitution with the right to reclaim fugitives, I should be bound to give it the legislation necessary to support it. I say that no man can deny his obligation to give the necessary legislation to support slavery in a Territory, who believes it is a constitutional right to have it there. No man can, who does not give the Abolitionists an argument to deny the obligation enjoined by the Constitution to enact a Fugitive Slave law. Try it now. It is the strongest Abolition argument ever made. I say if that Dred Scott decision is correct, then the right to hold slaves in a Territory is equally a constitutional right with the right of a slaveholder to have his runaway returned. No one can show the distinction between them. The one is express, so that we cannot deny it. The other is construed to be in the Constitution, so that he who believes the decision to be correct believes in the right. And the man who argues that by unfriendly legislation, in spite of that constitutional right, slavery may be driven from the Territories, cannot avoid furnishing an argument by which Abolitionists may deny the obligation to return fugitives, and claim the power to pass laws unfriendly to the right of the slaveholder to reclaim his fugitive.

I do not know how such an argument may strike a popular assembly like this, but I defy anybody to go before a body of men whose minds are educated to estimating evidence and reasoning, and show that there is an iota of difference between the constitutional right to reclaim a fugitive, and the constitutional right to hold a slave, in a Territory, provided this Dred Scott decision is correct. [Cheers.] I defy any man to make an argument that will justify unfriendly legislation to deprive a slaveholder of his right to hold his slave in a Territory, that will not equally, in all its length, breadth, and thickness, furnish an argument for nullifying the Fugitive-Slave law. Why, there is not such an Abolitionist in the nation as Douglas, after all. [Loud and enthusiastic applause.]

Mr. Douglas's Rejoinder

Senator Douglas' reappearance in front of the stand was the signal for a general yell of applause, which fairly shook the earth and startled the old Mississippi which was rolling gently along in all its majesty within a few hundred yards of the stand.

Mr. Lincoln has concluded his remarks by saying there is not such an Abolitionist as I am in all America. [Laughter.] If he could make the Abolitionists of Illinois believe that, he would not have much show for the Senate. [Great laughter and applause.] Let him make the Abolitionists believe the truth of that statement, and his political back is broken. [Renewed laughter.]

His first criticism upon me is the expression of his hope that the war of the Administration will be prosecuted against me and the Democratic party of this State with vigor. He wants that war prosecuted with vigor; I have no doubt of it. His hopes of success and the hopes of his party depend solely upon it. They have no chance of destroying the Democracy of this State except by the aid of Federal patronage. ["That's a fact;" "Good," and cheers.] He has all the Federal office-holders here as his allies, ["That's so."] running separate tickets against the Democracy to divide the party, although the leaders all intend to vote directly the Abolition ticket and only leave the greenhorns to vote this separate ticket who refuse to go into the Abolition camp. [Laugh ter and cheers.] There is something really refreshing in the thought that Mr. Lincoln is in favor of prosecuting one war vigorously. [Roars of laughter.] It is the first war I ever knew him to be in favor of prosecuting. [Renewed laughter.] It is the first war that I ever knew him to believe to be just or constitutional. [Laughter and cheers.] When the Mexican war was being waged, and the American army was surrounded by the enemy in Mexico, he thought that war was unconstitutional, unnecessary, and unjust. ["That's so;" "You've got him;" "He voted against it," etc.] He thought it was not commenced on the right *spot*.

When I made an incidental allusion of that kind in the joint discussion over at Charleston some weeks ago, Lincoln, in replying, said that I, Douglas, had charged him with voting against supplies for the Mexican War, and then he reared up, full length, and swore that he never voted against the supplies; that it was a slander; and caught hold of Ficklin, who sat on the stand, and said, "Here, Ficklin, tell the people that it is a lie." [Laughter and cheers.] Well, Ficklin, who had served in Congress with him, stood up and told them all that he recollected about it. It was that when George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, brought forward a resolution declaring the war unconstitutional, unnecessary, and unjust, that Lincoln had voted for it. "Yes," said Lincoln, "I did." Thus he confessed that he voted that the war was wrong, that our country was in the wrong, and consequently that the Mexicans were in the right; but charged that I had slandered him by saying that he voted against the supplies. I never charged him with voting against the supplies in my life, because I knew that he was not in Congress when they were voted. [Tremendous shouts of laughter.] The war was commenced on the 13th day of May, 1846, and on that day we appropriated in Congress ten millions of dollars and fifty thousand men to prosecute it. During the same session we voted more men and more money, and at the next session we voted more men and more money, so that by the time Mr. Lincoln entered Congress we had enough men and enough money to carry on the war, and had no occasion to vote for[1] any more. [Laughter and cheers.] When he got into the House, being opposed to the war, and not being able to stop the supplies, because they had all gone forward, all he could do was to follow the lead of Corwin, and prove that the war was not begun on the right spot, and that it was unconstitutional, unnecessary, and wrong. Remember, too, that this he did after the war had been begun.

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[1] Omits "for."

It is one thing to be opposed to the declaration of a war, another and very different thing to take sides with the enemy against your own country after the war has been commenced. ["Good," and cheers.] Our army was in Mexico at the time, many battles had been fought; our citizens, who were defending the honor of their country's flag, were surrounded by the daggers, the guns, and the poison of the enemy. Then it was that Corwin made his speech in which he declared that the American soldiers ought to be welcomed by the Mexicans with bloody hands and hospitable graves; then it was that Ashmun and Lincoln voted in the House of Representatives that the war was unconstitutional and unjust; and Ashmun's resolution, Corwin's speech, and Lincoln's vote were sent to Mexico and read at the head of the Mexican army, to prove to them that there was a Mexican party in the Congress of the United States who were doing all in their power to aid them. ["That's the truth;" "Lincoln is a traitor," etc.] That a man who takes sides with the common enemy against his own country in time of war should rejoice in a war being made on me now, is very natural. [Immense applause.] And, in my opinion, no other kind of a man would rejoice in it. ["That's true;" "Hurrah for Douglas," and cheers.]

Mr. Lincoln has told you a great deal to-day about his being an old line Clay Whig. ["He never was."] Bear in mind that there are a great many old Clay Whigs down in this region. It is more agreeable, therefore, for him to talk about the old Clay Whig party than it is for him to talk about Abolitionism. We did not hear much about the old Clay Whig party up in the Abolition districts. How much of an old line Henry Clay Whig was he? Have you read General Singleton's speech at Jacksonville? ["Yes, yes."] You know that General Singleton was for twenty-five years the confidential friend of Henry Clay in Illinois, and he testified that in 1847, when the Constitutional Convention of this State was in session, the Whig members were invited to a Whig caucus at the house of Mr. Lincoln's brother-in-law, where Mr. Lincoln proposed to throw Henry Clay overboard and take up General Taylor in his place, giving as his reason that if the Whigs did not take up General Taylor, the Democrats would. [Cheers and laughter.] Singleton testifies that Lincoln in that speech urged as another reason for throwing Henry Clay overboard, that the Whigs had fought long enough for principle, and ought to begin to fight for success. Singleton also testifies that Lincoln's speech did have the effect of cutting Clay's throat, and that he (Singleton) and others withdrew from the caucus in indignation. He further states that when they got to Philadelphia to attend the National Convention of the Whig party, that Lincoln was there, the bitter and deadly enemy of Clay, and that he tried to keep him (Singleton) out of the Convention because he insisted on voting for Clay, and Lincoln was determined to have Taylor. [Laughter and applause.] Singleton says that Lincoln rejoiced with very great joy when he found the mangled remains of the murdered Whig statesman lying cold before him. Now, Mr. Lincoln tells you that he is an old line Clay Whig! [Laughter and cheers.] General Singleton testifies to the facts I have narrated, in a public speech which has been printed and circulated broadcast over the State for weeks, yet not a lisp have we heard from Mr. Lincoln on the subject, except that he is an old Clay Whig.

What part of Henry Clay's policy did Lincoln ever advocate? He was in Congress in 1848–9, when the Wilmot Proviso warfare disturbed the peace and harmony of the country, until it shook the foundation of the Republic from its center to its circumference. It was that agitation that brought Clay forth from his retirement at Ashland again to occupy his seat in the Senate of the United States, to see if he could not, by his great wisdom and experience, and the renown of his name, do something to restore peace and quiet to a disturbed country. Who got up that sectional strife that Clay had to be called upon to quell? I have heard Lincoln boast that he voted forty-two times for the Wilmot Proviso, and that he would have voted as many times more if he could. [Laughter.] Lincoln is the man, in connection with Seward, Chase, Giddings, and other Abolitionists, who got up that strife that I helped Clay to put down. [Tremendous applause.] Henry Clay came back to the Senate in 1849, and saw that he must do something to restore peace to the country. The Union Whigs and the Union Democrats welcomed him, the moment he arrived, as the man for the occasion. We believed that he, of all men on earth, had been preserved by Divine Providence to guide us out of our difficulties, and we Democrats rallied under Clay then, as you Whigs in Nullification time rallied under the banner of old Jackson, forgetting party when the country was in danger, in order that we might have a country first, and parties afterward. ["Three cheers for Douglas."]

And this reminds me that Mr. Lincoln told you that the slavery question was the only thing that ever disturbed the peace and harmony of the Union. Did not Nullification once raise its head and disturb the peace of this Union in 1832? Was that the slavery question Mr. Lincoln? Did not disunion raise its monster head during the last war with Great Britain? Was that the slavery question, Mr. Lincoln? The peace of this country has been disturbed three times, once during the war with Great Britain, once on the tariff question, and once on the slavery question. ["Three cheers for Douglas."] His argument, therefore, that slavery is the only question that has ever created dissension in the Union falls to the ground. It is true that agitators are enabled now to use this slavery question for the purpose of sectional strife. ["That's so."] He admits that in regard to all things else, the principle that I advocate, making each State and Territory free to decide for itself, ought to prevail. He instances the cranberry laws and the oyster laws, and he might have gone through the whole list with the same effect. I say that all these laws are local and domestic, and that local and domestic concerns should be left to each State and each Territory to manage for itself. If agitators would acquiesce in that principle, there never would be any danger to the peace and harmony of the Union. ["That's so," and cheers.]

Mr. Lincoln tries to avoid the main issue by attacking the truth of my proposition, that our fathers made this government divided into Free and Slave States, recognizing the right of each to decide all its local questions for itself. Did they not thus make it? It is true that they did not establish slavery in any of the States, or abolish it in any of them; but finding thirteen States, twelve of which were Slave and one Free, they agreed to form a government uniting them together as they stood, divided into Free and Slave States, and to guarantee forever to each State the right to do as it pleased on the slavery question. [Cheers.] Having thus made the government and conferred this right upon each State forever, I assert that this Government can exist as they made it, divided into Free and Slave States, if any one State chooses to retain slavery. [Cheers.] He says that he looks forward to a time when slavery shall be abolished everywhere. I look forward to a time when each State shall be allowed to do as it pleases. If it chooses to keep slavery forever, it is not my business, but its own; if it chooses to abolish slavery, it is its own business,—not mine I care more for the great principle of self-government, the right of the people to rule, than I do for all the negroes in Christendom. [Cheers.] I would not endanger the perpetuity of this Union, I would not blot out the great inalienable rights of the white men, for all the negroes that ever existed. [Renewed applause.]

Hence, I say, let us maintain this Government on the principles that our fathers made it, recognizing the right of each State to keep slavery as long as its people determine, or to abolish it when they please. [Cheers.] But Mr. Lincoln says that when our fathers made this Government they did not look forward to the state of things now existing, and therefore he thinks the doctrine was wrong; and he quotes Brooks of South Carolina to prove that our fathers then thought that probably slavery would be abolished by each State acting for itself before this time. Suppose they did; suppose they did not foresee what has occurred,—does that change the principles of our Government? They did not probably foresee the telegraph that transmits intelligence by lightning, nor did they foresee the railroads that now form the bonds of union between the different States, or the thousand mechanical inventions that have elevated mankind. But do these things change the principles of the Government? Our fathers, I say, made this Government on the principle of the right of each State to do as it pleases in its own domestic affairs, subject to the Constitution, and allowed the people of each to apply to every new change of circumstances such remedy as they may see fit to improve their condition. This right they have for all time to come. [Cheers.]

Mr. Lincoln went on to tell you that he does not at all desire to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, nor does his party. I expected him to say that down here. [Laughter.] Let me ask him, then, how he expects [1] to put slavery in the course of ultimate extinction everywhere, if he does not intend to interfere with it in the States where it exists? [Renewed laughter.] He says that he will prohibit it in all Territories, and the inference is, then, that unless they make Free States out of them he will keep them out of the Union; for, mark you, he did not say whether or not he would vote to admit Kansas with slavery or not, as her people might apply (he forgot that, as usual, etc.); he did not say whether or not he was in favor of bringing the Territories now in existence into the Union on the principle of Clay's Compromise

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[1] Reads; "is going" for "expects."

Measures on the slavery question. I told you that he would not. ["Give it to him, he deserves it," etc.] His idea is that he will prohibit slavery in all the Territories, and thus force them all to become Free States, surrounding the Slave States with a cordon of Free States, and hemming them in, keeping the slaves confined to their present limits whilst they go on multiplying, until the soil on which they live will no longer feed them, and he will thus be able to put slavery in a course of ultimate extinction by starvation. [Cheers.] He will extinguish slavery in the Southern States as the French general exterminated the Algerines when he smoked them out. He is going to extinguish slavery by surrounding the Slave States, hemming in the slaves, and starving them out of existence, as you smoke a fox out of his hole.

He[1] intends to do that in the name of humanity and Christianity, in order that we may get rid of the terrible crime and sin entailed upon our fathers of holding slaves. [Laughter and cheers.] Mr. Lincoln makes out that line of policy, and appeals to the moral sense of justice and to the Christian feeling of the community to sustain him. He says that any man who holds to the contrary doctrine is in the position of the king who claimed to govern by divine right. Let us examine for a moment and see what principle it was that overthrew the divine right of George the Third to govern us. Did not these Colonies rebel because the British Parliament had no right to pass laws concerning our property and domestic and private institutions without our consent? We demanded that the British Government should not pass such laws unless they gave us representation in the body passing them; and this the British Government insisting on doing, we went to war, on the principle that the home Government should not control and govern distant colonies without giving them a representation. Now, Mr. Lincoln proposes to govern the Territories without giving them[2] a representation, and calls on Congress to pass laws controlling their property and domestic concerns without their consent and against their will. Thus, he asserts for his party the identical principle asserted by George III. and the Tories of the Revolution. [Cheers.]

I ask you to look into these things, and then tell me whether the Democracy or the Abolitionists are right. I hold that the people of a Territory, like those of a State (I use the language of Mr. Buchanan in his letter of acceptance), have the right to decide for themselves whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. ["That's the idea;" "Hurrah for Douglas."] The point upon which Chief Justice Taney expresses his opinion is simply this, that slaves, being property, stand on an equal footing with other property, and consequently that the owner has the same right to carry that property into a Territory that he has any other, subject to the same conditions. Suppose that one of your merchants was to take fifty or one hundred thousand dollars' worth of liquors to Kansas. He has a right to go there, under that decision; but when he gets there he finds the Maine liquor law in force, and what can he do with his property after he gets it there? He cannot sell it, he cannot use it; it is subject to the local law, and that law is against him, and the best thing he can do with it is to bring it back into Missouri or Illinois and sell it. If you take negroes to Kansas, as Colonel Jefferson Davis said in his Bangor speech, from which I have quoted to-day, you must take them there subject to the local law. If the people want the institution of slavery, they will protect and encourage it; but if they do not want it, they will withhold that protection, and the absence of local legislation protecting slavery excludes it as completely as a positive prohibition. ["That's so," and cheers.] You slaveholders of Missouri might as well understand what you know practically, that you cannot carry slavery where the people do not want it. ["That's so."] All you have a right to ask is that the people shall do as they please: if they want slavery, let them have it; if they do not want it, allow them to refuse to encourage it.

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[1] Inserts, "And" before "He."

[2] Reads: "the people" for "them."

My friends, if, as I have said before, we will only live up to this great fundamental principle, there will be peace between the North and the South. Mr. Lincoln admits that, under the Constitution, on all domestic questions, except slavery, we ought not to interfere with the people of each State. What right have we to interfere with slavery any more than we have to interfere with any other question? He says that this slavery question is now the bone of contention. Why? Simply because agitators have combined in all the Free States to make war upon it. Suppose the agitators in the States should combine in one half of the Union to make war upon the railroad system of the other half? They would thus be driven to the same sectional strife. Suppose one section makes war upon any other peculiar institution of the opposite section, and the same strife is produced. The only remedy and safety is that we shall stand by the Constitution as our fathers made it, obey the laws as they are passed, while they stand the proper test, and sustain the decisions of the Supreme Court and the constituted authorities.

Senator Douglas' half hour here expired. For some minutes after he concluded, the applause was perfectly deafening and overwhelming. He seemed to have carried his vast auditory entirely with him in sympathy and feeling, for their enthusiasm was boundless.

[*Missouri Democrat*, October 16, 1858]

LAST OF THE JOINT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

The Debate at Alton

About 5,000 people gathered at Alton yesterday to hear these two gentlemen discuss the questions agitating the public mind in the present contest. The "White Cloud" left St. Louis about ten o'clock yesterday morning with over 300 people aboard, and arrived at Alton at twelve o'clock. We found the landing at Alton crowded with people, and the whole town alive and stirring with large masses of human beings. The Douglas men had raised a banner across one of the principal streets, upon which was inscribed:

"POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY!"
Stephen A. Douglas, The People's Choice.

In close proximity to this was a banner of the Republicans bearing the following:

Illinois Born a Free State Under the
Ordinance of '87.
SHE WILL MAINTAIN ITS PROVISIONS!

And another having in large letters:

LINCOLN NOT TROTTED OUT YET!

alluding to Douglas' threat that he would trot Lincoln out down in Egypt.

Parties of men and boys were traversing the streets, hurrahing for Douglas or Lincoln, as their preferences might dictate.

The stand erected for the speakers was placed against the southern side of the new City Hall, and at 1-½ o'clock Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas were promptly on hand, while the vast crowd filled up the space between the stand and the Congregational church on the South.

By an understanding between the speakers, previously had, Mr. Douglas occupied an hour in opening. Mr. Lincoln followed, occupying an hour and a half, and Mr. Douglas closed with a speech of half an hour.

. . . .

After the adjournment of the meeting, Dr. Hope, National Democratic candidate for Congress, appeared in front of the stand and asked to be heard, but his first words happening to be against Judge Douglas, that gentleman's friends in the crowd set up a storm of yells, which completely drowned his voice. The noisy parties could be easily detected as rowdies and drunkards who kept up a continual shout for Douglas. One man had a quart whisky bottle which he held aloft, and screamed out an invitation for the "Douglas boys" to "come and drink." The whole quart of whisky soon disappeared.

We learn from Dr. Hope, that he asked Douglas if he would permit F. P. Blair to make public what transpired between them (Douglas and Blair) last winter in Washington City and that he was answered curtly and sternly in the negative. The Doctor interprets the answer as an admission on the part of Douglas, that he (Douglas) was in full fellowship with the Republican party at that time.

[*Chicago Times*, October 17, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN.—THE LAST JOINT DEBATE

Douglas and Lincoln at Alton.—5,000 to 10,000 Persons Present!—Lincoln Again Refuses to Answer Whether He Will Vote to Admit Kansas If Her People Apply with a Constitution Recognizing Slavery.—Appears in His Old Character of the "Artful Dodger."—Tries to Palm Himself off to the Whigs of Madison County as a Friend of Henry Clay and No Abolitionist, and Is Exposed.—Great Speeches of Senator Douglas.—People of Illinois, Read and Be Convinced

The last of the series of joint debates between Senator Douglas and Honorable Abraham Lincoln took place at Alton on Friday. From five to ten thousand people were in attendance, the majority of whom were Democrats. A large delegation came up from St. Louis on the Steamer White Cloud, and quite a number of Missourians were present from the adjoining counties, on the opposite side of the Mississippi river, whilst not a few Kentuckians had found their way up to Alton to hear the debate. Lincoln, as usual, tried to suit himself to the locality and to conceal his Abolition sentiments, whilst pretending to be the friend of Henry Clay, and to have his sanction for all the principles he has avowed during this campaign. He again refused to answer whether or not, if placed in a position where he would be required to vote on the subject, he would vote for the admission of a State into the Union if her people applied with a constitution recognizing slavery. This question Senator Douglas has propounded to him at every joint debate, and he has studiously avoided an answer.

Lincoln's conduct at this last debate was most improper and ungentlemanly. After he concluded his hour and a half speech, and Senator Douglas arose to reply, he set himself where his motions could not be observed by the Senator, and, whenever a point was made against him, would shake his head at the crowd, intimating that it was not true, and that they should place no reliance on what was said. This course was a direct violation of the rules of the debate, and was a mean trick, beneath the dignity of a man of honor. Besides, in his speech, he entirely misrepresented and misstated the positions taken by Senator Douglas, and based his arguments upon his falsehoods as all who will take the trouble to read the debate cannot fail to see. We undertake to say that this last effort of Mr. Lincoln's is the lamest and most impotent attempt he has yet made to bolster up the false position he took at the outset of the fight. We have given a verbatim report of the debate, and invite for it the careful perusal of our readers. All we can ask is that our enemies, as well as our friends will read and study well the positions taken by the two leaders of the respective parties, and we do not fear the judgment at which they will arrive.

. . . .

[*Evening Post*, New York, October 20, 1858]

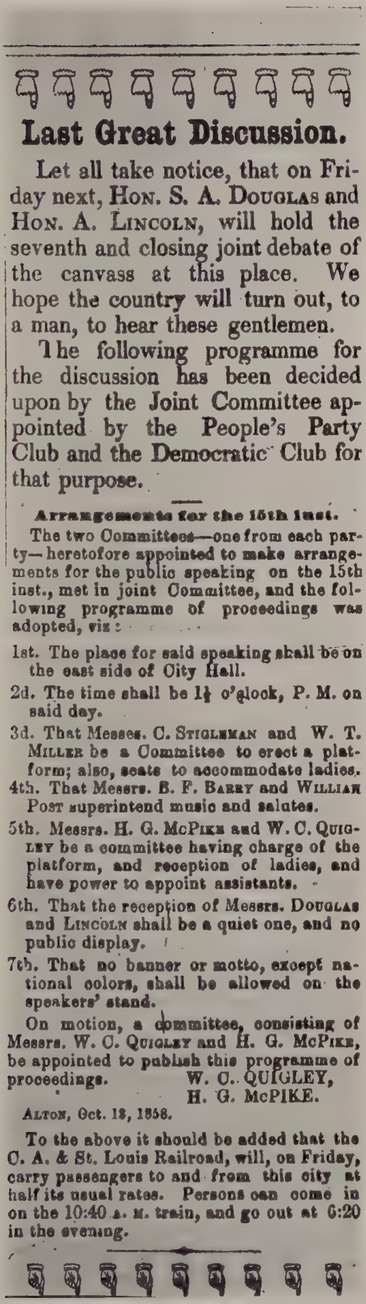
POLITICAL.—THE CANVASS IN ILLINOIS

Close of the Joint Debate.—Progress of Douglas Colonization.—Corn Juice and Corn Stalks.—Douglas's Voice Failing

Correspondence of the *Evening Post*

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 16, 1858

The seven joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas have concluded. The last was held at Alton yesterday. These debates have not



Last Great Discussion.

Let all take notice, that on Friday next, Hon. S. A. Douglas and Hon. A. Lincoln, will hold the seventh and closing joint debate of the canvass at this place. We hope the country will turn out, to a man, to hear these gentlemen.

The following programme for the discussion has been decided upon by the Joint Committee appointed by the People's Party Club and the Democratic Club for that purpose.

Arrangements for the 15th inst.

The two Committees—one from each party—heretofore appointed to make arrangements for the public speaking on the 15th inst., met in joint Committee, and the following programme of proceedings was adopted, viz:

1st. The place for said speaking shall be on the east side of City Hall.

2d. The time shall be 1½ o'clock, P. M. on said day.

3d. That Messes. C. Stigleman and W. T. Miller be a Committee to erect a platform; also, seats to accommodate ladies.

4th. That Messrs. B. F. Barry and William Post superintend music and salutes.

5th. Messrs. H. G. McPike and W. C. Quigley be a committee having charge of the platform, and reception of ladies, and have power to appoint assistants.

6th. That the reception of Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln shall be a quiet one, and no public display.

7th. That no banner or motto, except national colors, shall be allowed on the speakers' stand.

On motion, a committee, consisting of Messrs. W. C. Quigley and H. G. McPike, be appointed to publish this programme of proceedings.

W. C. QUIGLEY,
H. G. McPIKE.

Alton, Oct. 13, 1858.

To the above it should be added that the C. A. & St. Louis Railroad, will, on Friday, carry passengers to and from this city at half its usual rates. Persons can come in on the 10:40 A. M. train, and go out at 6:20 in the evening.

CLIPPING FROM THE *ALTON DAILY WHIG*

only been published in nearly all the journals in this state, but they have attracted the attention of the whole country. They have been next in importance and interest to some of the great senatorial debates, when the whole nation has stood still to listen to the voice of its greatest men.

For the rest of the canvass, Mr. Lincoln makes twelve speeches, and Mr. Douglas makes nine. Each is to speak in sections where they deem it most necessary to exert a personal influence.

. . . .

The Alton meeting, which was the seventh and last joint debate, was not very largely attended, but in many respects it was the greatest discussion yet held. Both speakers applied themselves to their work with new power and energy. The audience was mostly composed of voters, and the Lincoln men took heart from the conflict.

. . . .

Judge Douglas's voice has suffered badly by this out-door speaking. It is very indistinct. He has voice enough, but it cannot be heard any distance. He speaks slowly, and gives every syllable an emphasis, but it seems as if every tone went forth surrounded and enveloped by an echo, which blunts the sound and utterly destroys the word. You hear a voice, but catch no meaning. This peculiar effect has been more marked lately. At Quincy the Judge had to confine his attempts to make himself understood to a small crowd gathered closely about the stand.

Yours, &c.,

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[*Alton* (Ill.) *Daily Courier*, October 16, 1858]

LAST JOINT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

6,000 People Present.—Lincoln Triumphant.—Republicanism in the Ascendent.—Douglas Vanquished

The seventh and closing debate between Messrs Douglas and Lincoln came off at this city yesterday afternoon. The day was not the best—the morning being somewhat cloudy with indications of rain. At an early hour the country began to arrive. It came on foot, on horseback, by carriage, by lumber wagon, and by all other conveyances possible. The steamer Baltimore, from St. Louis, brought up its load of those desirous of hearing the debate. At half past ten o'clock the train on the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis railroad, freighted with its gatherings from Springfield, Auburn, Girard, Carlinville, Brighton, and we know not how many other towns, steamed slowly into the city with its burden of eight full cars. The other passenger trains of the forenoon and early afternoon demonstrated, too, that the names of Lincoln and Douglas have a hold upon the country. About noon the extra steamer, White Cloud, landed upon the levee its quota of denizens of St. Louis. With the earliest arrivals, the rooms of Messrs Douglas and Lincoln, who reached the city before daylight—coming down the river from Quincy—became the centres of attraction. Mr. Lincoln received at the Franklin House, and Mr. Douglas at the Alton. The train of the Chicago, Alton & St. Louis railroad brought down the Springfield Cadets, a fine military company, which paraded through our streets, accompanied by Merritt's cornet band—discoursing sweet music. At a later hour, the band of the Edwardsville delegation also gave us a display of its power "to charm the sense and drive dull care away."

By the hour of 12, the great American people had taken possession of the city. It went up and down the streets—it hurrahed for Lincoln and hurrahed for Douglas —it crowded the auction rooms—it thronged the stores of our merchants—it gathered on the street corners and discussed politics—it shook its fists and talked loudly—it mounted boxes and cried the virtues of Pain Killer—it mustered to the eating saloons and did not forget the drinking saloons—it was here, there and everywhere, asserting its privileges and maintaining its rights. Immediately thereafter couples and triplets and singles of its 6000 component parts betook themselves to the neighborhood of the stand prepared for the speaking.

Over this, which was located on the eastern side of the City Hall and Market building, the Stars and Stripes floated upon the breeze. Mr. Henry Lea displayed several banners and flags. One was inscribed; "Illinois, born under the Ordinance of '87—she will maintain its provisions." Another: "Lincoln not yet Trotted Out," and a third:

"FREE TERRITORIES AND FREE MEN.
FREE PULPITS AND FREE PREACHERS,
FREE PRESS AND FREE PEN,
FREE SCHOOLS AND FREE TEACHERS."

Mr. E. H. Goulding notified everybody in this style: "Squat Row for Old Abe and free Labor." A cord stretched from the store of I. Scarritt to that of DeBow & Barr sustained a large flag, bearing the mottoes: "Old Madison for Lincoln" and "Too late for the Milking." The national colors floated proudly from the flag staff of the *Courier* office. The Douglas men concentrated their whole energies in one grand, magnificent, superb, right-royal banner, which was suspended between the store of Mr. Henry Lea and the Bank building. The words, "Popular Sovereignty—National Union—S. A. Douglas the People's Choice," were surmounted by a very buzzard-like bird, ready to swoop down upon its prey, and surrounded by five stars, intended, we presume, to represent the four states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa, which have already put their knives to the throat of Mr. Douglas, and Illinois will do so in November, after which he will be ready, politically, for the buzzards.

The hour of two having nearly arrived, the great American people, having gathered all its parts, or so many of them as would consent to be gathered, to the first floor of the City Hall Building and the ground between that and the Presbyterian church, Messrs Lincoln and Douglas made their appearance upon the stand. As previously agreed Judge Douglas opened the debate in a speech of one hour. Although appearing very well his voice was completely shattered, and his articulation so very much impeded that very few of the large crowd he addressed, could understand an entire sentence. Nearly all his speech was a repetition of his previous charges of amalgamation, negro equality, etc., against the Republican party; and he labored and twisted them and rolled them as sweet morsels under his tongue, till his own friends were disgusted with his pertinacity and falsehood. Having nearly exhausted himself and his hour, also, on this terrible bugbear, the Judge then ventured upon one of the most imporant and, to him, the most fearful act of his life. He actually attacked Buchanan and his administration, and berated them to his heart's content. His friends were not prepared for this bold step on the part of their leader, and opened wide their eyes in astonishment. What! had their Little Giant, their terrible leader, stood so long calmly and meekly by when the heads of his friends, one after the other, in rapid succession, rolled before him in the dust, and not a word of rebuke or condemnation, and now, at the very heels of an election, more important to him than any other of his life, he plucks up courage and denounces the President in terms admitting of no mistake as to his feelings. With this exception his speech was in no respect different from his previous efforts. It was flat and unsatisfactory, unredeemed by a single sparkle of wit or patriotic elevation.

The hour and a half reply of Mr. Lincoln was an effort of which his friends had every reason to be proud. One by one he took up the oft-exploded charges of Douglas against the Republican party and scattered them to the winds, and charged back upon him his own army of sins of omissions and commission with terrible effect. Not a single one of all the charges Douglas made was left unanswered, and so convincing was the array of testimony he produced, so clear and logical every deduction made from them, and so honest and candid was he in all his assertions, that the Douglasites themselves were forced to admit that they had not only underrated the native strength of the man, but that he was greatly misrepresented in their papers. His reply was, in fact, a complete vindication of himself and the Republican party, from the foul slanders sought to be heaped upon them, and as a vindication could not be successfully answered.

Douglas' half hour rejoinder was both in better spirit and better taste than his opening. It was not, in fact, a rejoinder at all. It was principally a series of charges against Mr. Lincoln about his Mexican war votes, which he then introduced so that Mr. Lincoln could have no opportunity of replying. Brave Little Giant! Cunning Little Giant! magnanimous Little Giant!

As we intend to publish the speeches in full, in a few days, we shall not further speak of them now. The discussion has been longed for by the Republicans of this city and vicinity, and their expectations have been more than realized. As the Democracy of the States of Iowa, Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania has been thrashed out, so was Mr. Douglas thrashed out by Mr. Lincoln yesterday.

[*Illinois State Register*, October 18, 1858]

THE DISCUSSION AT ALTON

Alton, October 16

Editors State Register:—Not having seen you at the public discussion which took place between Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln, on yesterday, we presume you would like to have a brief account of what took place.

. . . .

The number present at the discussion numbered about five thousand, probably six thousand. It is said, by the friends of each party, that the number was not so great as at any former discussion. The audience was very attentive and treated both the speakers with courtesy. Quite a number of citizens of St. Louis were present, having chartered a steamer to bring them up and hear the debate.

. . . .

After Mr. Douglas had commenced his opening speech, Hope interrupted him with the first question that Sturgeon had given him. He fared as others have done on like occasions. He was overwhelmed by the answer, and the cheers of the multitude consequent thereto, and dropped back, without attempting to go through the series. After Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln had got through their debate and had left the stand, Dr. Hope made his appearance upon it, and attempted to address the crowd, but he had scarcely thrown back his oily locks and opened his mouth, before he was greeted by a torrent of noise of every description, such as "Hurrah for Douglas," "Hurrah for Lincoln," "Dry up," "You're a hopeful case," etc. But the would be congressman was not to be put down in this way. He handed his hat to a friend, then used both his fists in defiance. We suppose he was talking all the time, but we could not hear one word. He danced over the platform in a frantic manner, shook his head and fists in defiance at divers persons in the crowd, and disappeared (after speaking half an hour and making a fool of himself) off the stage in a most theatrical manner; that is chasing an individual who was making a noise. During all the time the crowd was convulsed with laughter. All declared it to be the best circus that had been in town for many a day. Hope had no friends except Sturgeon, and one or two postmasters.

. . . .

Judge Douglas made his headquarters at the Alton House. Mr. Lincoln stopped at the Franklin. Douglas' room was crowded all the time. The old whigs and Americans came in crowds to see him.

. . . .

Madison

[*New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, October 26, 1858]

THE LAST DEBATE BETWEEN DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

Their Meeting at Alton

Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*

Alton, Ill., Oct. 15, 1858

The last great debate between Douglas and Lincoln took place today in our city in the presence of a vast multitude, in the open air. The place of meeting was on the public square, adjoining the new

City Hall, where, it is estimated 10,000 persons were present, comprising delegations from the neighboring towns and cities, and our own citizens and country people. The speakers' stand was at the side of the building, the colors of the United States waving over their heads, and many ladies occupied the windows and adjoining rooms of the City Hall. No Political flags or mottoes were allowed. The vast numbers present showed the interest that is felt in this part of the State in the pending contest; for Central Illinois is the battle ground of the parties, turning the scale this way or that.

As we approached the ground, Douglas was speaking, having just commenced. His manner was excited and animating, his voice reached a great distance, but his articulation was thick and imperfect, so that the outside circle of the crowd could not hear *what* he said. Certain emphatic words, such as "Democracy," "nigger equality," the Declaration of Independence not made for "niggers," made for "white men," "Abolition," etc., were all that could be heard, without pressing forward deep into the crowd. His voice on these emphatic words was always pitched on a high, loud note, which was never varied, and these loud monotones were uttered with all the physical force and violence of gesticulation the speaker could demand, occurring with wonderful regularity; but the intervening words being lost, his meaning was seldom apprehended by any except those who were quite near. Nevertheless, there was in this outer circle, a considerable number of rowdies, drinkers of rum, accustomed to give vent to their feelings in yells, screams and vulgar mirth, who responded regularly at the recurrence of certain words, and cried, "That's so," "Hit him again," the latter referring especially to every personal allusion to Mr. Lincoln, of which there were many, and some of them uttered in the insolent manner that characterizes the overseer of the negro plantation, from which Mr. Douglas must at some period of his life, have taken lessons. These cries and "hurrah for Douglas" were a serious interruption, and the Little Giant is cunning enough, whenever a little confusing and commingling of cries results, to charge the interruption upon the friends of Mr. Lincoln, alleging that the latter gentleman is always listened to with attention by the Democrats, although today he was frequently interrupted by "hoorahs for Douglas" from certain of the baser sort, who mingled in the outside of the crowd.

[Here follows the opening speech of Mr. Douglas.]

At the close of Mr. Douglas' speech, which occupied an hour, Mr. Lincoln was introduced, and received with music from a band and cheers. Having never seen nor heard him before, the first impression was much more agreeable than we had anticipated. The Douglas papers had so belied him that we expected to see a man of most homely and awkward figure, of slow and hesitating speech, in no respect the equal of Mr. Douglas as a political orator. We had read the lying report of Douglas' paid letter writers and reporters, who go around with him, that at Freeport Mr. Lincoln was so utterly routed in the debate, and "cowed down" (that was the expression), that he had to be carried off the stand by his friends; we had read again and again in these partisan papers Douglas Triumphant, until we had come to fear that the Republican standard-bearer was really much inferior to his opponent, and that he must be losing ground in these debates.

Imagine, then, the agreeable surprise when we saw and heard the man. There stood before the multitude one of nature's noblemen, with a head and countenance expressive of the highest moral and mental qualities, a form tall and erect, an eye and expression of face beaming with kindly sentiments, and a voice and articulation so clear and distinct that every word was heard to the farthest extreme of the assembly —a voice natural, not strained, various in its modulations, and pleasant to listen to.

[Here follows the reply of Mr. Lincoln.]

If hurrahs, noise and rowdyism, can carry the day, Douglas will be reëlected. If the intelligence and enlightened sentiment of the people shall prevail, then Mr. Lincoln is as sure to be successor of Mr. Douglas in the Senate of the United States as there is a sun in the Heavens, and the probabilities are now working very strongly in this way.

[*Peoria Transcript*, October 18, 1858]

THE SEVENTH AND LAST GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS, AT ALTON

Correspondence of the *Transcript*

SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 16, 1858

The seventh debate between Lincoln and Douglas, came off today at Alton. The number present was not so great as it has been at most of these discussions. However, at an early hour the crowd began to assemble at the City Hall. At 2 P. M. the speakers were announced by various demonstrations among the crowd.

Mr. Lincoln, through his whole speech, was listened to with the greatest attention, and was only interrupted by men who, though they could scarcely stand, yet could hurrah for Douglas, men who when Douglas was speaking could belch forth various exclamations, as "Give him h—l," &c.

So much has been said about Mr. Lincoln's speech that we will not attempt to follow Judge Douglas in his wanderings to the end.

The vote on the cars, on returning, stood Lincoln 167; Douglas, 137.

In the vicinity of Alton the Democracy are so divided that we shall undoubtedly have a clear majority. J. D.

[*St. Louis Morning Herald*, October 16, 1858]

POLITICAL DISCUSSION AT ALTON

A large and highly respectable crowd of our citizens visited the City of Alton yesterday, for the purpose of listening to the speeches of Douglas (Democrat) and Lincoln (Abolitionist).

About five thousand people were present at the discussion, and throughout the speaking they preserved very good order.

Douglas opened the ball, but just before commencing, a fat, burly-looking man, with frizzly-looking side-boards on his cheeks, propounded a question to Judge Douglas. The individual had just left the side of a prominent office-holder of this city, and it was generally supposed that the question came from that source. The question was something in regard to the power of the legislative assemblies of the territories legislating on the subject of slavery. Mr. Douglas told him that his speech would be a reply to the question.

In the course of Mr. Douglas' remarks, he made the fur fly off the abolitionists, the government office-holders, and Abe Lincoln. We pitied the poor fellows, as we saw them squirm, and listened to the shouts of the assembled multitude, whilst Douglas was skinning them.

He was followed by long Abe, with a kind of half and half mourners'-bench exhortation to the faithful to come to the rescue. He denied being an Abolitionist, and would not admit that the Republicans are in favor of fixing it as their policy to equalize the white and black races; but it was no go—the crowd did not believe him.

Douglas concluded, and did skin poor Abe most unmercifully.

At the conclusion of the speaking the same individual we first alluded to rushed upon the platform, and in a very insinuating manner commenced propounding interrogations to Douglas. The Judge answered the questions in an appropriate manner. We were told that the questioner was a candidate of some few persons for Congress, and that his name is Hope, or something like that.

Last night a meeting was held at Alton, and Messrs Merrick, of Chicago, and A. J. P. Garesche, of this City, made Douglas speeches.

[*St. Louis Evening News*, October 16, 1858]

THE TRIP TO ALTON.—THE DEBATE.—DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

The debate between Douglas and Lincoln, at Alton yesterday, afforded to our citizens an opportunity of hearing and seeing those eminent champions of Democracy and Republicanism in conflict; and, as the people of St. Louis are notoriously fond of speeches, several hundred of them went "up to Alton" to listen to the discussion. One crowd went up on the Terre Haute railroad, another took the Baltimore at seven o'clock, and a third detachment followed on the White Cloud, which left at ten o'clock. We cast our fortunes with this latter crowd. It was, politically a promiscuous gathering. There were fierce and furious friends of Douglas, whose admiration for the "Little Giant" knew no bounds; steady old Adamantine Administration Democrats, who support the President at all hazards and to the last extremity; rampant Republicans, and neutral Americans. Of course, such an assemblage contained the elements of boundless and endless political disputes; and the boat was no sooner afloat than the whole crowd got afloat, too, in the deep water of politics. The Douglas men were vociferous in praises of the "Little Giant." The Administration men were vehement in their denunciation of him. The Douglas men believe their champion to be the "greatest man now living." The Administration men suggested that he had lived well nigh to the end of his political life. The Douglas men went into grandiloquent expositions of "the great principle of the Kansas Nebraska Act," "popular sovereignty," "the rights of the people," and other "glittering generalities," to which the Administration men listened with "serene indifference," while the Americans and Republicans grappled each other in animated side fights, which made the cabin of the White Cloud as uproariously interesting and profoundly instructive as one of the midnight sessions of the last Congress, when the Kansas question was up. The disputation was vigorously kept up until the boat arrived at Alton, at half past twelve.

The streets of Alton were alive with independent looking "Suckers," who had come from all the country round about to hear the speeches; flags were streaming from the two hotels to denote the headquarters of the respective forces; and Senator Douglas' six-pound traveling swivel was blazing away in the most obstreperous manner, to impress the Altonians with a proper sense of the respect due the "big gun" who was its master. At half past one the people assembled to the number of five thousand, in front of the new City Hall, against which a platform had been erected, midst mingled cheers for "Douglas" and "Lincoln" the "Little Giant" came forward and opened the game.

. . . .

When Mr. Lincoln arose to speak he was loudly cheered by a portion of the crowd, while a magnificent bouquet of dahlias and roses, thrown at his feet, bespoke the admiration which the tall Republican had inspired in the bosom of one of the ladies in the crowd.

Mr. Lincoln appeared to some disadvantage in the first part of his speech, which was a labored defense of himself against the charges of his antagonist, and a rescue of his position from the misrepresentations which Mr. Douglas had thrown around it; but the latter portion was an admirable example of close, compact and finished argument, and would have been creditable before any Court or Council in the land. It was a lucid exposition of the doctrines and philosophy of the Republican party, and, as a forensic effort, was certainly superior to the speech of Mr. Douglas.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 18, 1858]

SEVENTH AND LAST DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS AT ALTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 15TH

Douglas's Seventh Rehearsal of "That Speech."—Admirable Summing Up of the Issues of the Campaign by Mr. Lincoln.—Verbatim Report of Mr. Douglas' Speech, Mr. Lincoln's Reply and Mr. Douglas's Rejoinder

The final passage-at-arms between Lincoln and Douglas came off at Alton on Friday last—two days subsequently to the Quincy debate. The speakers, accompanied by a few friends, took passage on the fine steamer *City of Louisiana*, at Quincy on Thursday—reaching Alton at five o'clock Friday morning.

There was very little excitement manifest in the city during the forenoon, beyond the constant arriving of people from the country and the neighboring towns. A train of eight or ten cars came down from Springfield, Carlinville, and other stations on the Alton & Chicago Railroad; and the steamer *White Cloud* brought up a full load from St. Louis. The whole number in attendance upon the discussion was probably between four and five thousand. By mutual agreement the friends of the respective candidates made no processions or other demonstrations of enthusiasm. The debate passed off with rather less than the ordinary amount of applause, but with unusually close attention on the part of the audience. The speaking commenced at 2 o'clock P. M. at the south front of the new City Hall.

[*Cincinnati Gazette*, October 20, 1858]

THE LAST JOINT DEBATE

The number of people in attendance was considerably less than on the occasion of their former debates. Only four or five thousand were present. The novelty had worn off and the full reports of the previous debates had partially satisfied the public curiosity, and as little that was new could now be expected on either side. . . . . Both these champions will appear before the people on several occasions previous to the election but not again in conjunction. It has evidently been a less advantageous arrangement to Douglas than to his competitor.

[*Illinois State Journal*, October 20, 1858]

[From the *Alton Courier*]

SPRINGFIELD CADETS.—This military company visited our city on the occasion of the joint debate between Lincoln and Douglas, and their beautiful appearance and excellent training merited notice from us. Their officers are as follows: Captain—D. S. Mather; 1st. Lieut.—W. H. Latham; 2d. Lieut.—J. Loyd; 3d. Lieut. —E. Strickland.

Immediately after the arrival of the 10½ o'clock train, on which they came down, they formed, and preceded, by Merritt's Cornet Band, which by the way, is one of the finest that has visited our city lately, they paraded through our streets, attracting general attention. In the afternoon, at the close of the discussion, they again formed, and after marching about the city a while, drew up in front of the COURIER office, and displayed their knowledge of military tactics. Their evolutions were exceedingly well performed. We are sure they need not fear comparison with any company in the State. They drew a large crowd of observers, and well they might

The beauty of their uniform, their general neatness of appearance, the certainty and rapidity with which they moved at the word of command, all combined to make them justly worthy of admiration and praise.

[*Alton Courier*, October 19, 1858]

ENCOURAGING

In our notice, the other day, of the flags and banners displayed, we are advised we did a "Young America Republican" injustice, as will be seen by the following:

Editor Alton Courier:

In your notice Saturday you give my father the credit of hanging out the banners at his store. I did it! They are mine. I have kept some of them ever since the election of the brave Col. Bissell, and will hang them out again when Lincoln is elected. I am only a "Young America" Republican, twelve years old, but if I had twelve votes I would give them all to Lincoln and Liberty.

HARRY LEA

Good for Harry, say we. He has all the fire of a genuine Republican, and puts to shame many of his elders. Those banners will be wanted, Harry, so be sure and keep them safe, and think what a rejoicing we will have on that occasion. How many of our young folks can say as much as Harry?

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 18, 1858]

THE ALTON DEBATE

The seventh and last public debate between Lincoln and Douglas, came off at Alton on Friday last. The audience, though large, was not equal in point of numbers to the average of those at the preceding discussions. This may be attributed partly to the staid character of the population of Madison County—a considerable plurality of whom are Old Line Whigs, and partly to the fact that both speakers had previously visited in the county during the campaign.

Mr. Douglas' prudence in limiting this national discussion to seven meetings has prevented our candidate from driving him any farther into the ditch. We are grateful for what has been vouchsafed us.

[*Springfield, Ill., Republican*, October 21, 1858]

Douglas and Lincoln have concluded their joint discussions. The last was at Alton, on Friday. Each has about a dozen more appointments for speeches by themselves before the election.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

[*Boston Daily Courier*, July 16, 1858]

The speech of Mr. Lincoln, of Illinois, following upon that of Senator Douglas, delivered the preceding day, has come to hand, and we have now read them both with much attention. The contest for the Senatorship between these two gentlemen is one of very great interest to the country at large, since by its issue will be substantially determined the political character of their State at the next Presidential election. . . . . Mr. Douglas assumes his position, in conformity with the laws of his State, that a negro is not entitled to the privileges, immunities and rights of citizenship. He says, "I am utterly opposed to negro equality with white men,"—and this corresponds with the existing laws of Illinois, which, while they forbid slavery, also forbid a negro to vote or hold office, to serve on juries, or to enjoy political privileges; as is the practice of Massachusetts, except in regard to the voting, though our laws are silent on the subject.

Mr. Lincoln, on the other hand, amongst many other things tending to the same point, which we cannot quote in detail, declares—"I have always hated slavery, *I think as much as any abolitionist*," and when a man goes to the lengths of an abolitionist on this point, it is obvious that he waits only for opportunity to unite with those impracticables in their not very reasonable or judicious measures for its extinction. We must think it is not of such stuff that Senators of the United States, holding slave States with their rights, as well as free States with their rights, ought to be made; nor is it easy to see how the people of Illinois, under their own Constitution and laws, can find it consistent to elect a gentleman holding such opinions. The issue, of course, is quite beyond conjecture; but the diverse views of the candidates, on the point thus indicated, show what is the real question and what will be the nature of the discussion as the canvass proceeds.

Thus in a free State, excluding negroes from all rights of citizenship by law, curiously enough, negroism in one aspect or another seems to constitute the gist of the controversy. The contest has begun with every commendable exhibition of courtesy between the rivals. In point of oratorical ability there is no comparison between them. Judge Douglas's speech is graceful, compact, and easy. Mr. Lincoln's inelegant, discursive, and laborious. We can hardly conceive of the latter producing much popular impression, even with the truth; while the former might render even sophistry agreeable to a not unwilling crowd.

[*Cincinnati Gazette*, August 11, 1858]

DOUGLAS PLAYING DOUBLE

The *Chicago Tribune* alleges that, in certain quarters, Douglas breaks down on so much of the Dred Scott decision as conflicts with Squatter Sovereignty; alleging further that all the points settled by the Supreme Court, beyond the fact of the non-citizenship of negroes, are of no authority, being *obiter dicta*. He cannot avoid the glaring inconsistency of maintaining the validity of the whole decision, and yet asserting his "popular sovereignty" dogma. One or the other must go to the wall . . . . . he finds that he [Lincoln] is pressing home on him with terrible effect the plain truth that Judge Taney, whom he has hitherto unqualifiedly endorsed, has completely strangled his own popular sovereignty bantling.

[*The Commonwealth*, Frankfort, Kentucky, August 24, 1858]

THE CANVASS IN ILLINOIS

Whether viewed in reference to its political result upon the country at large, or in reference to the ability displayed by the respective candidates, the canvass now going on in Illinois between Judge Douglas and Hon. Abram Lincoln for the U. S. Senate is *the* canvass of the year 1858. Lincoln is the Black Republican candidate, while Douglas is the candidate of the anti-Lecompton Democracy. The Buchanan Lecompton Democracy do not constitute more than a corporal's guard in Illinois, yet because the "Little Giant" dared, during the last session of Congress, to follow the dictates of his conscience—because he boldly and bitterly denounced the Kansas policy of Mr. Buchanan as a fraud upon the constitutional rights of the people of that Territory, and in violation of the fundamental principles of American freedom, the President, with his army of officeholders in Illinois, seemed determined to defeat him, if possible, even though that defeat will result in the election of a rampant

Black Republican to the U. S. Senate. It is openly declared by some of Buchanan's minions in Illinois that they are willing to pursue any course and vote in any way which will enable Lincoln to beat Douglas. The Lecompton organs of Kentucky seem to be perfectly unconcerned about the result, and many of them continue to pour out their abuse upon Douglas, and are aiding and abetting the Black Republican Lincoln.

[*Cincinnati Commercial,* August 25, 1858]

MEETING OF DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT OTTAWA

The first regular debate between Douglas and Lincoln in the course of the Illinois canvass took place on Saturday last at Ottawa.—About twelve thousand persons were present. Of course each party claimed decided victory. Lincoln personally had the advantage of Douglas in preserving his temper. But the Lincoln organs are more radically out of good humor than Douglas himself. Douglas said that when he was a school teacher, Lincoln was a grocery keeper. Lincoln, however, said that he never kept a grocery, but did once give his attention to a still house up at the head of a hollow. To the surprise of the spectators the honorable gentlemen got along without calling each other liars and getting into a scratch fight on the stand, but Douglas did nod his head when Lincoln asked him if he made a question of veracity between them.

The enemies of Senator Douglas are multiplying. Senator Trumbull has joined Lincoln in preaching a crusade against him. The Washington *Union* pursues him with extraordinary constancy of hate. Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, of St. Louis, have invaded Egypt to heap up the agony upon him, and to complete the circle of fire, the Louisville *Journal,* whose advice has been asked by the K. N.'s of Illinois, tells them to go for Lincoln, because Douglas had a few pleasant words to say to the Germans at Chicago the other day. Such a combination to crush out a single man has rarely been witnessed.

[*The Union,* Washington, D. C., August 26, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT OTTAWA

The Chicago papers come to us filled with reports of the speeches of Senator Douglas and would-be-senator Lincoln, at the great meeting at Ottawa on the 21st inst. By an arrangement previously made, these representatives of their respective parties had agreed to hold seven public discussions—this being the first. It is estimated that not less than twelve thousand persons were present; and we are told that "Ottawa was deluged in dust," while national flags, mottoes, and devices were visible in every direction. The friends of the respective speakers met them on their entrance into the city, and two processions were formed, each of which is represented as having been nearly a mile in length. The debate was opened by Mr. Douglas, who spoke an hour; Mr. Lincoln occupied an hour and-a-half in his reply, and Mr. D. made a closing speech of half an hour. As might be expected, the victory in this discussion is claimed on both sides. The *Chicago Press* has a heading—"A Senator in a tight place," while the *Times* informs us that "Lincoln breaks down," &c. The *Press* states that at the close of the debate Mr. Lincoln "was seized by the multitude and borne off on their shoulders, in the centre of a crowd of five thousand shouting republicans, with a band of music in front." The *Times*, on the other hand, informs us that Lincoln "seemed to have been paralyzed. He stood upon the stage looking wildly at the people as they surrounded the triumphant Douglas, and with mouth wide open, he could not find a friend to say one word to him in his distress."

[*New York Daily Tribune*, August 26, 1858]

Perhaps no local contest in this country ever excited so general or so profound an interest as that now waging in Illinois, with Senator Douglas, the Federal Administration, and the Republican party headed by Messrs. Lincoln and Trumbull as the combatants.

. . . .

As our readers are already aware, one of the features of this remarkable contest is a series of public meetings in different parts of the State, where Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln successively address the people—a mode of discussing political questions which might well be more generally adopted. The first of these meetings was held at Ottawa on Saturday, the 21st inst, and we publish on another page a full report of the speeches on both sides.

. . . .

But it is not merely as a passage at arms between two eminent masters of the art of intellectual attack and defense that this discussion is worthy of study. It touches some of the most vital principles of our political system, and no man can carefully peruse it without some benefit, whatever his convictions as to the questions at issue between the disputants.

[*Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, August 27, 1858]

THE ILLINOIS CONTEST.—Douglas and Lincoln, the Illinois rivals, had the first of their seven joint debates at Ottawa last Saturday. The talk on both sides was mostly personal. A Douglas account says: "Douglas was borne off in triumph, leaving Lincoln paralyzed on the stand, with his mouth open, and that finally, being unable to walk, he was carried away." A Republican report says: "It is acknowledged universally that Douglas was a used up man,—that Lincoln chawed him up completely," and that Douglas hastened out of town by the earliest train, while Owen Lovejoy "divested himself of his cravat and collar, also his vest and shirt," and "seized the democratic bull by the horns and administered to him a terrible flagellation;" "every sentence fell hissing hot upon the conscience of his Douglas listeners." If our readers cannot understand the merits of the day's debate from these particulars, we will add, after having read the speeches of both Douglas and Lincoln, that the former seems the best argued and most adroitly conceived, and the latter to have the most truth in it. Douglas was smart but mighty unfair. Lincoln was entertaining, had the most friends in the crowd, and defended himself handsomely from the attacks of his opponent, but did not press home upon him the points which he should have done.

[*The Union*, Washington, D. C., August 28, 1858]

THE ISSUE IN ILLINOIS TRULY STATED

THE "GREAT DEBATE" AT OTTAWA.—According to the bills, Douglas and Lincoln had their "great debate" at Ottawa on Saturday. Mr. Douglas opened in a speech of an hour, Lincoln followed in a speech of an hour and a half, and Douglas "concluded" on him in a speech of half an hour.

The theme of both speakers was "nigger," with the sprinkling of "charges" made by each speaker against the other. In the main, the speech of Mr. Douglas was the same he has been making throughout the canvass, while that of Lincoln—while it served to exasperate Douglas—did not amount to much in the way of convincing the people that black-republicanism is right. Indeed, the debate, like the contest generally between these gentlemen, was chiefly personal. We have read the speeches of both carefully, and do not deem them worth the room they would occupy in our columns, especially as we and the democracy look upon the fight between them somewhat as the woman did upon that between her husband and the bear. No matter which may get the most votes, Douglas or Lincoln, the national democracy of Illinois will prevent the success of either by electing Judge Breese, or some other good democrat, to the Senate of the United States.

The above article, taken from that excellent and faithful democratic journal the *Chicago Herald*, puts the issue in Illinois in so plain a light that "he who runs may read." We are utterly amazed that any true democrat should be satisfied with considering the controversy now going on in the State of Illinois as involving only the question of a choice between Lincoln and Douglas. That question might properly arise among black-republicans and men having no other political principles than opposition to the democratic organization, but how it can be entertained by democrats is astonishing. Outside, and perhaps in the State of Illinois, the question was with great propriety discussed by those feeling an interest in the success of the black-republican cause as to the propriety of taking Douglas instead of Lincoln. The *New York Tribune* led off in favor of Douglas, and thought his party had made a great mistake in opposing him. That organ, which has heretofore been considered as extreme on the slavery question, was satisfied with Mr. Douglas's position before the country. Many others of the *Tribune* school were willing, not only as a matter of policy, but upon principle, to take Mr. Douglas, relying upon his antecedents for his future course. It seems, however, that what, in the beginning of this controversy, was a question exclusively within the province of those sympathizing with the black-republicans to settle and adjust, has been taken by some few who are now acting with the democratic party, and they are attempting to convince themselves that as party men they are called upon to choose between Lincoln and Douglas. The only ground that we have yet seen taken by these misguided friends of the democratic party is the assumption that either Lincoln or Douglas must be elected, and the latter is the lesser evil. For the very same reason the democratic party would long since have been annihilated in Massachusetts, Vermont, and other northern States, if they had abandoned their principles, and we are to-day indebted to that gallant wing of the party for the prospect of electing several members to the next Congress. Their devotion to principles alone has kept and will continue to keep them as an independent, political organization, from which the national democracy have received much aid and encouragement. Let our friends beware of being deceived; it is no question for the democratic party, or any portion of it, to determine whom they will select for United States senator from Illinois as between Douglas and Lincoln; their mission is to stand by their principles, and, if they are in the minority, fall in their defence, rather than surrender on account of their weakness. A question of incalculable magnitude, and especially with southern men, arises as to the effect upon the democratic party of the overthrow of Mr. Buchanan's administration. It may be affected in some measure by cutting down its friends in the northern States. There is not an anti-Lecompton democrat from the North who was in the last Congress that has any sympathy with the present administration. In some localities they are openly opposing the regular nominee of the democratic party; in others they are insiduously attempting to stab the organization by claiming the vesture of the people's candidate; and in others they are trying to throw upon them the responsibility of electing black-republicans instead of those who claim to be democrats, but who are more than acceptable to the *New York Tribune, et id omne genus*. The attempt is too shallow to deceive any orthodox democrat who has the interest of his party at stake, and we opine that the number that will be led off by any such false issue as Douglas or Lincoln will be easily counted. The true issue, not only in Illinois, but in every State in the Union, is the administration of Mr. Buchanan, as the representative of the democratic party against all opposition, whether as open enemies or false friends.

[*Lowell* (Mass.) *Journal and Courier*, August 30, 1858]

THE CONTEST IN ILLINOIS.—The earnestness in which the present political campaign is commenced in Illinois; the spirit in which it is carried on; the peculiar circumstances attending it—a chief in the Democratic party leading one section, the administration another, and the Republicans another, invest it with extraordinary interest. The principle attention is, however, directed to the leaders of the Douglasites and Republicans—Judge Douglas and Hon. Abraham Lincoln. Judge Douglas, it is universally conceded, is gifted with remarkable talents; for a quarter of a century he has mingled actively in the politics of Illinois, and for the greater part of the time his word has been law with the Democracy of that region. He has never succumbed to a single competitor, and is employing all his energies to retain the extraordinary position and influence he has hitherto enjoyed. In fact, so thoroughly has he been entrenched in his position as the leader of the Democracy, that it has seemed almost temerity to attempt to dislodge him, and seemed almost folly for a single opponent to attempt the difficult task of overthrowing him. Accordingly when Mr. Lincoln was first brought forward as the opposition champion, the Republicans, while they wished him success, yet were fearful of the result. He was to them comparatively unknown. But as the canvass progresses their fears disappear; they perceive his ability to cope with the "Little Giant," and the success which has attended his forensic efforts have exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The natural consequence of this contest will be to bring Mr. Lincoln more prominently before the people of the country, and if thoughts were made known it would not be surprising to hear that individuals were now calculating his fitness and chances for a more elevated position. The hand-to-hand encounter in which he is now engaged is not favorable to the full development and display of the higher order of eloquence, but the following eloquent and impressive apostrophe to the Declaration of Independence, ranks him at once among the foremost orators of the land. It occurs in the speech at Lewiston, Fulton county, where he spoke for two and a half hours, on the 17th inst.

[*Cincinnati Commercial,* September 1, 1858]

ILLINOIS CANVASS.—DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT FREEPORT

A large portion of the space in the news columns of this paper, this morning, is devoted to the debate which took place at Freeport, Ill., on Friday last between Senator Douglas and would-be Senator Lincoln—"Dug, the Little Giant," and "Old Abe." Though we devote so much space to the speeches of the respective champions upon this occasion, we give but a small portion of the reports that fill the leading papers at Chicago. . . . . Both champions upon this occasion exhibited extraordinary power and candor. In the whole history of the American stump we do not recollect that there is a record of a discussion so searching and comprehensive, so thorough in its analysis of issue, so absorbing in its scope, as this at Freeport. The country owes thanks to the Chicago papers for reporting it so well. . . . . During the debate, the people gave Mr. Douglas a lesson in manners that he will have reason to remember. In several instances when he said "Black Republicans" he was interrupted by a deafening clamor of "White," "White," until the offensive epithet was fairly crammed down his throat. At last, in consequence of this popular resentment of his personal vulgarity, he lost his temper, and talked savagely of blackguardism and foul play, in having his time consumed by the howlings of a mob. But in order to avoid another encounter with the fellows who halloed themselves hoarse with the word "White," he took care not to find occasion to say again "You Black Republicans."

[*Illinois State Register*, Springfield, September 2]

DOUGLAS AND THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

The republican papers, and their Danite allies, are just now worrying their tempers, and exercising their ingenuity, in trying to discover inconsistencies in the course of Judge Douglas in relation to the supreme court decision. Their assaults are harmless. Judge Douglas pursues his course through the state, everywhere receiving the most gratifying assurances of the approbation of the people, and everywhere proclaiming the same principles.

In all his speeches he has announced his acquiescence in all that the supreme court really decided. Even on points in the opinion in which he may not have entirely concurred, he has declared it the duty of every good citizen to submit to the decision of this legal tribunal in the land. He has urged, and powerfully urged, that the attack on the supreme court was an attack on that government the foundations of which our fathers so carefully laid; that the attempts to disturb that decision in the manner proposed by Lincoln and his associates, was as reckless as it was ridiculous, and was really but a part of the same plan devised by abolitionists and now being carried out by their associates and allies, the black republicans, to keep up the agitation of the slavery question, and unless they could succeed in carrying out their particular measures in favor of the negro, to overturn this government, and nullify the constitution of the country. No surer means of effecting their designs could have been devised than to begin by destroying the confidence of the people in the tribunal of last resort on constitutional questions. Those who remember the speeches of Codding, and Chase and Giddings, long before the Dred Scott case was thought of, cannot have failed to discover their insidious attacks upon the supreme court—and all who read or heard these speeches can find the prototypes of the present speeches of republican orators. Against all this class of politicians, as well when led by Codding as now when led by Lincoln, Douglas has nobly and fearlessly contended. To charge him with inconsistency for the purpose of catching anti-abolition votes, is so supremely ridiculous that it cannot be dignified with the name of folly. What troubles the republican and Danite crew are the straightforward, manly answers of Douglas to Lincoln's questions, prepared under the superintendence of Lincoln's committee at Chicago, and the shuffling, equivocatious replies prepared under the same supervision, of Lincoln to the searching questions of Mr. Douglas.

We have said there was no inconsistency. The supreme court has decided that congress does not possess the power to prohibit slavery in the territories, and that not possessing the power congress of course could not grant the power to territorial legislatures, but the supreme court has not yet decided that the people of a territory do not possess the power independent of the action of congress. In this country the doctrine is that power to do any act comes from the people, and is not given to the people by congress. The court may decide the constitutional question hereafter against the right of the people of a territory to exclude slavery. They have not yet so decided. Judge Douglas has, in all his speeches, shown, and in none more clearly than in the one delivered at Bloomington, that however the constitutional questions may be decided, yet it will be but a decision on an abstract question, and that, for all practical purposes, the power to exclude is just as absolute, by withholding that territorial legislation which is necessary to protect the rights of the master, as it could be by a positive prohibition. That such would be the consequence of legislation, or refusal to legislate on the subject of slavery, every sensible man admits, and none know it better than Lincoln and his associates, who are seeking power by unscrupulous agitation of this question, and unprincipled perversion of the views and expressed opinions of those differing with them.

In all his previous speeches, during this canvass, Douglas has advanced opinions identical in sentiment, if not in language, with the foregoing. Moreover, as to the practical effect of the exercise of the acknowledged power of the territorial legislature in the manner suggested by Mr. Douglas, all sensible southern men agree with him. Indeed, Douglas, in his Springfield speech, illustrated this by quoting the language of a southern senator in relation to the Dred Scott decision.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 2, 1858]

DOUGLAS-LINCOLN

On the first page of this paper we publish the speeches of Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, at Freeport. They are the second of a series to be delivered by the representatives of the two parties in Illinois, and, it may be presumed, embrace the pith and substance of all the intermediate speeches delivered by them. Both of the speakers are well attended, and a liberal allowance may be made for the enthusiasm and the crowds which are said to accompany them wherever they go. The contest is one to which the whole country is looking with intense anxiety. If there was much feeling expressed throughout every State of the Union, with reference to our election—if the Black Republicans of the North turned their gaze to St. Louis with intense anxiety, to discern, if possible, some hope that Black Republicanism had found a resting place in a Slave State, thereby relieving that party from the odium attached to a sectional, a strictly Free State party—if the result conveyed to them intelligence of the total discomfiture of their party—great as their disappointment was, still greater will be their disappointment if, in November next, the tidings should go forth that Douglas had been endorsed by the people of Illinois, and that the Black Republicanism had been defeated and overwhelmed.

[*Daily Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, September 3, 1858]

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

The Freeport Debate

The controversy between Douglas and Lincoln has elicited the most thorough and attractive debates which have yet occurred in the stump politics of the country. The issues debated are of grave and vital importance and are mostly of a national character. The great reputation of Douglas as a speaker, and his peculiar position in reference to the National Democracy, together with the prominent part he has played for years, invest the struggle with an epic interest. Never have his oratorical and demagogical talents been more conspicuous, and he has in addition manifested qualities of humor, which it might be well supposed were foreign to his mental character. "A foeman worthy of his steel" in all respects is Lincoln, if we can judge from the reported speeches. Comprehensiveness, tact, temper, logic, and a most racy humor distinguish all his efforts, and render him no unequal match for his adversary, trained athlete though he be and accustomed to conquer. Indeed, so ably is Lincoln conducting his canvass that if the issue should be adverse to the Republican party, no shadow of censure can fall on their standard-bearer and no allegation of inferior energy or capacity in comparison with Douglas can be made against him. Their separate meetings are attended by large numbers, and their joint meetings comprise thousands. The Chicago newspapers publish full reports of the discussions, and the entire press of Illinois is exclusively devoted to the contest. We publish this morning the debate at Freeport, and commend it as instructive reading. There is one feature and one tendency in the speeches on each side, which we think must attract observation. Lincoln and Douglas are far nearer to each other than the platforms of their respective parties. Douglas cannot be said to represent the National Democracy although he claims to be its candidate. Lincoln is the unquestioned exponent of the Republican party, and it will be seen from his speech that the ultraisms imputed to that party are unfounded. In reference to the slavery question, there seems to be no difference between the doctrines of the Republican party as expounded by Lincoln, and the doctrines of the late Whig party. On the other hand, it will be seen that Douglas strikes a severe blow at the Dred Scott decision, by denying the practicability of its application to the Territories, or rather by pointing out a method by which it can be evaded by the Territorial Legislatures. He indirectly shows the Freeport freesoilers how slavery can be prevented from entering a Territory, and we venture to say the hint will not be lost.

[*Washington Union*, Washington City, September 4, 1858]

JUDGE DOUGLAS REPUDIATES THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

. . . .

What will now be said of Judge Douglas's advocacy of the Dred Scott decision, and of his soundness on the doctrine of the Cincinnati platform, as confirmed by that decision? He asserts the power of transient squatters and their legislature to exclude slavery from a Territory. We do not understand him to deny even the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the Territories. Logically he asserts this power for Congress, though we do not find that he does it in express words; for he claims the power for the *people* and for the *legislature* of the Territory, as "*given*" to them by Congress in the Nebraska bill; and how can Congress give a power which it does not itself possess?

Thus does Judge Douglas boldly and unblushingly repudiate the Dred Scott decision.

We submit these avowals and heresies of Judge Douglas to the consideration of our fantastic contemporaries of the *New Orleans Courier* and *Delta*. If we were to ask them what they think of the doctrines proclaimed at Freeport, the answer, we suppose, would be, that Judge Douglas, who denounces them as the agents of a "fraud" and "swindle" is *at least a better Democrat than Lincoln.*

[*Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, September 7, 1858]

THE POLITICAL BATTLE IN ILLINOIS.—It is difficult, amid the conflicting partizan accounts, to obtain a sober and correct estimate of the condition of the great senatorial contest in Illinois, and the proper result. It rages with great fierceness between the republicans under Mr. Lincoln, and the democrats under Mr. Douglas; the democratic and Buchanan opponents of the latter, not apparently entering as a powerful element in the canvass. Beyond a paper at Chicago, established by a few officeholders in that quarter of the state, there seems to be nothing doing in behalf of the administration against Mr. Douglas.

[*The Commonwealth*, Frankfort, Ky., September 7, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

The second great debate between DOUGLAS and LINCOLN, candidates to represent Illinois in the United States Senate, came off in Freeport in that State on the 29th of August. Fifteen thousand persons are reported to have been present at the discussion.

It will be remembered that these gentlemen met for the first time at Ottawa, upon which occasion JUDGE DOUGLAS propounded various questions to LINCOLN in reference to the views of the latter upon the slavery question. LINCOLN responded at Freeport to the interrogatories put to him at Ottawa, and in his opening speech in return put various questions to his opponent. As this canvass is exciting interest in every part of the Union, because of the effect it is supposed it will have upon the Presidential election of 1860, we have concluded to give to our readers the positions of the respective candidates upon the all-absorbing slavery question, as elicited by the discussion at Freeport.

. . . .

Mr. Lincoln is the nominee of the Republican party, and from the manner in which his sentiments were at the first represented we were prepared to look for straight out Abolition views. So far as the admission of more slave States, the Abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as well as the slave trade between the States, are concerned, his views are such as no citizen of the South can object to. They are eminently conservative and just, far more so than we expected from him.

Upon one point, however, Mr. Lincoln differs *toto coelo* from all Southern men, as well as national and conservative Northern men. We allude to his belief that it is the "right and *duty* of *Congress*" to prohibit slavery in "*all the Territories* of the United States." There are a vast number of conservative men in both sections who concede the *power* of Congress, under the Constitution, to prohibit slavery in the Territories, yet, in obedience to the great principle settled by the Compromise measures of 1850, they are bitterly opposed to the *exercise* of that *power*. With such men we are prepared to unite in all attempts to overthrow the Democratic party—the most corrupt and rotten organization that ever existed in any country. But we can never sympathize with or co-operate with any man or set of men who maintain not only the power, but the duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the Territories.

The position of Mr. Douglas upon the question of slavery in the Territories is, if possible, more objectionable than that of Mr. Lincoln.

[*Journal and Courier*, Lowell (Mass.), September 14, 1858]

Douglas and Squatter Sovereignty. Stephen A. Douglas made a great mistake when he agreed to debate with Lincoln. But if this could not be avoided without the imputation of cowardice and fear to meet his competitor, he should by all means have prevented, if possible, any reports of his speeches, and the equivocations and tergiversations to which he has been compelled to resort. The fact is, Douglas has been doing business on false pretenses, and it is fatal to him as it would be to any one under like circumstances, to have this fact known. He has assumed to be the champion of popular sovereignty, and asks the votes of the people of Illinois on this ground. Under the severe cross-examination of Mr. Lincoln, he has been made to show himself in his true colors, and in his attempt to reconcile popular sovereignty with the Dred Scott decision has completely broke down.—He went before the people asserting his belief in the Cass-Nicholson doctrine about slavery in the territories. It follows from this that the territory can pass laws and stop the slaveholder as he crosses the border with his slaves. He can be made criminal for introducing or attempting to introduce slaves, and fined and imprisoned. The absolute right, the sovereignty, has no other limit than the will of the legislator. Is this what Mr. Douglas means? . . . . In one breath he, in effect, declares that the people of a territory may exclude slavery while under a territorial government, and in another, by his concurrence with the Supreme Court, explicitly denies that power. In their last discussion his adversary compelled Douglas to "face the music." And how did he attempt to extricate himself from the dilemma in which he was involved? By a most pitiful equivocation. It was that slaveholders may come into territories with thousands of slaves, and cannot be treated otherwise than as having equal rights; but that the territorial legislature may neglect to pass police laws for slave protection, without which it cannot exist! This is the result of his attempt to harmonize two conflicting opinions. Did any one ever witness a more "lame and impotent conclusion" to high-sounding pretensions? The territorial legislature *may neglect to pass police laws for the protection of slavery!* What puerile stuff, and what a pitiful figure for a senator of the United States to cut. His avowal of concurrence with the Dred Scott decision will lose him all Republican sympathy, while this wretched attempt to explain popular sovereignty will expose him to the scorn and derision of the southern Democrats, who respect manliness, and utterly detest such miserable hypocrisy. "Every dog," it is said, "has his day," and we are inclined to think Senator Douglas has had his.

[*Washington Union*, Washington, D. C., September 16, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND DEMOCRACY

[From the *Columbia* (S. C.) *Guardian*, September 11]

We are pleased to see that Judge Douglas's Freeport speech is being met with a proper spirit. If the Democratic party did not make a support of the Dred Scott decision an indispensable feature of its platform of principles, then it would deserve the contempt of the whole country. It would then demonstrate its openness to the charge which the opposition are continually making, that it is the party of the spoils without reference to the principles. This we have no idea it will do. Our confidence in the present soundness of the party is based upon sturdy and unyielding persistency to State rights, both North and South, throughout the administration of Gen. Pierce and up to this time. Then was its time of trial. If when difficulties compassed it round about, it remained true, will it swerve now in its hour of triumph?

IT WON'T DO

[From the *Wilmington* (N. C.) *Journal*]

At a discussion between Judge Douglas and Mr. Lincoln, recently held at a place in Illinois called Ottawa, [Freeport] the following questions and answers are reported: Mr. Lincoln asked Judge Douglas, "Can the people of the United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?" To this Mr. Douglas replied: "I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times on every stump in Illinois, that, in my opinion, the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery before it comes in as a State." This is at variance with the principles laid down by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, with those avowed by the President in his annual message, with those entertained by the whole southern democracy. It is, in our opinion, radically unsound. It won't begin to do for our use. We could do nothing for Mr. Douglas in his local contest; we do not wish to do anything against him in favor of Lincoln; but if we were in Illinois, and a sounder man came out, we should vote for him, even with the prospect of defeat.

[*New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, September 21, 1858]

Douglas Making Progress.—"If the Constitution carries slavery and (in the Territory) attempt affirmative law, *no power on earth can take it away*."—Douglas' speech, June 9, 1858, *Congressional Globe*, p. 1, 371.

"The Courts must decide the question according to the Constitution and the law, *and all must abide by that decision*."—*Ibid.*

"Hence, no matter what may be the decision of the Supreme Court on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make it a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is *perfect and complete* under the Nebraska bill."—*Douglas' speech at Freeport.*

[*Illinois State Register*, October 8, 1858]

LINCOLN IN A SNARL.—ABOLITIONISM HOLDS HIM TO HIS WORK

At the outset of the present canvass, black republicanism assumed the most ultra abolition ground. In his speech in Springfield, in June, Mr. Lincoln after receiving the Republican nomination for the senate, addressed the convention, avowing himself to be in favor of doctrines that square with the most ultra abolitionism of Garrison, Phillips, and the negro Douglas; avowed himself favorable to the abolition of slavery, by any means; favorable to "negro equality," and threatened a dissolution of the Union if such doctrines were not ultimately embraced by a majority in all the states of the Union. This speech met the approval of his black republican auditory, and was printed and scattered broadcast throughout the state, as the black republican shibboleth—the sheet anchor of the party in our state. The convention to whom it was addressed adopted a platform, unmeaning in its general details, but preceded by a saving clause which fully covered the ground of Mr. Lincoln's speech, as it indorsed all the "previous affirmations" of the members of the body which adopted it, and which was composed of abolitionists of every shade of opinion, from ultra Garrisonism to the shaky negroism of the recently inoculated recruits of Lovejoy. A few weeks discussion before the people taught black republican leaders that they had ventured too far. Douglas' ventilation of Lincoln at Ottawa set the latter's committee to work to modify their heresies, and so shape their creed, *by construction*, as would render it less offensive to the popular conservative sentiment.

At Freeport, Lincoln, in a series of equivocal answers, to Douglas' questions, attempted to modify his ultraism so that the people of the central and southern portions of the state might not be repulsed by the intense negroism of his convention speech. This move of Lincoln and his advisers has run them upon the shoals again.

[*New York Semi-Weekly Tribune*, October 12, 1858]

THE CANVASS IN ILLINOIS

Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*

CHICAGO, Oct. 4, 1858

The political excitement in this State is tremendous. No previous canvass ever came up to it. The Presidential contest of '56 was a calm in comparison. The whole population, female as well as male, are excited.

. . . .

Harris acted more manly and independently than any Democrat from this State in Congress. He stood by his guns from first to last. He believes in Popular Sovereignty pure and simple, and denies the Dred Scott dogma that the Constitution carries Slavery into any Territory. Under these circumstances it is more than probable that he will receive many Opposition votes. Had Douglas pursued the same course and taken the same grounds on his return home, his chances of election would be a thousand times better than they are. Little short of a miracle can save him; while on the other tack, nothing short of one could have defeated him. But the glare of the Charleston Convention blinded his eyes. He was dreaming of a seat in the White House, and to please or conciliate the negro-breeders, spit in the face of his own bantling—Popular Sovereignty—and clasped to his embrace the black imp Dred Scott. He staked his soul against the Presidency, in a game with the Demon of Slavery, and he has lost! "He is played out." Wait for the 3rd of November and be convinced. 1858.

[*Louisville* (Ky.) *Democrat*, October 13, 1858]

Some of our Southern contemporaries found a mare's nest in what Douglas said about the power of a territorial legislature to exclude slavery; but they are puzzled at the position of Orr, Stephens, Smith, and Jefferson Davis, the foremost of Southern statesmen. We want to know if we are to read these Southern men out of the party along with Douglas. Let us have them immediately read out. The *Union* thinks this opinion of Douglas the most shocking that the editor knows of; but he has not yet decided what to do with the Southern statesmen who have said more than Douglas. . . . .

[*Missouri Democrat*, October 15, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND THE DRED SCOTT DECISION

We find in the *Chicago Times* of the 8th (Douglas' organ), the following:

> "When any intelligent person asserts that Senator Douglas repudiates the Dred Scott decision, he asserts what is untrue; and we venture that no one will attempt to support the assertion with argument."

The Dred Scott decision enunciates the doctrine that slavery exists under the federal Constitution in all the Territories of the United States, and that no power on earth—neither the Congress of the United States, or the Legislature, nor *the people* of said Territories—can keep it out or drive it out prior to the formation of a State government. If it be true that Mr. Douglas fully and unqualifiedly endorses the Dred Scott decision then the voters in Illinois will understand that his talk about popular sovereignty is all a sham gotten up to cheat them out of their suffrage, and that so soon as the election is over he will *slough* back into the Administration ranks, and be the first to insult the people of the Territories with his old threat "we will subdue you." This is one of the most conclusive evidences of the duplicity and double-dealing of Mr. Douglas that has yet come to light, and the community will thank his own organ for the exposure.

[*Baltimore Sun*, Washington, D. C., August 23, 1858]

Correspondence of the *Baltimore Sun*

Several gentlemen, residents of Illinois, have lately been here, who express the opinion that Mr. Douglas will succeed by a heavy majority. He makes two or three speeches a day, and, by reason of the heat, is obliged to change his clothes three times a day at least. It is also stated that as intellectual efforts his speeches surpass any ever before made by him before the people.

[*Illinois State Register*, Springfield, November 23, 1858]

[From the *New York Times*]

LABORS OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.—A western correspondent gives a detailed statistical account of the labors of Senator Douglas, in the recent canvass of Illinois, from which it appears that they were almost equal to the labors of Hercules. It seems that he has addressed his constituents in 57 counties. He met Mr. Lincoln in debate once in each congressional district; made 59 set speeches of from two to three hours in length; 17 speeches of from twenty-minutes to forty-five minutes in length, in response to the serenades; and 37 speeches of about equal length, in reply to addresses of welcome. Of these speeches, all but two were made in the open air, and seven speeches were made or continued during heavy rains. To do this, Mr. Douglas crossed, from end to end, every railroad line in the state, excepting three, besides making long journeys by means of horse conveyances and steamboats; the road travel amounting to more than 5,227 miles. By boat he made almost the entire western side of the state, and all that portion of the Illinois river which is navigable by steamboats.

[*Chicago Daily Democrat*, October 29, 1858]

MR. LINCOLN IN CHICAGO

Mr. Lincoln was at the Tremont House a few moments last evening, on his way to speak at Petersburg today. He speaks at Springfield on Saturday, and at Decatur on Monday.

He is as fresh as he was on the day he first started out on the campaign. He takes the matter very coolly, and can wear out twenty such men as Judge Douglas in a long campaign.

Habits of temperance in all things commend themselves nowhere so highly as in the ways of Lincoln and Douglas.

Douglas is all worn out, whilst Lincoln is as fresh as the morning.

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 17, 1858]

THE GREAT POLITICAL TOURNAMENT IN ILLINOIS

Seven times have the champions of the two great political parties in Illinois met in mental strife and struggles—Douglas, the champion of the Democratic party, and Lincoln, the representative of the sectional Black Republican party of the State. The last conflict was at Alton, on Saturday, and there both gentlemen, before a new audience, endeavored to acquit themselves to the satisfaction of their respective partizans. Both gentlemen were jaded and worn, and it is not surprising that they should have delivered themselves less happily than they would otherwise have done, if the subjects had not been worn threadbare by weekly reiteration, and they themselves worn down by constant effort. The wonder is, indeed, that for sixty days past they could have made speeches to so many crowds, embracing the same topics, and yet give vitality to them.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, October 18, 1858]

CONCLUSION OF THE JOINT DEBATES BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

The series of seven joint debates that had been agreed upon by Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas, was concluded at Alton on Friday.

There were some five thousand people present at this last debate, about two-thirds of whom, the reporter of the *St. Louis Democrat* says were Lincoln men.

. . . .

These debates are now closed, and the people of the State having heard the two opposing champions and candidates for the Senate, have been able to judge between the merits of their respective positions as politicians, and their abilities as Statesmen. We, as the friend of Mr. Lincoln, feel perfectly satisfied—and more than satisfied—with the noble fight he has made, and we rest in the confidence that the November election will show that the verdict of the people will be strongly in his favor.

. . . .

While Douglas' speeches have been full of spleen, verbose nonsense and weak falsification, those of Lincoln have been characterized by fairness, logical argument and a commendable manliness of spirit; and while Douglas, by his bitterness and black-guardism, has repelled friends, Lincoln by his good natured and honorable course, has gained scores of warm supporters.

[*Peoria Transcript*, October 18, 1858]

We predict that Douglas, giant though he has the reputation of being, will never consent to meet honest Abe Lincoln in joint discussion again.

He has had a sufficient taste of the old Kentuckian's quality to more than satisfy him. Had the discussion been continued two or three more meetings, we are confident Douglas would have given out and failed to "come to time." It is a mercy to him that his encounters with his powerful rival have closed.

[*Peoria Daily Transcript*, October 8, 1858]

EXCURSION TRAIN FROM OQUAWKA.—We are informed by E. A. Paine, Esq., of Monmouth, on canvassing the votes yesterday on board the excursion train from Oquawka, the result was as follows:

For Lincoln, 252; for Douglas, 116; for Buchanan, 3. Out of sixty ladies on the train 56 were for Lincoln, and the great whole of the remainder for Douglas! Hurrah for Lincoln and the ladies!

[*Chicago Democrat*, November 10, 1858]

Governor Chase, of Ohio, is the only man talked of for the next Presidency, who lent us his aid in our contest against that prince of Border Ruffians, Stephen A. Douglas, who repealed the Missouri Compromise, and then made professions of free soil to protect himself from popular indignation. Governor Chase was here for several days and spoke daily for the Republican party.

CHAPTER XIII

ELECTION DAY AND ITS RESULTS

[*Burlington* (Iowa) *State Gazette*, October 29, 1858]

What a night next Tuesday will be all over the Union! The whole Nation is watching with the greatest possible anxiety for the result of that day. No State has ever fought so great a battle as that which Illinois is to fight on that day. Its result is big with the fate of our Government and the Union and the telegraph wires will be kept hot with it until the result is known all over the land.

[*Illinois State Journal*, November 3, 1858]

THE ELECTION.—We are gratified to state that the election in this city yesterday passed off as usual, without any disturbance. The rain fell almost incessantly throughout the entire day, and the streets were in a horrid condition.

[*Galesburg* (Ill.) *Democrat*, November 3, 1858]

Election day more than sustained its reputation as a day of considerable weather. For days beforehand the rains began to descend and the floods to come, and on that day the weather gear was in good working order. Such mud, such inky slop, such incessant pourings were remarkable, even for Illinois. For the farmers to get out to the polls was almost an impossibility—hence the falling off in this county. A fair day would have given 1400 Republican majority.

[*Illinois State Journal*, November 9, 1858]

THE APPORTIONMENT

The thirty-five Lincoln members of the House represent a larger population than the forty Douglas members; and the eleven Lincoln Senators represent a larger constituency than the fourteen Douglas and Buchanan Senators. In other words, if the State had been apportioned according to population, the districts carried by the Republicans would have returned *forty-one* Lincoln representatives, and *fourteen* Lincoln Senators, which, of course, would have elected him. In the Republican districts it requires on an average a population of 19,635 inhabitants to elect a representative, and 58,900 for a Senator, while in the Democratic districts 15,675 for a representative and 47,100 for a Senator suffices. On a fair apportionment, Douglas would have been beaten seven in the House and three in the Senate. He was elected for the reason that 754 voters in "Egypt" are an offset to 1000 in "Canaan."

[*Illinois State Register*, November 9, 1858]

EXCUSE—WHO DID IT?

We had supposed that our neighbors of the *Journal* had, philosophically, settled, down into defeat, and were willing to admit that, being short of votes, they were unable to make that sort of "connection" necessary to make A. Lincoln senator, but we are mistaken—they have been hunting excuses, and every apology for defeat, but the true one, is offered in their yesterday's issue.

. . . .

Black-republicanism, though over twenty thousand in a majority two years ago, succeeds in electing state officers by a minority vote. It does by the intrigue and treachery of the Washington cabal, which fails in its great desire—the defeat of Douglas.

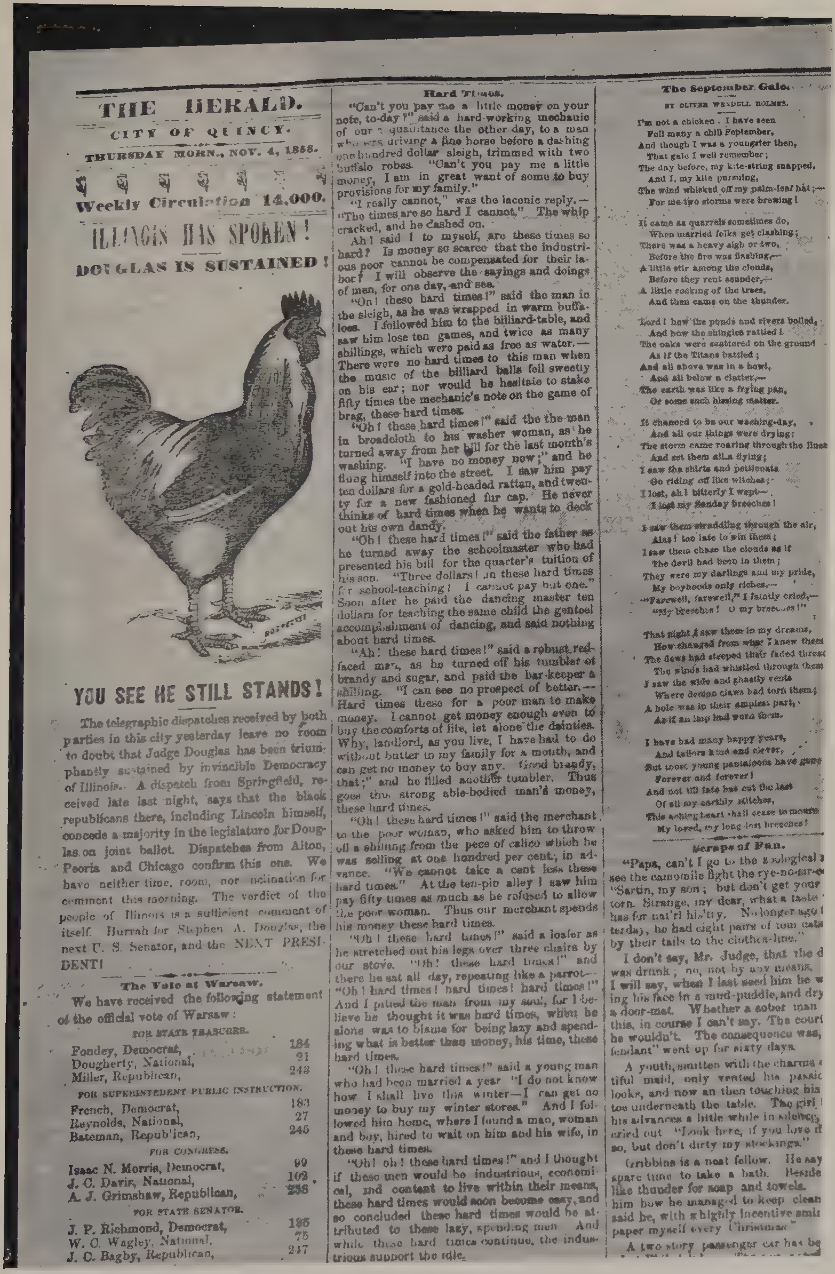
The returns show that Illinois is yet democratic. They show that although 21,000 behind two years ago, they are within 3,500 of a clear majority over government officials and black-republicanism combined.

These facts scatter to the winds the *Journal's* palliatives. Black-republicanism is in a minority in the state where it succeeded two years ago by 21,000. Treacherous democrats deluded enough honest men to give niggerism this preponderance. But for this treachery, this intrigue of gambling politicians, the Illinois democracy would, to-day, stand, as they everywhere have stood, in a majority over all opposition.

The Washington cabal have only succeeded in this: They have defeated, by the most villainous treachery, the democratic people of a state, which has never yet failed to sustain the party of the country by a state majority, but they have failed in their chief and controlling desire—the defeat of the leader of the Illinois democracy, Stephen A. Douglas.

. . . .

Their treachery has taken for niggerism some of the minor tricks, but they have lost the game, and incur the loathing and contempt of the truest democratic state in the Union, which cannot fail to meet the cordial sympathy of the democracy generally.



THE HERALD.

CITY OF QUINCY.

THURSDAY MORN., NOV. 4, 1858.

Weekly Circulation 14,000.

ILLINOIS HAS SPOKEN!

DOUGLAS IS SUSTAINED!

YOU SEE HE STILL STANDS!

The telegraphic dispatches received by both parties in this city yesterday leave no room to doubt that Judge Douglas has been triumphantly sustained by invincible Democracy of Illinois. A dispatch from Springfield, received late last night, says that the black republicans there, including Lincoln himself, concede a majority in the legislature for Douglas on joint ballot. Dispatches from Alton, Peoria and Chicago confirm this one. We have neither time, room, nor inclination for comment this morning. The verdict of the people of Illinois is a sufficient comment of itself. Hurrah for Stephen A. Douglas, the next U. S. Senator, and the NEXT PRESIDENT!

The Vote at Warsaw.

We have received the following statement of the official vote of Warsaw:

FOR STATE TREASURER.	
Fondey, Democrat,	184
Dougherty, National,	21
Miller, Republican,	243
FOR SUPERINTENDENT PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.	
French, Democrat,	183
Reynolds, National,	27
Bateman, Republican,	245
FOR CONGRESS.	
Isaac N. Morris, Democrat,	99
J. C. Davis, National,	102
A. J. Grimshaw, Republican,	238
FOR STATE SENATOR.	
J. P. Richmond, Democrat,	185
W. C. Wagley, National,	75
J. C. Bagby, Republican,	247

Hard Times.

"Can't you pay me a little money on your note, to-day?" said a hard-working mechanic of our acquaintance the other day, to a man who was driving a fine horse before a dashing one hundred dollar sleigh, trimmed with two buffalo robes. "Can't you pay me a little money, I am in great want of some to buy provisions for my family."

"I really cannot," was the laconic reply.—"The times are so hard I cannot." The whip cracked, and he dashed on.

Ah! said I to myself, are these times so hard? Is money so scarce that the industrious poor cannot be compensated for their labor? I will observe the sayings and doings of men, for one day, and see.

"Oh! these hard times!" said the man in the sleigh, as he was wrapped in warm buffaloes. I followed him to the billiard-table, and saw him lose ten games, and twice as many shillings, which were paid as free as water.—There were no hard times to this man when the music of the billiard balls fell sweetly on his ear; nor would he hesitate to stake fifty times the mechanic's note on the game of brag, these hard times.

"Oh! these hard times!" said the the man in broadcloth to his washer woman, as he turned away from her bill for the last month's washing. "I have no money now;" and he flung himself into the street. I saw him pay ten dollars for a gold-headed rattan, and twenty for a new fashioned fur cap. He never thinks of hard times when he wants to deck out his own dandy.

"Oh! these hard times!" said the father as he turned away the schoolmaster who had presented his bill for the quarter's tuition of his son. "Three dollars! in these hard times for school-teaching! I cannot pay but one." Soon after he paid the dancing master ten dollars for teaching the same child the genteel accomplishment of dancing, and said nothing about hard times.

"Ah! these hard times!" said a robust red-faced man, as he turned off his tumbler of brandy and sugar, and paid the bar-keeper a shilling. "I can see no prospect of better.—Hard times these for a poor man to make money. I cannot get money enough even to buy the comforts of life, let alone the dainties. Why, landlord, as you live, I have had to do without butter in my family for a month, and can get no money to buy any. Good brandy, that;" and he filled another tumbler. Thus goes this strong able-bodied man's money, these hard times.

"Oh! these hard times!" said the merchant to the poor woman, who asked him to throw off a shilling from the pece of calico which he was selling at one hundred per cent., in advance. "We cannot take a cent less these hard times." At the ten-pin alley I saw him pay fifty times as much as he refused to allow the poor woman. Thus our merchant spends his money these hard times.

"Oh! these hard times!" said a loafer as he stretched out his legs over three chairs by our stove. "Oh! these hard times!" and there he sat all day, repeating like a parrot—"Oh! hard times! hard times! hard times!" And I pitied the man from my soul, for I believe he thought it was hard times, when he alone was to blame for being lazy and spending what is better than money, his time, these hard times.

"Oh! these hard times!" said a young man who had been married a year "I do not know how I shall live this winter—I can get no money to buy my winter stores." And I followed him home, where I found a man, woman and boy, hired to wait on him and his wife, in these hard times.

"Oh! oh! these hard times!" and I thought if these men would be industrious, economical, and content to live within their means, these hard times would soon become easy, and so concluded these hard times would be attributed to these lazy, spending men. And while these hard times continue, the industrious support the idle.

The September Gale.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

I'm not a chicken. I have seen
  Full many a chill September,
And though I was a youngster then,
  That gale I well remember;
The day before, my kite-string snapped,
  And I, my kite pursuing,
The wind whisked off my palm-leaf hat;—
  For me two storms were brewing!

It came as quarrels sometimes do,
  When married folks get clashing;
There was a heavy sigh or two,
  Before the fire was flashing,—
A little stir among the clouds,
  Before they rent asunder,—
A little rocking of the trees,
  And then came on the thunder.

Lord! how the ponds and rivers boiled,
  And how the shingles rattled!
The oaks were scattered on the ground
  As if the Titans battled;
And all above was in a howl,
  And all below a clatter,—
The earth was like a frying pan,
  Or some such hissing matter.

It chanced to be our washing-day,
  And all our things were drying;
The storm came roaring through the lines
  And set them all a flying;
I saw the shirts and petticoats
  Go riding off like witches;
I lost, ah! bitterly I wept—
  I lost my Sunday breeches!

I saw them straddling through the air,
  Alas! too late to win them;
I saw them chase the clouds as if
  The devil had been in them;
They were my darlings and my pride,
  My boyhoods only riches,—
"Farewell, farewell," I faintly cried,—
  "My breeches! O my breeches!"

That night I saw them in my dreams,
  How changed from what I knew them
The dews had steeped their faded threa
  The winds had whistled through them
I saw the wide and ghastly rents
  Where demon claws had torn them;
A hole was in their amplest part,
  As if an imp had worn them.

I have had many happy years,
  And tailors kind and clever,
But those young pantaloons have gone
  Forever and forever!
And not till fate has cut the last
  Of all my earthly stitches,
This aching heart shall cease to mourn
  My loved, my long-lost breeches!

Scraps of Fun.

"Papa, can't I go to the zoological
see the camomile fight the rye-no-sar-o
"Sartin, my son; but don't get your
torn. Strange, my dear, what a taste
has for nat'rl his'try. No longer ago
terday, he had eight pairs of tom cats
by their tails to the clothes-line."

I don't say, Mr. Judge, that the d
was drunk; no, not by any means,
I will say, when I last seed him he w
ing his face in a mud-puddle, and dry
a door-mat. Whether a sober man
this, in course I can't say. The court
he wouldn't. The consequence was,
fendant" went up for sixty days.

A youth, smitten with the charms
tiful maid, only vented his passic
looks, and now an then touching his
toe underneath the table. The girl
his advances a little while in silence,
cried out "Look here, if you love it
so, but don't dirty my stockings."

Gribbins is a neat fellow. He say
spare time to take a bath. Beside
like thunder for soap and towels.
him how he managed to keep clean
said he, with a highly incentive smil
paper myself every Christmas."

A two story passenger car has be

DEMOCRATIC REJOICING OVER DOUGLAS' ELECTION

[*Misssouri Republican*, St. Louis, November 11, 1858]

The poor devils of politicians who have to account for the utter defeat of the Black Republican party in Illinois, after their most earnest protestations that they would completely annihilate Douglas, have our commiseration. They are most prodigal of excuses and pretexts for their overthrow, none of them touching the right key, which was simply the disgust of the people with their pretensions and their utter disregard of all principle. Thus the latest excuse—one which is advanced by the *Democrat*—is about the most ridiculous. It is pretended, that the apportionment of representation in the Legislature was the cause of the defeat, but those who allege this excuse know nothing of the history of the Apportionment Law. That law was passed in 1852, when the Black Republicans had scarcely an existence, and then it was supposed to be a pretty fair law. The Black Republican party ought not to complain of it, for it was the means of returning members to the Legislature who elected Lyman Trumbull to the Senate, the managers for the latter contriving to swindle Mr. Lincoln out of the place to which, for several reasons, it was supposed he had a better claim than Mr. Trumbull. So it was, however—Trumbull went before the Legislature as a Democrat, and in process of time he was transformed into a flaming Black Republican, and in the late canvass consoled Lincoln, as far as he was able, for the cheat put upon him, by making speeches in his behalf.

This apportionment was not thought to be so bad a thing then, inasmuch as the party which now calls itself Black Republican profited by it. At the session of the Legislature in 1856, a new apportionment bill was passed, new districts created, and a change made in the representation of various counties. The bill passed late in the session—it was sent to the Governor (Bissell) and by him approved—that approval was entered upon the journals—very soon afterwards a Message was received from the Governor, recalling the bill, and when he got possession of it he expunged his approval from the bill. This was done after some of the democratic members had gone home, and they were prevented from passing it, notwithstanding the Executive veto. The Supreme Court afterwards sustained the action of the Governor, but the facts stated show that if a new apportionment was not made in 1857, it was the fault of the Black Republican party, and not of the Democracy. They have been beaten under the old apportionment, in a fair standup fight, and they ought to be ashamed of themselves to want to take advantage of their own act of stupidity.

[*Whig*, Quincy, Ill., November 6, 1858]

THE RESULT

. . . .

Another influence of a powerful character has been brought to bear against us in this election. The railroad interest of the State—the railroad proprietors, managers, employees, &c.,—has been concentrated upon the Douglas ticket. Through this means, thousands of men have been brought into the State, and scattered out through the doubtful districts. The Central Railroad Company have been peculiarly active in this business. They have favors to ask from this Legislature. They can afford to give every member of that body $10,000 to $20,000 each, if by so doing they can obtain a release from the payment into the State treasury of 7 per cent of their gross earnings. It will not at all surprise us to see such an attempt made this winter. These railroad men have not taken such an active part in this contest for nothing.

[*Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 6, 1858]

THE ELECTION IN ILLINOIS.—It seems to be conceded at Chicago that Mr. Douglas has secured his reelection to the Senate. The campaign in that State, in which the whole interest has been absorbed by the discussion before the people of the question whether Mr. Douglas or Mr. Lincoln should be a Senator, is an anomaly in our politics. The election of senator in all the States, must be made by the legislature; and it is not usual to anticipate the action of that body in the popular canvass. The friends of rival aspirants for senatorial honors have thought it time enough to begin to press their claims after the legislature had been elected, and have not undertaken to do so sooner. But in Illinois, this season, there were reasons for a different mode of proceeding. . . . .

It would be unfortunate for the social and industrial interests of the States, if this mode of electing legislators, solely or chiefly from regard to their votes for U. S. senator, were to become general. The cunning of politicians has always engrafted upon the Constitution the excrescence of national conventions for the nomination of presidential candidates, whereby the province of the electoral colleges chosen in the several States under the forms of the Constitution is reduced to the automatic function of recording the foregone conclusions of the conventions. We should not like to see legislatures generally reduced to the same poverty of dignity and duty.

That the victory of Senator Douglas in Illinois is a more poignant rebuke to the President than the success of the republicans would have been, cannot be denied. Many of the federal office-holders it is stated, voted the republican ticket, no doubt well informed that by so doing they should best please the master whom they so obsequiously serve. If Mr. Lincoln had succeeded, we should have heard a great deal of this, and should have been told that the defeat of Mr. Douglas was an administration victory, obtained nominally by the republicans, but really by the aid of administration votes. We are glad that this miserable pretext is lost to the president and his apologists. Blind as he seems to be all the symptoms of public opinion—deaf to the voices of the people—we can rejoice that something has happened which may possibly lead him to "stop and think" what he is doing, where he is going and where he is carrying the country.

In other respects, we should regret the defeat of Mr. Lincoln, (who has proved himself a sound and able man by his speeches during the campaign) were it not for another consideration of no ordinary weight. We think it may now be regarded as settled that the democratic party will be thoroughly reorganized *upon the Douglas and Forney basis* in anticipation of the presidential campaign of 1860. The democratic party is always wise enough to learn a new lesson whenever its old doctrines are worn out. The South must understand perfectly well by the recent results in Pennsylvania and Illinois, that its only hope of preventing an overwhelming victory of the republicans, in 1860, lies in adopting the Douglas creed. Some of the Southern leaders of the party have already hastened to do this. Many of the Northern members of the party are ready to do it, as soon as they find they can safely speak out their sentiments.

In the next presidential election, therefore, we cannot expect that the republicans will find in Pennsylvania—again to be the great battlefield—the cordial allies who assisted in opposing the administration at the late election. On the contrary, these anti-Lecompton democrats will occupy the chief places in marshalling the democratic forces for the struggle. But we do not despair of the result. On the contrary, the election in Illinois has taught us in ample season, that the republicans can make good fight even against the mitigated form of democracy which

Mr. Douglas professes. These two intervening years must be spent in strengthening our position.

It is well that the probable complexion of the next presidential struggle is exposed to view thus early. If the time were shorter, we might expect to see the nation inveigled by false pretenses into the support of Douglas for president, to be cheated anew after the inauguration as it was successively by Pierce and Buchanan. There is time enough for the people to comprehend the true state of things. Mr. Douglas is an able political tactician; but the republicans must be more than ordinarily clumsy in conducting the operations on their side, if they allow him to so manage affairs as to become the next president.

[*Louisville Democrat*, November 23, 1858]

FROM ABROAD

Correspondence of the *Louisville Democrat*

Letter from Illinois

Chicago, Nov. 18, 1858

As the great, though little, Douglas was stopping at the Tremont House, (a hotel, by the way, where may be found all the luxuries of oriental life,) only a few persons had the supreme honor of joining hands with the "favorite son," and your worthy correspondent among the number. He appeared in good health, (not your worthy correspondent,) quietly smoking a weed, and occasionally indulging in a chat with any and every one who chose to converse. Perhaps you have never seen him—well S. A. Douglas is a man standing five feet two or three, with a head big enough for six feet two, and a forehead prominent and intellectual enough for any man of any nation. His hair, which was once brown, is thin and gray; his eye cool and gray; his nose not prominent, but striking; his mouth large and firm. His whole face is round, and seems too large even for such broad shoulders as support it.

Small as he is, you would choose him out of a crowd, for a splendid model of intellectual cultivation. He is only small in body—his head is a miracle of mind. But I am digressing, and becoming tiresome. After listening to the disconnected sentences from a few loquacious, petty politicians the great event of the evening was heralded with a hundred guns; a thousand torches lit the streets; a million jets of light made the city more like day than night, and all the available male population of this Western New York, promenaded the streets, engrossed with the all-absorbing question "*Shall Stephen be the next President?*"

M.

CHAPTER XIV

CRITICISM OF STUMP METHODS

[*Washington* (D. C.) *Union*, September 15, 1858]

MR. LINCOLN AND MR. DOUGLAS—MR. DOUGLAS AND MR. LINCOLN

We take it for granted, so far as the democratic party are concerned, that they utterly abhor and detest the puerile and treasonable doctrines of Mr. Lincoln, who is now canvassing the State of Illinois. They hold no opinions in common with *him*. They regard all his political associates, North, Middle, and South, as political incendiaries, wholly unworthy of public confidence, and himself as one of the most reckless and unprincipled of them all. Mr. Lincoln belongs to that class of politicians who have, for twenty-five years, sought to array one section of the Union against the other. He has recently proclaimed in the Illinois canvass that free and slave labor are incompatible elements in the same government. We like to call things by their right names. Mr. Lincoln, is, then, either a shallow empiric, an ignorant pretender, or a political knave. We know nothing of his age and little of his life. He has been out of Illinois, and, we doubt not, has had the advantage occasionally of an association with men of liberality and intelligence. If he is not a knave, then he is a very weak, and therefore, as a politician, a very dangerous man.

. . . .

We are, then, utterly opposed to the election of Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas, to Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln. We deny that the democratic party are called upon to take the one or the other. It is said that, if Douglas should fail of an election, Lincoln would be successful. That may or may not be so. It is not a question for the democracy to consider.

[*New York Herald*, October 13, 1858]

EXHAUSTED TO THE DREGS.—The controversy in Illinois between Douglas and Lincoln, on Kansas, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Lecompton, popular sovereignty, Dred Scott, the Declaration of Independence, State Rights and niggers in every style, in all its variations, has been drawn off by these two tremendous spouters to the very dregs. From Lincoln to Douglas, and from Douglas to Lincoln, their discussions have degenerated into the merest twaddle upon quibbles, "Forgeries," falsehoods, and mutual recriminations of the most vulgar sort. Reduced to such extremities for their speeches, and considering that the Illinois election does not come off until November, the best thing that Douglas and Lincoln can do, is to close up their debates *sine die*, and go home, and keep quiet till after election. Having exhausted their field of legitimate debate, and having descended into the dirty arena of personalities, they may possibly come to "the noble art of self-defence," unless their friends take them away. Let them be drawn off before they try the logic of Morrissey and the Benicia Boy, or who shall answer for the nose of "Old Abe," or the "knob" of the "little Giant."

[*Evening Post*, New York, October 21, 1858]

ILLINOIS POLITICS

Correspondence of the *Evening Post*

PRINCETON, ILL., October 18, 1858

The present political canvass in Illinois is a singular one, and, I think, without a parallel in the history of electioneering campaigns in this country. I say it is without parallel, for I do not believe that another instance can be shown where two individuals have entered into a personal contest before the people for a seat in the United States Senate—an office not directly in the gift of the people, but their representatives. This contest commenced as early as the afternoon of the 9th of July last, when Mr. Douglas opened the campaign with a speech at Chicago, and was followed by Mr. Lincoln in the evening. From that time to this hardly a day has passed but one or the other of the contestants, and frequently both, have addressed the people, who have usually gathered in large crowds to hear them. . . . .

[*Commercial*, Cincinnati, Ohio, September 23, 1858]

THE ILLINOIS CANVASS

While there is much, in the contest now going on, between Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas in the State of Illinois, that is calculated to excite feelings of curiosity, there is very little, either in its vicissitudes or its prospects, that merits much attention, or that can be esteemed as of interest to the public, or calculated to add to the reputation of the parties. Few debates less dignified in their external manifestations, or containing so little that was worthy to be remembered, have fallen under our observation; and it is scarcely probable that this one will come to an end and not leave both parties in a worse condition, in the esteem of the judicious, than they were in the beginning. Falsehood and personal vituperation are among the most common of the offenses committed, upon one side at least, if not upon both; while, throughout the whole, we find fallacy usurping the place of principle, and the merest sophistry offered, and it would seem received, as a worthy substitute for argument. In short, the reports represent the debate to be little more than a strife for victory between two political pettifoggers, neither of whom occupies a doctrinal position, that he can sustain against a serious attack; while each is only able to continue in the field, through the weakness of his adversary. . . . .

It is difficult to conceive of anything more illegitimate than a public canvass before the people by gentlemen, seeking as rival candidates, an office that is not in the popular gift. The senatorial office is, under the provisions of the constitution, the gift of the state as a whole, through its instrument, the legislature. The Senator, therefore, according to the theory of the Government, is the representative of the power of the State, as an independent polity, and not of the will of its individual citizens; and any attempt to forestall the action of the Legislature, either by party action or personal appeal to the people, in respect to his election, is contrary to that theory, and an offense against the sovereignty whose freedom of action they thereby seek to fetter and control.

. . . .

The members of the coming Legislature of Illinois will be just as free to exercise their own will in the choice of a Senator, as if neither Mr. Douglas nor Mr. Lincoln had perigrinated the State from lake to river, wrangling over what they are pleased to consider great national issues. They will still have the eminent men of the State from among whom to select the public servant; neither has any one of them the shadow of a moral right, by any form of pledge or promise, to anticipate the action of the deliberative body to which he belongs, or to restrain his own free agency as a member of the same.

[*Washington* (D. C.) *Union*, September 2, 1858]

STUMP CANVASSING FOR THE FEDERAL SENATE

The *Norfolk* (Va.) *Argus* has some judicious remarks on this subject which we append:

"The whole country is disgusted with the scene now exhibited in the State of Illinois.

"As the United States Senate was to be the grand conservator of our Congress, the constitution wisely ordained that its members should not be elected by popular vote, but should be chosen by the legislatures of the respective States. The paramount object of this provision was to place the selection of a senator beyond the reach of the maddening issues of the hour to which the members of the lower house were exposed. But the spirit of the constitution is now being violated in Illinois.

"An election for members of the legislature, which will have the choice of a United States senator, is about to come off, and the most malignant and reckless contest which ever disgraced the annals of American history is now going on for the senatorship. The lie has been passed, and ere long we expect the telegraph will tell us of a pugilistic encounter between the two grave senators, or a senator and the aspirant for his honors.

. . . .

"In the earlier days of our republic such a piece of bold effrontery and impudence would have met with its merited rebuke, but in these days of demagoguism and office-seeking it is thought nothing of; aye, a political party applauds the man who openly seeks, in violation of the constitution, an election for an office to be filled by the legislature yet to be elected by the people. How the sensible men of the opposition stand this we cannot comprehend."

[*Cincinnati* (Ohio) *Gazette*, September 9, 1858]

STUMP SPEAKING

We do not quite agree with those who hold that the stump is the best way by which to judge candidates and their principles. . . . . We want good financiers in Congress. Does the capacity to make a thrilling speech afford any test of this class of men? . . . . Washington was no speech-maker, neither was Jefferson. Had the elevation of either to a high position depended on this talent, their services as public men would have been lost to this country. . . . . How many true orators, on an average, does this country furnish in a single generation? We had Clay and Webster—how many more in their life time? . . . . We approve of public discussions at the proper time and in a proper way. A joint canvass between candidates, under some circumstances, has its uses. That now progressing between Lincoln and Douglas is doing much to show up the latter in his true colors. Douglas is a fair specimen of the stump "statesman." Going around alone and playing the artful dodger before phonographic reports were the fashion, he passed through that "Test" with great success. . . . . Compelled now to face the music and to abandon many of his old stump tricks, he is manifestly suffering damage.

[*Washington* (D. C.) *Union*, Sept. 22, 1858]

DOUGLAS IN MISSISSIPPI

[From the *Mississippian*, September 14]

We cordially join Senator Brown in the wish expressed in his speech at Hazlehurst, that "Douglas may whip Lincoln out of his boots;" but we go further. After Lincoln receives his drubbing, we want him to return the compliment and larrup Douglas. And then, by way of making honors easy and ridding the country entirely of a pair of depraved, blustering, mischievous, lowdown demagogues, we would have them make a Kilkenny cat fight of it, and eat each other up. We have no choice to express between them; because it is like choosing between Punch and the devil. . . . .

[*Cincinnati* (Ohio) *Commercial*, September 25, 1858]

THE ILLINOIS DEBATE—INTERVENTION AND NON-INTERVENTION

. . . . The debate between Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln, has been one of the weakest, least candid and most entirely useless for any good purpose, of any that ever took place before an intelligent constituency. Professing to discuss political doctrines, Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln have insulted the people of Illinois and of the country, by the daily utterance of compounds of the most transparent fallacies and the most vulgar personalities.

[*Lowell* (Mass.) *Citizen & News*, September 6, 1858]

In the meantime Douglas and Lincoln are stumping the State, sometimes in company and sometimes singly. . . . . There is no doubt that Lincoln supports himself under the personal and often low-bred attacks of his opponent. The following is a sample from one of their latest discussions:

"I knew Mr. Lincoln in early life; he commenced his life as a *grocer!*"—*Douglas.*

"The only difference between Judge Douglas and myself on the grocery question is, that while I have stood on one side of the counter, he has been equally attentive on *the other.*"—*Lincoln.*

It is a lamentable fact that with the 20,000 voters present on this occasion this repartee would have more influence than the profoundest statesmanship and the closest logic. With the Republicans, the Americans and the Protestant Norwegians, Germans, Scotch and English banded together against Douglas and his Irish Catholic phalanx, it is difficult to see any great chance for him. The second day of November will settle the question.

[*True Republican*, Centreville, Ind., September 2, 1858]

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN

Looking over the field of battle there are some spirited contests going on and as the fight grows fast and furious it is interesting to behold. Perhaps of any, the pitched battle between Douglas and Lincoln of Illinois is on the whole as interesting—as severe—and reviewed by as many anxious spectators. Mankind naturally behold with delight a contest of either physical or intellectual strength. We have seen a greater crowd collected to see a dog-fight, each man taking sides and hurrahing as his favorite came uppermost, than could have been brought together by a week's notice to hear a distinguished preacher. . . . . Douglas is a perfect specimen of the adroit politician, which the American system seems calculated to engender. . . . . Lincoln gives him blow for blow. They are canvassing the state together.

A. B.

[*New York Tribune*, November 9, 1858]

It was manifest that his (Douglas') triumph would render inevitable his nomination for next President at Charleston in 1860. He must either be nominated or the Democratic party practically retires from the contest, surrendering the Government to the Republicans.

. . . .

And now that Mr. Douglas is in the full flush of hard won brilliant conclusive triumph, we tell him that his late canvass, although a successful, has not been a truly brave and noble one—that although it may carry him into the White House, it has not exalted him in the estimate of thoughtful discerning conscientious truly patriotic men, whose good opinion is worth having although it may not waft its object into the Presidential chair.

We are not complaining of the positions with regard to slavery and the related topics which Mr. Douglas has seen fit to take in prosecution of his canvass. We know that men—not men of the highest type but such men as for the most part make up the world we live in—are creatures of circumstances taking and maintaining such positions as their necessities and supposed interests dictate. If, then, it had seemed necessary to Mr. Douglas to advocate the reopening of the African Slave trade, we should not have complained if he had done so. When it had been settled that the Republicans of Illinois would determinedly oppose Mr. Douglas' reelection at all hazards, it was obvious that he would feel constrained to take a position so near the South Pole as would be necessary to prevent the formation of any considerable Buchanan Democratic party, so as to enclose him between two fires. Yet we must confess that we were not quite prepared to see him take the positions in the canvass which *The South* pretty accurately sums up as follows:

1. Judge Douglas affirms the original and essential inferiority of the negro.
2. He denies that the negro was intended to be embraced within the abstractions of the Declaration of Independence and asserts that the right of freedom and equality was predicated only of the dominant race of white men.
3. He denies the privileges of citizenship to the negro.
4. He affirms the compatibility of a confederation of Free and Slave States and the possibility of their harmonious coexistence under a common Constitution.
5. He affirms the absolute sovereignty of the State in respect to their dominant institution and denies the authority of the Federal Government to discriminate against the interests of Slavery.
6. He inculcates a policy of non-intervention as between the free and slave-holding state, as well as between the latter and the Federal Government.
7. He supports the decision of the Supreme Court and asserts for Slavery the right of colonization in the territory.
8. He upholds all the guaranties of the Federal Constitution in respect to the rights of the South.
9. He maintains the dignity and independence of the Senatorial function against the encroachments of executive usurpation.
10. He protests his opposition to Black Republicanism at every point and upon every principle.

11. He pledges himself to fidelity to the organic principles and nominees of the Democratic party.

If South Carolina should object to a candidate for President who plants himself on that platform, she must be fastidious indeed.

But it is not in this respect that Mr. Douglas' canvass has fallen most signally below our expectations. With his indefatigable energy his readiness in repartee his tenacity—if we should not rather say his audacity—in maintaining an exposed and indefensible position, his fertility of resource, we were already familiar. But his recent canvass, while it has stamped him first among county or ward politicians has evinced a striking absence of the far higher qualities of statesmanship. His speeches have lacked the breadth of view, the dignity, the courtesy to his opponent which—not to speak here of Clay, Calhoun or Webster—we should have confidently looked for in the popular addresses of Crittenden or Corwin or Wise or Quitman—proscribed by the official leaders of his party and appealing from them to his constituents. They are plainly addressed to an excited crowd at some railway station, and seem uttered in unconsciousness that the whole American People are virtually deeply interested though not intensely excited auditors. They are volcanic and scathing but lack the repose of conscious strength, the calmness of conscious right. They lack forecast and are utterly devoid of faith. They not merely assume as an axiom that "God is on the side of the strongest battalions," they make "the God," or at least fail to recognize any other. That such a struggle were better nobly lost than ignobly won is a truth of which Senator Douglas on the stump would seem not to have the faintest conception. Hence his late canvass while it has given him an exalted rank among mere politicians, and probably paved his way to the Presidency—or more strictly, to the next Democratic nomination for that post—has failed to elicit any evidence of his possessing those lofty and admirable qualities without which the Presidency can afford no heartfelt satisfaction and confer no enduring fame.

CHAPTER XV

HUMOR OF THE CAMPAIGN

[*Evening Post*, New York, August 25, 1858]

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS OF THE ILLINOIS CANVASS

The correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* gives the following extracts from "Abe Lincoln's" speech at Havana (Ill.) on the 13th inst :

A QUESTION OF MUSCLE

"I am informed [said he] that my distinguished friend yesterday became a little excited—nervous, perhaps—[laughter]—and he said something about *fighting*, as though referring to a pugilistic encounter between him and myself. Did anybody in this audience hear him use such language? [Cries of yes.] I am informed, further, that somebody in *his* audience, rather more excited or nervous than himself, took off his coat, and offered to take the job off Judge Douglas's hands, and fight Lincoln himself. Did anybody here witness that warlike proceeding? [Laughter, and cries of yes.] Well, I merely desire to say that I shall fight neither Judge Douglas nor his second. [Great laughter.] I shall not do this for two reasons, which I will now explain. In the first place, a fight would *prove* nothing which is in issue in this contest. It might establish that Judge Douglas is a more muscular man than myself, or it might demonstrate that I am a more muscular man than Judge Douglas. But this question is not referred to in the Cincinnati platform, nor in either of the Springfield platforms. [Great laughter.] Neither result would prove him right or me wrong. And so of the gentleman who volunteered to do his fighting for him. If my fighting Judge Douglas would not prove anything, it would certainly prove nothing for me to fight his bottle-holder. [Continued laughter.]

"My second reason for not having a personal encounter with the Judge is, that I don't believe he wants it himself. [Laughter.] He and I are about the best friends in the world, and when we get together he would no more think of fighting me than of fighting his wife. Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, when the Judge talked about fighting, he was not giving vent to any ill-feeling of his own, but merely trying to excite—well, *enthusiasm* against me on the part of his audience. And as I find he was tolerably successful, we will call it quits." [Cheers and laughter.]

"TWO UPON ONE"

"One other matter of trifling consequence," continued Mr. Lincoln, "and I I will proceed. I undersatnd that Judge Douglas yesterday referred to the fact that both Judge Trumbull and myself are making speeches throughout the state to beat him for the Senate, and that he tried to create a sympathy by the suggestion that this was playing *two upon one* against him. It is true that Judge Trumbull has made a speech in Chicago, and I believe he intends to co-operate with the Republican

Central Committee in their arrangements for the campaign to the extent of making other speeches in different parts of the state. Judge Trumbull is a Republican, like myself, and he naturally feels a lively interest in the success of his party. Is there anything wrong about that? But I will show you how little Judge Douglas's appeal to your sympathies amounts to. At the next general election, two years from now, a Legislature will be elected which will have to choose a successor to Judge Trumbull. Of course there will be an effort to fill his place with a democrat. This person, whoever he may be, is probably out making stump speeches against me, just as Judge Douglas is. It may be one of the present Democratic members of the lower house of Congress—but whoever he is, I can tell you he has got to make some stump speeches now, or his party will not nominate him for the seat occupied by Judge Trumbull. Well, are not Judge Douglas and this man playing *two upon one* against me just as much as Judge Trumbull and I are playing *two upon one* against Judge Douglas? [Laughter.] And if it happens that there are two democratic aspirants for Judge Trumbull's place, are they not playing *three upon one* against me, just as we are playing *two upon one* against Judge Douglas?" [Renewed laughter.]

[*The Hawk Eye*, Burlington, Iowa, August 28, 1858]

OLLAPOD SEES DOUGLAS ON THE CARS

Mr. Ollapod lives in Michigan—in one of the "rural districts." In traveling on the cars in that State, he fell in with Mr. Douglas recently, and had some remarkable conversation with him. We give a portion of it in Ollapod's own language:

Wal, sez I, du let me intu yure perlitikul vues.

Wal, do yu beleave in the Dred Skot dessishun? Yes, sez he. Wal, sez I, du yu beleave in squattur suvrinta? Yes, sez he, I du; I am the daddy of it. Wal, sez I, the Dred Skot dessisshun, sez that slavery already exists in the terretory, and the pepil kant touch it *thar*, how duse that rekunsile with yure squattur sovrinta? Sez he, *shet yure mouth*. Sez I, Mistur Bukannon sez that the Konstitution karries slaivry intu the terretorys, and that the pepil of these niggur pastures have no *power* tu say it shall not exist, bekase it is carried thar by the Konstitution. Sez I, is this yer borsted dimmerkratic popilar Sovrinta? *Sez he, shet yure mouth.* Sez I, du yu beleave that thar ort to be a properta represantashun in Kongris? No, sez he, that aint dimmerkratik doktrin. Wel thin, sez I, why ar thre fifths of the niggurs at the south represented? Sez he, *shet yure mouth*—and he kind ur choaked up, and sez he tha *are* represented as pussons. Is that so, sez I—, pussons of what kedentry? of the yunited staits sez he; what, sez I, ar tha sittursins then? Sez he *shet yure mouth.* Sez I, want Washington.

Jefferson, and our four daddys who put thru the ordenance of '87 opposed tu slavery? Sez he, *shet yure mouth*, tha war old fules. Sez I, doant yu beleave that slavery acts like katturpillurs blitin free soil and eatin out its gudeness. Sez he, *shet yure mouth.* Sez I, ort thare not tu be a preponderinse of slave staits; yes, sez he, thats so. Wal, sez I, my individual private opinion of you is that yu ar an Amerikan aristekrat, and if yu ware President, yu would act wus than Frank Purse and Old Buck. The kars had now got most tu white pigin, so I gist passed the hat round to get the voat for yunited staits senatur. Duglis got eleving and Abe Linkon twenty-siving voats. In telling Duglis gud by, I axed him if he didn't own a plantashun and sum niggurs deoun tu Louisianny and if he wan't a northern mud sil with a southern firebrand in his mouth. Sez he, *shet yure mouth.*

Yures Seth ontil death,

Peleg Ollapod.

[*Burlington* (Iowa) *Gazette*, July 16, 1858]

MODEST

Judge Douglas used the personal pronoun "I" seventy three times during his speech at Chicago on Friday evening.—*Peoria Transcript.*

It is said that one story is good until another has been told. Knowing the excessive egotism which attaches to the character of Mr. Lincoln, the black republican nominee for United States Senator in Illinois, the above illusion of the *Peoria Transcript* to Judge Douglas's speech naturally suggested to us the idea of looking into Mr. Lincoln's reply on the following night and in a speech of precisely the same length. We find that Lincoln made use of the personal pronoun "I" no less than 225 times! Beating Douglas about 150 times in twenty minutes. . . . . He is a good man for the Republicans to offer up for slaughter—a little notoriety, no odds how brief, will sweeten death for him, while a little soft soap, dexterously applied, will not only reconcile him to his fate but actually make him greedy to "kick the bucket." And further, that he is known all over Suckerdom by the name of the "Perpendicular Pronoun."

[*The Hawk Eye*, Burlington, Iowa, August 31, 1858]
[From the *Louisville Journal*]

Douglas says that twenty-five years ago he entered Winchester, Ill., a poor boy, with his coat on his arm and not a dollar in his pocket. He is, at the end of a quarter of a century then, a poor fellow still, accused of having turned his coat and not having *eight real* principles in his heart or pocket. There is some reference to his final fate in the initials of his name—S A D!.

[*Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, October 7, 1858]

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

The Administration papers of Illinois publish an authenticated copy of a mortgage lately executed upon his property in Chicago by Senator Douglas, to serve Tammany politicians, for $52,000.00 which they argue has gone in to pay campaign expenses. If Douglas is beaten, he is financially as well as politically ruined. Prentice of the *Louisville Journal* says:—

> "The comet, now at a considerable distance from 'the dipper,' seems to be, like old Abe Lincoln in his encounters with Douglas, brighter and brighter every time it makes its appearance. Douglas fails to improve—perhaps from his keeping too near 'the dipper.'"

[*Chicago Journal*, August 23, 1858]

☞ Senator Douglas said at Ottawa, that he "would bring Lincoln to his milk," upon his forged resolutions.

The Judge does not appear, however, to be in the milky way just now.

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, September 6, 1858]

A CHANCE FOR DOUGLAS

Editors Press and Tribune:

I have a cow which won't give milk; in short, she has "dried up." I wonder if Mr. Douglas would undertake to "trot her out" and "bring her to her milk." I understand he thinks himself peculiarly gifted in that line.

J. T. P.

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, August 26, 1858]

DOUGLAS ON THE MILK QUESTION

CHICAGO, Aug. 24, 1858

Editors Press and Tribune:

I see from the speech of Judge Douglas that our Senator proposes to "trot Lincoln down into Egypt this Fall, and bring him to his milk!" Allow me to suggest to our classic Senator that Lincoln's friends who are posted in regard to the "time" say that he is "come in" on the 4th of March next, so that any attempt to milk "Old Abe" this Fall would be unnatural, unholy and unsafe to the Judge. If Douglas will be patient and wait Lincoln's full time, he shall have some of Abe's best strippings.

A.

[*Daily Whig*, Quincy, Ill., September 2, 1858]

Douglas having announced his ability to "bring Lincoln to his milk"—a farmer up in the country, thinking it a much easier job informs the Judge through the papers, that he has several cows which have "gone dry" that he would like him to "bring to their milk." It is to be hoped that the "Little Giant" will respond.

[*Galesburg* (Ill.) *Democrat*, September 1, 1858]

The *Chicago Journal* announces that Dr. Ealing, a cow doctor of that city, will cure effectively "agonized understandings." Since the Ottawa debate, the friends of Mr. Douglas contemplate placing him under the Doctor's care.

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, October 18, 1858]

☞ When Douglas was making one of his ranting speeches over in the military tract, he commenced abusing Lincoln and foaming at the mouth as usual. Two ladies noticing the white foam in his mouth, got into a debate as to what it was which filled his mouth and choked his utterance. A third lady, noticing their conversation, remarked, "Why, don't you know what it is? It is Lincoln's milk and it has soured on his stomach."

[*Peoria* (Ill.) *Transcript*, October 15, 1858]

The Milk Question.—A correspondent of the *Oquawka Plaindealer* made a discovery of something mysterious while Douglas was talking in that town recently. He writes to the editor the following letter of inquiry:

> *Mr. Editor:*—While Mr. Douglas was speaking at the court house on Monday last a peculiar white substance was observed at each corner of his mouth. I have heard various conjectures as to the cause. Can you throw any light upon the subject?
>
> Dick

We presume the following anecdote, told in the *Knoxville Republican*, furnishes a solution to this mystery:

> An Incident.—While the Little Giant was in full blast at Galesburg and frothing at both sides of his mouth, two ladies standing side by side were overheard questioning and answering one another thus: "What is that on each side of Mr. Douglas' mouth? Said the other, "Oh, he has been taking some of Lincoln's milk and it has soured on his stomach!"

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, August 30, 1858]

The *Chicago Journal* thinks the threat of Senator Douglas on the stump, to "bring Lincoln to his milk" may be considered as a revival of the stump tail milk question.

[*Chicago Journal*, August 24, 1858]

Douglas Apologizes.—Senator Douglas in his next speech, according to the *Times*, will correct the error he committed at Ottawa.

It is presumed he will open as follows:

Fellow citizens—At Ottawa I tried to palm off some bogus resolutions as genuine, and fix them upon the Republican party. I tried to bring Lincoln "to his milk." I avowed I would trot him down to lower Egypt, and transplant his resolutions to Jonesboro. But the Black Republicans found me out. They detected the counterfeit, and before they arraign me I will plead guilty. It was my poverty, but not my will, consented. I had called Lincoln a liar, a sneak, and a coward, but it did no good. I thought I would try my hand at counterfeiting, I didn't know there were detectives around. If I am elected Senator, my first official duty will be to abolish all laws against counterfeiting, and put all detectives in the penitentiary. (Great applause.)

[*Urbana* (Ohio) *Union*, October 10, 1858]

Mr. Douglas seems to have no use for his six pounder. In fact, he is sorry he made any investment in it at all; for since he has become fairly engaged in the canvass, he finds that Lincoln is all the "pounder" he needs.

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, September 18, 1858]

The Trot at Jonesboro'.—The trotting match which Senator Douglas announced to come off at Jonesboro' showed better wind than bottom on his part.

It may be summed up thus:

"Old Abe," entered by the People,	1	1	1
"Little Giant", by S. A. D.	0	0	0
Time 2:25.			

[*Chicago Daily Journal*, August 26, 1858]

☞ *The Times* is pitching into Mr. Lincoln on account of his personal appearance.

We admit he is somewhat like the fellow's horse—"rather a bad 'un to look at, but a good 'un to go!"

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, October 21, 1858]

COME ONE, COME ALL! OLD WHIGS OF SANGAMON

Will you not turn out and give your old Champion, Abe Lincoln, the "tall sucker," a hearing for yourselves. Hear him, and you will be satisfied that the charge of

NIGGER EQUALITY

is as false against Lincoln, as the charge of *Toryism* was against Clay.

[*Peoria* (Ill.) *Transcript*, September 13, 1858]

It is not generally known how Stephen A. Douglas received the soubriquet of "Little Giant." He is indebted to Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet, for first applying it to him.—It was elicited during an exciting discussion in the Illinois Legislature upon the Mormon difficulties, in which Douglas cut a conspicuous figure in the defense of the saints, when their great leader, in giving vent to his unbounded admiration for Douglas called him the "Little Giant."

[*Chicago Journal*, September 25, 1858]

☞The editor of the Stark County paper says Douglas frothed at the corner of his mouth at Charleston.

Instead of being crazy, he must have the hydrophobia—dread of water!

[*Chicago Journal*, October 5, 1858]

DOUGLAS ON A SIDE TRACK

Douglas, like a fox when hard pressed, seeks to foil his pursuers by doubling on his track. At Henry the other day he opened his speech by charging that Mr. Lincoln was in the pay of the Illinois Central railroad, and had received $5,000.00 from that company toward defraying his campaign expenses.

The little dodger forgot to state that he was provided with a car for himself and *cannon* by that company, during the present campaign, or that he was "damaged," $42,000.00 by it, when his neighbors were ruined only in the extent of $800.00! He was "switched off," however, from the line of the Central, and hence he makes charges which he did not dare to make when riding in state, and receiving the homage of its officers and employees.

[*Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, October 19, 1858]

PRENTICE ON DOUGLAS

An Illinois paper says that Douglas whistles to keep his courage up. Does he not "wet his whistle" sometimes for the same purpose?

Mr. Douglas' organ in Chicago claims that he is still a sovereign in that State. But his kind of "sovereignty" is not "popular."

Mr. Douglas has evidently no fixed principles, though he himself is certainly "in a fix."

Mr. Douglas' Chicago organ says that he "displays the coolest courage." If his courage isn't cool now, perhaps the November elections will cool it.

One of the Douglas editors in Illinois says that his candidate has "hitherto had a difficult path to pursue," but that he has "overcome all difficulties," and that "the high road lies at length in full view before him." So the Little Giant, like a foot-pad, is about *betaking himself* to the highway.

[*Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, October 25, 1858]

A GOOD SIMILE

A German friend said to us, when speaking of the debates at Alton:

"Dese Dooglis men ish like te hail; it make terrible clatter, but when you go out it ish few and scattering. The Lincoln men—they like te snow, vich come down so still I no hear it; but I go out it ish all over te ground." "Jist so."

[Prentice in *Louisville* (Ky.) *Journal*]

Douglas in his canvass has certainly on occasions manifested very little of the dignity of a Senator, but if Lincoln and Trumbull keep on rubbing him so hard, they will polish him up.

Messrs. Lincoln and Douglas have, in their discussions, given sketches of their own and each other's lives. It appears that while Douglas has been a gross sinner, Lincoln has been a "Grocer."

[*Chicago Times*, October 12, 1858]

On the cars, the other night, when the brakeman announced the station "Lincoln" a gentleman, curious to observe the effect, called out "Douglas!" in response. At once the cry was taken up, and cheer after cheer was given for the great Senator with an earnestness which left no doubt as to the sentiments of those present. Still, a "little man with a yellow" vest, whose feeble voice had attempted a cheer for Lincoln, insisted upon taking a vote through the train. He passed two cars, and becoming fearful of the result, abandoned his vote-book for a bottle of bad-smelling whisky, and in endeavoring to regain his seat, bumped his head against a lantern which was supplying the place of a broken side-lamp, and, amid the continued cheering for Douglas, curled his little body up on the seat and went to sleep.

[*Peoria Transcript*, September 15, 1858]

THE DOUGLAS SERENADE

The Crowd Mistake Linder for Lincoln and Cheer the Latter Triumphantly

[From the *St. Louis Democrat*]

The serenade of Judge Douglas at the Planter's House on Friday night was a very rich affair, and showed what a warm sympathy in favor of the Republican cause in Illinois exists in this city. The crowd which gathered around the serenaders was small at first but increased rapidly, and at the close of Douglas' response became quite large.

After he retired the few Nationals present, as had been arranged, set up a cry for Linder the man of Southern Illinois, whom Douglas implored for God's sake to come up in Northern Illinois and help him fight the bull dog Trumbull. The crowd, which was now very large, mistook the name of Linder for Lincoln, and supposing that Old Abe was present, as he is always close after the Little Giant making the fur fly at every lick, raised a tremendous shout for "*Lincoln, Lincoln! Lincoln!*" The uproar was tremendous. James J. McBride appeared and tried to explain the mistake, but the crowd was still vociferous for Lincoln. Finally music from the band quieted matters down and Mr. Linder appeared. He was greeted as Lincoln with three cheers.

Set it down that old Lincoln has thousands of warm friends in St. Louis.

[*Burlington* (Iowa) *Gazette*, August 8, 1858]

Douglas is meeting with the most flattering receptions wherever he goes in Illinois. The people flock in thousands to see and hear him. His march through the state is a triumphal one and black republicanism reels beneath his sturdy blows in every contest. . . . . Lincoln may as well "hang his harp upon the willows" and chaunt his death song preparatory to his political burial—the people of Illinois have decreed it—their will be done—we wait but to rejoice as the last clod shall fall from the sexton's spade, for

Quickly and gladly they will lay him down
With all his niggerism wrapped around him,
And nothing he'll wreck if they let him sleep on
In the grave where the people have laid him.
Requiescat in pace.

[*Alton* (Ill.) *Courier*, October 18, 1858]

HERE LIE

(The ruling passion strong in death)

THE POLITICAL REMAINS

OF

STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS,

WHO FELL BRAVELY FIGHTING FOR THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF MAN

TO HOLD THE BLACK IN BONDAGE

WHEREVER

THE FLAG OF FREEDOM WAVES

OCT. 15, 1858.

HE DECLARED THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE CANONIZED IN THE HEARTS
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

AND

INOPERATIVE AND VOID

HE ADVOCATED

THE SACRED RIGHT OF SELF GOVERNMENT

AND DENIED IT

TO THE FREEMEN OF KANSAS
IN TOOMBS' BILL.

He abhorred Northern Know Nothings, but had great respect for those of the South.

He permitted armed ruffians to beat a disabled Senator, for fear his motives should be misunderstood.

He betrayed his constituents for four years and then violated honor among thieves by playing traitor to his accomplices in the fifth.

VERILY HE SHALL HAVE HIS REWARD!

[*Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, September 23, 1858]

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS

Almost a Riot.—Collision between Parties.—Disgraceful Conduct of Lincoln and His Pack.—Meeting at Sullivan.—Votes Made.—The Mexican War

Bement, Piatt County, Ills.
September 20, 1858

In political canvasses, however much men may differ in principle, if they be honest in their antagonism, they must regret to see their opponents forgetful of honor, and regardless of ordinary honesty, acting so as to bring disgrace upon themselves and discredit upon the party they represent. It is my misfortune to be obliged to write in my report of this day an account of such outrage, committed by the Black Republicans, headed by Lincoln himself, as sets the brand of disgrace upon the brow of the "tall sucker," which he, being so very tall, will exhibit throughout the canvass.

Before I turn to that, however, allow me to relate the circumstances of the meeting at Sullivan, in Moultrie county, whence I have just arrived.

Returning to Mattoon, the Judge, accompanied by a considerable crowd of persons, set out for Sullivan this morning. A pleasant ride over the rich land of this district brought the party on to the open prairie, where was drawn up in regular order of procession, to receive and escort him into town, fully two thousand persons. As he came within seeing distance, this immense body of persons cheered with lusty strength, and then as he passed by they fell in before and behind his carriage, without confusion and in pre-arranged order. It was indeed a gallant sight to see this number of people winding along the prairie roads, the line stretching out for upward of a mile from end to end. First there came a band of music, then a delegation of ladies on horseback, their colored scarfs and streamers of riband and bright hued flags waving in the light breeze which floated along; Senator Douglas was next in the line, then followed the host of men in wagons and on horses, extending back as far as the eye could trace a countenance or mark out the form of man.

Upon arriving at Sullivan, I was somewhat astonished to find that Lincoln had made an appointment for the same place, to come off at the same time. I had given him credit for so far forgetting the courtesies of a canvass as to keep tracking Douglas down, but I hardly imagined that he would impose himself, or endeavor to impose himself upon a Democratic audience in quite so bold a manner. I rather doubt, the more especially as I remember the apologies to Mr. Douglas, made on his way from Bement to Monticello, on the 29th day of July last, for following him instead of making out an independent line of canvass for himself. My doubts were soon put an end to, however, for happening in the Judge's room, at the hotel, I was, as were also the following named gentlemen, to-wit—Messrs. Bushrod W. Henry, John Gwin, Carn Knight and John Y. Hill, a witness to the following occurrence:

A young man entering the room was introduced as George Lynn, Jr. That gentleman at once stated that he was the bearer of a message from his friend, Mr. Lincoln, at the same time he placed in the hands of Mr. Douglas a note, written in pencil, the chirography being unmistakably that of Abram Lincoln, of which the following is an exact copy:

> "Understanding that Judge Douglas would speak before dinner, I announced that I would address our friends at Freeland's Grove at 2 P. M. As he does not begin till 10 o'clock, if he will announce the fact, so that I can understand it, I will postpone to three o'clock. (Signed) A. LINCOLN

As he delivered the note Mr. Lynn repeated its substance by word of mouth, whereupon Mr. Douglas, at once, requested him to notify Lincoln that he would make the announcement as was asked, thus accepting the proposition. Mr. Lynn then retired.

Shortly after Mr. Douglas was escorted to the speaker's stand, erected in the courthouse square, around which he found an immense gathering of people extending clear back to the courthouse on the one side and some hundreds of people being on the street at the rear of the stand. When the hearty cheers which greeted his appearance had subsided, Mr. John R. Eden proceeded, in behalf of the Democracy, to deliver to him an address of welcome. It possessed that greatest of all recommendations, brevity, and yet in it were referred to many of the interesting points of interest in the political world of the day. It also touched upon many of the prominent acts of Mr. Douglas' public career, as for instance to his support of Clay's compromise measures of 1850, to the Illinois Central Railroad land grant, and so on.

Mr. Douglas then proceeded to speak. Before entering upon his speech, however, he made the announcement stipulated for by Mr.

Lincoln, thus fulfilling his part of a contract unjustly demanded by his opponent, however, for that gentleman had, according to the code of ethics under which I was tutored, certainly no right to attempt to rob Douglas of his audience which his friends had provided to gather by announcements made six weeks hence. In making that announcement he said:

"Just as I was approaching the stand, I received a message from Mr. Lincoln, who, as you know, is a candidate for the United States Senate, stating that he had made an appointment to speak in this town, this day, at Freeland's Grove, in the vicinity of this place, but would postpone his speech there until three o'clock, he requesting that I should make this announcement.

"I will remark, however, that I regret that our appointments, when we have not a joint discussion, should have come in collision, due in one place on the same day. My appointment for to-day was made as long ago as the 29th July, and it has been published in the newspapers ever since. Mr. Lincoln has his appointment here to-day, to speak after I get through; tomorrow I have to speak at Danville and he makes his appointment to speak the day after me there, and he follows me in like manner at Urbana. He has a great fancy for getting behind me and I have concluded that I will keep him behind me, especially about next November. [Hearty applause.] I would remain here and insist upon a reply if I could get the time, but it being the fact that between this and to-morrow morning I have got to travel hence to Danville, I, of course, have to start, leaving this town so soon as I shall quit this stand. This fact was as well known to my political opponents as to my friends, for my appointments have been before the public for upwards of six weeks."

. . . .

At this juncture one of the fellows who was acting as marshal of the Black Republican crowd, rode up to the edge of the crowd, blue sash and all, and called out that Lincoln was waiting to be escorted by his friends to the grove. One square off the Indiana band of music, imported at unheard of expense, was blowing their mightiest to drown the voice of the Senator. A few persons, with blue badges, on which was inscribed "A. Lincoln" marched out of the crowd. When these had left Mr. Douglas was about to proceed, when the band marched on, followed by the few who were going to listen to the "Tall Sucker." He was, however, stopped by his friends, remarking that the procession, if such it could be called, had faced in a direction opposite to the Abolitionists' stand, with the evident intention of forcing a way through the Democratic meeting. Lincoln, as I am informed by a dozen men, was at this time in the procession. The Blacks then advanced around the square, raking all its sides, until they came to where the street was blockaded by a portion of the Democratic crowd, on arriving upon the confines of which, the band being in advance, was attempted to be driven through. A general melee seemed to be inevitable, but Mr. Douglas leaving the stand, urging his audience to be patient, but few blows were struck on either side, a few were perhaps on both sides. The band was turned out of the road and the band will probably return to Indiana with a lively remembrance of the agile manner in which they vacated their vehicle; Lincoln in his buggy took the back turn, went and laid by until three o'clock, so as not to appear to have encouraged such a dastardly outrage by his presence, the footmen of the crowd got through with great difficulty and the remainder of the few buggies wheeled about.

The indignation caused by this outrage was so excessive, that a majority of the Republicans, as well as the Democrats, resolved, as it would appear, to hold on by Douglas, so that no actual diminution could be found in the numbering of his audience I should here remark, that when the band wagon reached the edge of the Democratic meeting it was exactly twenty-two minutes past two o'clock.

When order was restored, and that was not many minutes after the dastards left, Mr. Douglas proceeded to speak of the matter. He said:

"*Ladies and Gentlemen:* Now that this unpleasant scene which has disturbed our meeting somewhat, has passed by, it is well that I should call your attention to the facts of the case, so that there can be made no dispute about the truth of it in the future.

"You all know that in the month of July, I made an appointment to speak to-day, and the gentleman who brought the notice of that appointment to you is now by my side. Some weeks after that appointment had been made and published in the newspapers, Mr. Lincoln made an appointment here for the same day. On Saturday last Mr. Lincoln approached me at the stand in Charleston and stated that he regretted that we had an appointment in collision, that he did not know of my appointment when he made his, but inasmuch as they had come on the same day, that he would not speak until I was through, and would not come to listen to me, and hence would not reply to me, but would make his speech after I got through, the same as if he was speaking to a different audience.

"To-day one of his friends named George Lynn Jr. came to my room at the hotel with this memorandum, which I will read, and a verbal message. [Mr. Douglas here read the letter published above.] Mr. Lincoln's friend brought me that written proposition, that he would postpone his meeting till three o'clock, if I would announce from this stand the fact that I accepted the proposition. I call upon you thousands now to bear testimony that before I uttered one word of my speech, I did, in a distinct and loud tone of voice, announce that I had been requested by Mr. Lincoln to give notice that he would speak at Freeland's Grove, that his meeting was postponed till three o'clock. Hence I complied with the contract on my part as I can prove by you thousands here assembled. I call your attention to this fact that at twenty-five minutes past two o'clock, he with his friends and a band of music drove around the stand and came right up within forty feet of where I am now speaking, driving in the midst of some of my friends, beating their drum so as to break up this meeting. If I do not state the facts truly anyone in the crowd can correct me. [Loud cries of "You are right," etc.] They drove right by here, and they undertook to fight their way through those who attending this meeting stood upon the street, coming in a direction opposite from their stand, that they might do it. [Cries of "That is so."] Their stand was on the north side of the town, they started from the north, drove by on the south side and came down on the east in order to go on this side, going three squares out of their way to get to our meeting to break it up."

Mr. Thornton.—"Will any gentleman who saw Mr. Lincoln announce the fact?"

A Voice.—"He was in, but turned around and went back."

Mr. Douglas.—"I do not know whether he was in the procession, but a gentleman at my side says that he was in the procession up to the time when a fight seemed likely to ensue, when he turned around and went in the other direction. I do not, of my own knowledge, know whether he was in the procession or not, but the fact that that procession organized and drove up here to break up this meeting in violation of the written agreement which I hold in my hand, signed and written by Mr. Lincoln, no honest man will deny. Hence, I say that this disturbance is in violation of Mr. Lincoln's word to me at Charleston on Saturday; it is in violation of his written agreement here to-day, which writing I have in my hand; it was a deliberate attempt on the part of his friends to break up a Democratic meeting; it was started at the very time I was making a point upon Mr. Lincoln, from which all his friends shrink in despair; it was begun suddenly, in order to break up the trend of my argument. It was evidently a pre-concerted plan, and, therefore, I say that I am warranted, under this state of facts, in charging that Mr. Lincoln, as well as his friends, have been a party this day to breaking up this meeting, in order to prevent me from exposing his alliance with the Abolitionists and repelling the false charges which he made against me at Charleston, and to which I had no opportunity to reply at that place." [Cries of "That is so," "Hit him again," etc.]

The Judge then continued his remarks, to the full conclusion of his speech, and was succeeded on the stand by Mr. Thornton of Shelbyville, who, as an old line Whig, refuses to be abolitionized. B. B.

[*Quincy* (Ill.) *Whig*, October 11, 1858]

KINDERHOOK, PIKE CO., Oct. 4, '58

Editor Quincy Whig & Republican:—

SIR:—Below you will find an extract from a private letter, dated Sullivan, Moultrie county, Illinois, Sept. 21st. If you think it worthy, I wish you would give it a publication for the benefit of our party, to let them know how to treat Douglas and his minions. Yours,

J. G. KEARNEY

(*Extract*)

"Yesterday (the 20th) was one of the most exciting days that ever occurred in Sullivan. Douglas and Lincoln had an appointment to speak here. Douglas was to speak at 10 o'clock A. M. and Lincoln at 3 P. M. Owing to some delay, Douglas did not arrive until about noon. Then he commenced speaking about 1 P. M. Lincoln waited until a little past 3 P. M. when the Brass Band commenced playing and drew off about two-thirds of Douglas' hearers. The Lincoln procession then formed and started around the Public Square. When they came opposite to where Douglas was speaking, he gave orders to his friends to stop the procession and turn it back. The Border Ruffians jumped over the fence, like a lot of bull dogs, yelling for their friends to come on. They threw rails in the spokes of the band wagon, clubbed and beat the horses most shamefully, and knocked the driver from his seat with a brick-bat, which struck him on the side of the head. By this time we had all got *mad*, and the fight became general. Such yelling I never heard. It appeared as if all hell had been let loose. There were some six or seven pretty badly hurt on both sides before we got the band wagon through, but we kept the streets clear until all of the procession passed. We marched to the grove half a mile north of town and listened to Lincoln for about two hours. The Douglasites sent us word that the Band should not pass around the Square that evening. When speaking was over, we formed in procession, each man with a club in his hand —the Band playing Yankee Doodle. We marched all around town, and they never opened their mouths. There were some six or seven of the ringleaders arrested and put in jail last night. I am afraid there will be some one killed before it is over, as every one is excited. We disbanded with three cheers for Lincoln forever."

CHAPTER XVI

CAMPAIGN POETRY

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, October 27, 1858]

GREAT MEETING IN CHICAGO

The Republicans of Chicago held a tremendous meeting last Saturday night, on which occasion they were addressed by John Wentworth. Metropolitan Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, there being nearly 4000 present in the hall. One of the notable features of this meeting was the interest exhibited by the Germans and Scandinavians, who were out in full force. Frank Lombard was on hand, with some stirring songs of which we subjoin a sample:

OLD DAN TUCKER

We hear a cry increasing still,
Like light it springs from hill to hill—
From Pennsylvania's State it leaps,
And o'er the Buckeye valley sweeps—

Get out the way Stephen Douglas!
Get out the way Stephen Douglas!
Get out the way Stephen Douglas!
Lincoln is the man we want to serve us!

The Hoosier State first caught the cry,
The Hawkeye State then raised it high,
The Sucker State now waits the day,
When Lincoln leads to victory!

Get out the way, etc.

Cheer up, for victory's on its way,
No power its onward march can stay;
As well to stop the thunder's roar,
As hope for Douglas to serve us more.

Get out the way, etc.

Then, Freemen, rally, one and all,
Respond to our brave leader's call;
Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil want we,
And Lincoln to lead for Liberty!

Get out the way, etc.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Ill., November 13, 1858]

[From the ***Philadelphia Press***]

"A DOUGLAS TO THE FRAY"

By John Brougham

When Saxon raid,
With brand and blade,
O'er Scotia's borders came,
And gave the land,
With bloody hand,
To pillage and to flame;
'Twas thus rang out,
The welcome shout,
From mountain and from brae;
"God and our right!
Stand firm and fight!
A Douglas to the fray!"

Oh! never was
Unworthy cause
Linked with that rallying cry,
To friends a spell,
To foes a knell,
When e'er it pierced the sky;
And as the shout
Rang fiercely out,
Fate owned its conquering sway;
"Stand firm and fight
For truth and right!
A Douglas to the fray!"

On story's page,
In every age,
Through every path of fame,
In glory's round
May still be found
Enrolled, that deathless name.
Speed as of old,
The chieftain bold
Who bears it at this day;
"Stand firm and fight
For truth and right!
A Douglas to the fray!"

[*Galesburg* (Ill.) *Democrat*, October 27, 1858]

DOUGLAS'S FUNERAL

Air—"The Pauper's Funeral."

Here's a grim one horse hearse, in a jolly round trot,
They're going to bury Steve Douglas, I wot.
The road it is rough, and the hearse has no springs,
And hark to the dirge which the sad driver sings—
Rattle his bones over the stones,
He's a dead politician whom nobody owns.

Oh! where are the mourners? Alas! there are none;
He has left not a gap in the world, now he's gone
Not a tear in the eye of child, woman, or man.
To the grave with his carcass as fast as you can.
Rattle, etc.

What a jolting, and creaking, and plashing, and din—
The whip, how it cracks, and the wheels, how they spin,
How the dirt, right and left, o'er the fences is hurl'd—
The "*Giant*" now makes his last noise in the world.
Rattle, etc.

Poor Giant defunct! makes his nearest approach
To gentility, now that he's stretched in a coach,
The ride he is taking to-day is his last,
And it will not be long, if he goes on so fast.
Rattle, etc.

But a truce to this strain—for my soul it is sad
To think that a heart in humanity clad,
Should make like the brute, such a desolate end,
And depart from the light, without leaving a friend.
Rattle, etc.

A second hearse comes, and within it we see
One "FORD"—"Little Giant the 2d" is he.
While living, he labored for fame with his might,
And took for his pattern, the *great Silas Wright.*
Rattle, etc.

Now "Georgy" and "Stephen" together have gone,
Let their friends tell us where they have gone, if they can
We will say in conclusion, since "Georgy" is dead,
The disease that he died of, we call the "*Big Head.*"
Rattle their bones over the stones,
Such poor, rotten carcasses God never owns.

[*Chicago Times*, October 27, 1858]

A DOUGLAS SONG

We won't vote for Lincoln, nor one of his band,
We'll stick to brave Douglas as long as we can,
His name is arising from the east to the west,
Since Old Hickory's gone, we think he's the best,
Through these hard times.

Our Douglas is fearless—he cares for no man,
He will stand by the Union as long as he can.
Though Buck may oppose him, he'll force him to yield,
To give up the fight and then leave the field,
Through these hard times.

[For the *Galesburg Democrat*]

RALLY SONG

BY R. F. FLINT

. . . .

From where the lordly Michigan
Rolls out its silver waves,
And great *Chicago* sends her fleets
For everything but slaves—
From where the bright *Fox River*
Between its forests shines,
And the swarthy laborers gather
Around *Galena's* mines.

From where old *Mississippi*
Sweeps downward to the sea,
By his young cities and the wilds
Where cities are to be—
From the distant groves of *Stephenson*,
And the harvest fields of *Kane*,
Where their leaders have the same true hearts
And the same *thrice honored name.*[1]

From all the plains between them,
Where breathing clouds of steam,
The Iron Steed bursts airward,
With Freedom in its scream.
Where brave *LaSalle* sits watching
With honest pride and joy,
The mighty lakes reach down and clasp
The lovely Illinois.

---

[1] Adams.

To where *Peoria* laves her feet
Along its sleeping strand,
And reaches o'er its flood to grasp
Old *Tazewell* by the hand.
Freemen of the Prairie State!
Your brethren near and far
Have girded on their armor,
And are marching to the war.

. . . . . .

For the day—the hour—is chosen,
And the battle is at hand.
Ho! rush into the swelling ranks,
Ye saviors of the land!
And when the fight is over,
Let every sire and son
Swell the glad clamor to the skies,
That tells the day is won.

. . . . . .

[*Peoria* (Ill.) *Transcript*, October 30, 1858]

RALLYING SONG

Tune—"The Marsellaise Hymn."

Hurrah! Hurrah!! from hill and valley,
Hurrah! from prairie wide and free,
Around our glorious leader rally—
"For Lincoln and for Liberty!"
Let him who by our cause defending,
Gains everywhere a noble fame,
Now save our state from endless shame
Which Douglas o'er her soil is spreading.

Our standard bearer then,
The brave old LINCOLN be,
Free Speech! free Press!! free Soil!!!
and free Men—
LINCOLN AND VICTORY.

Shades of the great and good departed,
Be ye the judges of our cause;
Ne'er from the dream of peace we started
Till Douglas' hand defaced our laws.
'Twas he revoked the sworn agreement
Enslaving lands made free before—
Now let us all to battle pour
Beneath old Abram's guiding hand.

Our standard, &c.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Ill., September 20, 1858]

EQUALIZE THE NATIONS

To be sung at the close of every speech delivered by Abe Lincoln during the present campaign.
Air—"Black Bird."

Come, equalize the nations, Abe Lincoln does proclaim;
Let Cuffee have the freedom the white man has attained;
Our platform's broad and ample, the noblest and the best—
It extends from north to south, from the east unto the west.

Come, equalize the nations—our party will be great!—
Let Cuffee have the privilege with us to 'malgamate;
We have damsels white as lilies, whom we can sacrifice,
And raise motley plants, that will the world surprise.

Come, equalize the nations, ere a century shall come,
We'll rule this mighty nation with a Mustee or quadroon;
Then that harmony and union will reign throughout the land,
That has long been advocated by the black republican.

Come, equalize the nations, let Cuffee have a voice;
Extend the elective franchise—our party will rejoice;—
Loud huzzas will then arise, over hill and dale and plain,
While triumphantly we'll conquer with our dark and motley train.

Come, equalize the nations, says Lincoln and Lovejoy,
And the Democratic party we surely can destroy,
And hurl each man from power who will not with us come—
Thus sink his name forever in dark oblivion.

Then equalize the nations, throughout Columbia's land—
Let the negroes and whites on an equal footing stand:
Let all enjoy that freedom so noble and divine,
And we'll ever prove triumphant throughout all coming time.

FRANKFORT BARD.

[*Chicago Daily Democrat*, September 22, 1858]

LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS

WRITTEN ON READING THEIR SPEECHES, BY JAMES LEWIS, OF LEWISBURG, PA.

In Lincoln's hand see Freedom's torch of light,
Flashing its radiance o'er "Egyptian" night;
While little Douglas on his tip-toe stands,
And holds th' extinguisher in both his hands.
Too short to reach, he tries with many a groan,
To quench the light with his dark, hollow cone,
By that o'd tinker, Roger Taney, made
For James Buchanan in the way of trade.

'Tis label'd "Law decision," in the case
Of one Dred Scott, whose long-time dwelling place
Was on free soil, by his own master's act—
He claimed his freedom by that very fact—
All former precedents sustain his plea;
In law, and right, poor old Dred Scott was free.

But Roger Taney had a job to do,
Old patterns failing, he began anew.
And showed the Constitution as the source
Of that mild law, whose essence is brute force,
Which in barbarian Africa begun,
And having stol'n the sire, enslaves the son.

This law, says Taney, its firm grapple holds,
Where'er our flag displays its shining folds;
The greatest boon our Constitution yields,
Is chattel slaves to till our fertile lands.
When our flag floats in conquest, anywhere,
Champions our Freedom! bring your niggers there,
And buy, and sell, and discipline, and feed,
And try by all means to improve the breed.
The Constitution, in its power of might,
To hold a nigger guarantees your right.

Th' extinguisher thus made by Taney's hands,
As said before, there little Douglas stands,
And tries, as sailors say, to "douse the glim,"
But hitherto results are rather slim,
His fingers burn, his very whiskers scorch,
And e'en *his* balls blench at Freedom's torch.

RALLYING SONG

The six years' race is to be run,
    In a few days, a few days;
By Slavery's hack it can't be won,
    Oh! take "Dug" home.
"Little Dug" was hurt on Slavery's track,
    In his late days, his late days!
For Slavery's load had strained his back,
    Oh! take him home!

CHAPTER XVII

MRS. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

[MR. HORACE WHITE in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, by permission of D. Appleton & Co.]

At Havana I saw Mrs. Douglas (nee Cutts) standing with a group of ladies a short distance from the platform on which her husband was speaking, and I thought I had never seen a more queenly face and figure. I saw her frequently afterward in this campaign, but never personally met her until many years later, when she had become the wife of General Williams of the regular army, and the mother of children who promised to be as beautiful as herself. There is no doubt in my mind that this attractive presence was very helpful to Judge Douglas in the campaign. It is certain that the Republicans considered her a dangerous element.

[*Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, September 9, 1858]

MRS. JUDGE DOUGLAS.—The wife of Judge Douglas was a visitor at the Fair Grounds yesterday, and received a good deal of attention. She is a lady of handsome personal appearance and possessed of a graceful carriage and easy manners. We understand that Judge Douglas is in town and will visit the Fair Grounds today, previous to speaking at Belleville.

[Springfield, Ill., correspondence *Missouri Democrat*, St. Louis, September 30, 1858]

His [Douglas] distinguished lady, who is such a potent auxiliary of his in this canvass, comes on a mission to Jacksonville in the course of a few days. She will stay there for some time and will, doubtless, win him scores of votes.

CHAPTER XVIII

TRIBUTES TO DOUGLAS

[*Boston* (Mass.) *Courier*, November 6, 1858]

The *Buffalo Register and Times*, now a supporter of the National administration but until recently in the Fillmore Whig interest, placed at the head of its columns in its issue of Thursday the following:

For President in 1860,
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
Of Illinois

[*The Press*, Philadelphia, November 6, 1858]

A NATIONAL SALUTE OF TWO HUNDRED GUNS

Will be fired this (Saturday) morning, at 12 o'clock, in honor of the recent victory of the principle of Popular Sovereignty, and especially in honor of the brilliant triumph of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, of Illinois, over an Administration of the General Government which has basely deserted the principles upon which it was elevated to power.

[*Chicago Times*, November 7, 1858]

DOUGLAS FOR PRESIDENT

The *Buffalo Republic and Times*, a very able and extensively circulated paper rejoices over the success of the Illinois Democracy, and raises to its column-head the name of Stephen A. Douglas declaring for an incomparable statesman for the Presidency in 1860.

[*Daily Chicago Times*, November 9, 1858]

DEMOCRATIC
GRAND DEMONSTRATION

There will be a grand celebration of the recent Democratic victory
by the
DEMOCRACY OF CHICAGO
on Wednesday evening, Nov. 17, including a grand
TORCH LIGHT PROCESSION

Democratics in the adjoining counties are cordially invited to be present and take part. The different railroads leading to the city will issue half-fare tickets for the occasion.

Exchanges through the State will please copy.

[*The Press*, Philadelphia, November 4, 1858]

THE LATEST BUT NOT THE LAST LESSON

Our latest despatches assure us that STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS has triumphed in Illinois. Never since the beginning of this Government has any political contest excited so much the public expectation and solicitude as that which was decided in Illinois on Tuesday last; and this not merely because of the principles involved, but because of the characters immediately interested. The spectacle of the entire Administration of the Federal Government with its vast patronage of a hundred millions of dollars, with its army of mercenaries and expectants, organized and rallied against one individual, standing by the principles of the Constitution and the principles and pledges of the Democratic party, was well calculated to arouse the profoundest feelings of men of all parties and in all sections of the Union. . . . . It has fallen to his [Douglas's] lot to take part in more exciting canvasses than any public man of our day. He it was who fought for the Democratic party in 1838 and in '40; in '44, when the annexation of Texas was in issue; in '46, when the Mexican war loomed upon the horizon; in 1848, when General Cass was the Democratic candidate; in 1850, when the Compromise measures became the olive branch of peace to the whole Union, and yet no message of peace to him, (for he was compelled to return to his own home and contend for those measures in the face of an infuriated multitude); in 1852, as the advocate of President Pierce; in 1854, when he applied the doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, asserted in the Compromise measures; and finally in 1856, as the heroic defender of this same glorious doctrine. And now, after all these struggles, with a career of unbroken consistency, without a blot upon his political record, even when his adversaries are compelled to stand forward and pay tribute to his courage and to his character, he has made an appeal to his own people at his own home, *and he has been sustained.*

[*New York Herald*, November 5, 1858]

THE ILLINOIS ELECTION

Triumph of Douglas

This is by far the most remarkable incident of the political canvass,—and is one of the most wonderful personal victories ever achieved by a public man. Mr. Douglas went home from Washington a proscribed

THE DOUGLAS MAUSOLEUM, CHICAGO

Democrat. He had rebelled against the President—the official head of the Democratic Party. He refused to obey his dictation, and made open warfare upon his measures. He was denounced by the Executive organs as a deserter—as a traitor to the party—and as one with whom no Democrat could hold any terms of political friendship without forfeiting his position as a party man. When he went to his own State, to appeal to the people, he was met by the direct and vigorous hostility of the administration. His friends were removed from office,—the whole patronage of the Government was brought to bear against him, and his contest for reëlection seemed to be the desperate struggle of a forlorn hope. At the outset it was supposed that unless the Republicans should come to his rescue, he had no chance whatever of sustaining himself. There were some among the Republicans who policy as well as justice required them to aid in securing his return to the Senate. If their counsels had prevailed, Mr. Douglas would have been so seriously compromised with his own party, through his cooperation with the Republicans that he could scarcely have hoped for speedy recognition by the Democrats of the South. Fortunately for him the Republicans had other schemes and interests. They could not resist the temptation which this division among their opponents seemed to offer to place one of their own party, instead of Mr. Douglas, in the Senate. Mr. Douglas, was, therefore, compelled to fight the whole Republican party with such a portion of the Democracy as he could rescue from the influence of the Administration. A more unequal contest could not well be imagined, and it is not too much to say there is no other public man in the country who could have carried it through with so much vigor and courage, or could possibly have achieved so brilliant a success. He has stumped the State thoroughly, meeting the two Republican leaders, Trumbull and Lincoln, both men of rare ability, at every point, and maintaining his position, against the Republicans on the one side, and the Administration on the other, with the greatest firmness and self-reliance.

[*Indiana Journal*, Indianapolis, November 5, 1858]

ILLINOIS

The news by telegraph yesterday afternoon settles the case of Illinois as we expected. . . . . Douglas has won and we must say he has made a gallant fight. Such a political contest was never before witnessed in the United States. His opponent was an able man, in close logical argument superior to Douglas himself, honest, tried, and true, and he fought every inch of the state with earnest and constant effort. But Douglas had to fight the administration, whose tools in Chicago were furious, able, and well provided with means. . . . . Buchanan is nowhere. So absolute an extinction was never witnessed since Aaron Burr shot Hamilton and then killed himself. . . . . In the disappointment of Lincoln's defeat, we feel a consolation that almost compensates us for it in the death and burial of Mr. Buchanan.

[*Federal Union*, Georgia, September 7, 1858]

Senator Douglas and his apologists North and South may endeavor to change the issue to a personal contest between himself and Abe Lincoln for a seat in the United States Senate. The Democracy of the South cannot be gulled by such a deception . . . . and the true men of the country will refuse to take either Mr. Douglas or Mr. Lincoln.

[*National Anti-Slavery Standard*, New York, November 13, 1858]

Mr. Seward and Judge Douglas have respectively won their spurs against the great tournament of 1860, when they will encounter each other in the lists to decide which shall be the chief of the Republic for the next four years.

[*Evening Post*, New York, November 5, 1858]

THE ILLINOIS ELECTIONS

The success of Douglas in the Illinois elections is made certain by the intelligence of this morning. He goes back to Washington sure of another term in the United States Senate. He goes back as the conqueror, to look down upon Mr. Buchanan and his friends as the conquered party; goes back with triumph in his eyes, to meet brows lowering with disappointment and displeasure, perhaps with the eager desire for vengeance.

. . . .

We may expect, therefore, to see a Douglas party immediately formed in all the states, with its avowed champions and recognized presses. It exists already in an embryo state at the South, as well as the North. It has already celebrated the success of its favorite by public rejoicings, under the very windows of the President at Washington, greatly, no doubt, to the disgust of its principal inmate.

[*Indiana Sentinel*, Indianapolis, November 9, 1858]

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES

The *Washington Star* expresses the opinion that the Freeport speech of Senator Douglas created a discussion which probably has been productive of more good than any growing out of the campaign. In merely explaining the present state of slavery in the Territory, Judge Douglas touched upon a point upon which all sections of the country are quick to take up arms. Yet there are some claiming to be Democrats and state-rights advocates, who saddled Judge Douglas's statement upon him as an *opinion* and then denounced the opinion as being false in principle and inexpedient as a matter of Democracy. The *Union*, the *Charleston Mercury*, the *Mobile Register*, the *Columbus* (Ga.) *Times*, the *Mississippian* and one or two others have denounced Judge Douglas's Freeport speech, notwithstanding such prominent men as Davis, Orr, Stephens and many others hold views identical.

[*Chicago Daily Democrat*, November 9, 1858]

WILL DOUGLAS BE ELECTED UNITED STATES SENATOR?

This question is frequently asked and there is a great deal of speculation in regard to it.

We should have to go down into Old Kentucky to solve this problem. Senator Crittenden is entitled to the credit of defeating Mr. Lincoln. The Seward papers in New York and other places may have done us a little injury upon the popular vote; but the loss of no member of the Legislature can be attributed to them. It was in the Old Whig and American portions of the State; it was among the Fillmore voters that Mr. Lincoln was slaughtered.

The Republican people had made Senator Crittenden much stronger than he ever was before, and he was always strong among the emigrants in Illinois, from the slave states. He did all he could against Lincoln.

Thus was Lincoln slain in Old Kentucky.

We now come to the case of Judge Douglas. We look upon him as entirely in the hands of John C. Breckenridge, Vice President of the United States. He alone dismembered the Buchanan party in this State, and left it almost without a semblance of existence. Mr. Breckenridge wrote, that he did not approve of the course of Judge Douglas last winter. This gave Douglas stronger foothold with the National

Democracy. For they did not approve of the course of Judge Douglas but Mr. Breckenridge told that, under the circumstances, inasmuch as a National Democracy could not be elected, it was the duty of the National Democracy to prevent the election of Mr. Lincoln; and there was no way to do this, but by going for Judge Douglas.

CHAPTER XIX

TRIBUTES TO LINCOLN

[*Sandusky* (Ohio) *Commercial Register*, November 9, 1858]

LINCOLN FOR PRESIDENT

We are indebted to a friend at Mansfield for the following dispatch:

MANSFIELD, Nov. 5th, 1858

"*Editor Sandusky Register:*—An enthusiastic meeting is in progress here tonight in favor of Lincoln for the next republican candidate for President."

REPORTER

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, November 13, 1858]

LINCOLN FOR PRESIDENT.—The *Sandusky* (Ohio) *Register* announces the nomination of Hon. Abraham Lincoln for the next President, by an enthusiastic meeting at Mansfield in that state.

[*Illinois State Journal*, November 19, 1858]

[From the *New York Herald*]

ANOTHER PRESIDENTIAL TEAM.—The following ticket has just been brought out at Cincinnati: For President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; for Vice-President, John P. Kennedy, of Maryland—with a platform embracing protection to American industry, the improvement of western rivers and harbors, and opposition to the extension of slavery by free emigration into the territories.

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, November 20, 1858]

MR. LINCOLN.—The Springfield correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican* pays the following compliment to this gentleman:

> Mr. Lincoln takes his defeat in a good-natured way, as any sensible man would. Although differing, as we do, with him in politics, yet we have ever regarded him as an honorable gentleman. As a man he is unexceptionable. His private character is above reproach. That he is a man of talent no one will deny. He fought his battle gallantly and zealously, but met with a fate which, doubtless, he foresaw from the beginning.

[*Cincinnati* (Ohio) *Gazette*, November 6, 1858]

THE ILLINOIS BATTLE

The Republicans also, while regretting the defeat of LINCOLN, their gallant leader, will find consolation in the fact that, after all, there is a clear majority of five thousand on the popular vote in his favor.—This affords a reasonable ground of assurance that Illinois will vote for the next Republican candidate for the Presidency. If a man of the Northwest (which now seems to become indispensable) he is likely to carry the State, even against Douglas.

[*Daily Herald*, Quincy, Ill., November 15, 1858]

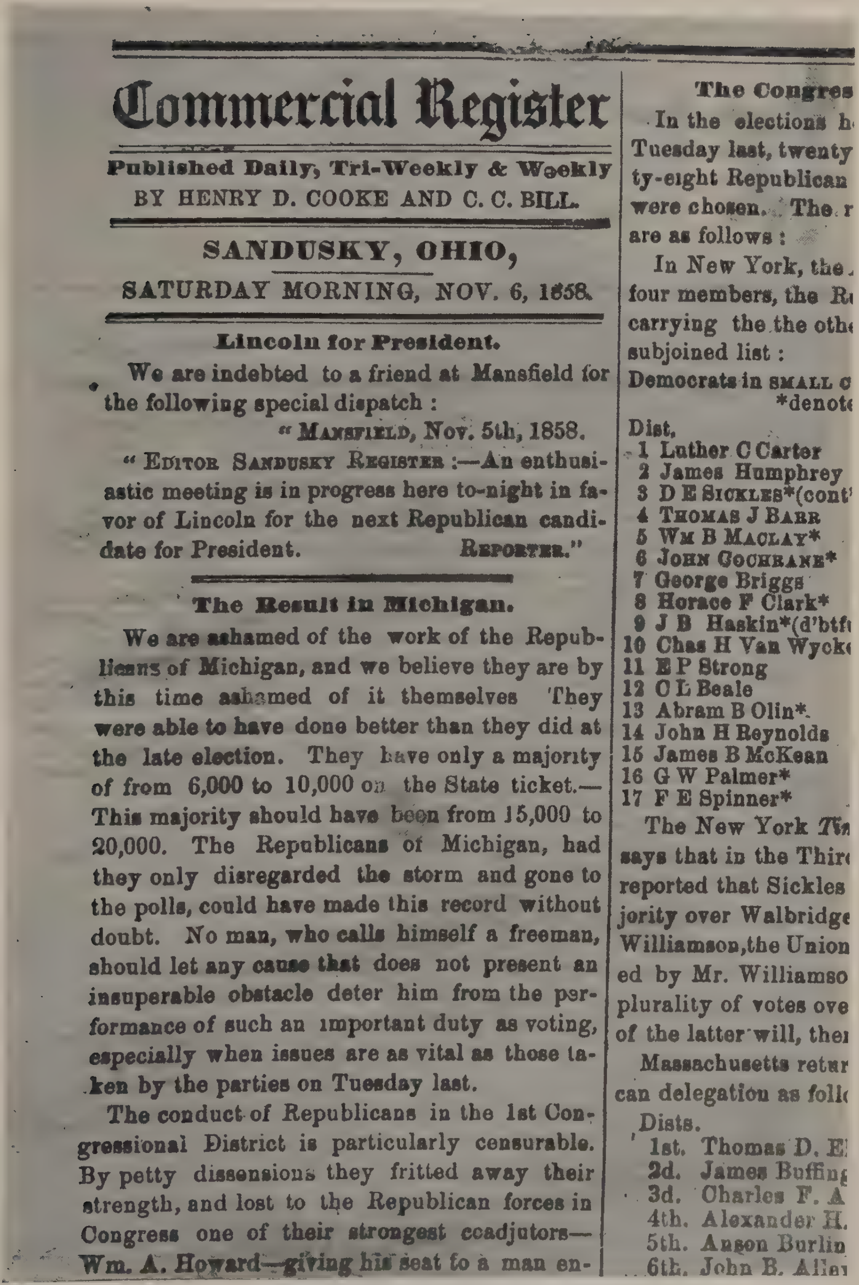
[From the *Peoria Daily Message*]

A NOTCH HIGHER

Defeat works wonders with some men. It has made a hero of Abraham Lincoln. Two or three Republican journals in different sections of the Union are beginning to talk of him for Vice President, with Seward for President; and a Republican meeting just held in Mansfield, Ohio, raises him a notch higher, by announcing him as its candidate for President. We have no sort of objection to this sort of a programme. It suits us as well that both presidential candidates in the next race shall be selected from Illinois as that one of them shall come from here and the other from some other State. Illinois has been the cynosure of all eyes in the late senatorial contest, and we are quite willing it should hold the same position before the world when the next President comes to be chosen. Of course, our side will win—that is written in the book of destiny; but then the honor will be awarded to the "living dog" of being once more kicked to death by the "dead lion."—

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, October 29, 1858]

This is the most brilliant and, as the event will prove, most successful political canvass ever made in the country. From first to last he [Lincon] has preserved his well earned reputation for fairness for honor and gentlemanly courtesy and more than maintained his standing as a sagacious far seeing and profound statesman. Scorning the use of offensive personalities and the ordinary tricks of the stump, his efforts have been directed solely to the discussion of the legitimate issues of the campaign, and of the great fundamental principles on which our government is based. No man living has been a closer student of those principles than Mr. Lincoln and in his numerous speeches throughout the state he has brought the result of that laborious study and the convictions of his matured reason and sober judgment before the people with an ability a force and an eloquence rarely equalled and that made a deep and ineradicable impression upon all who have heard him. No fact has been more apparent in the canvass than that Mr. Lincoln was more than a match for his opponent. In all the elements of statesmanship, in close compact logical argument, in gentlemanly amenity, in control of his temper under the severest provocations, in an unfailing fund



Commercial Register

Published Daily, Tri-Weekly & Weekly
BY HENRY D. COOKE AND C. C. BILL.

SANDUSKY, OHIO,
SATURDAY MORNING, NOV. 6, 1858.

Lincoln for President.

We are indebted to a friend at Mansfield for the following special dispatch:

"Mansfield, Nov. 5th, 1858.

"Editor Sandusky Register:—An enthusiastic meeting is in progress here to-night in favor of Lincoln for the next Republican candidate for President. Reporter."

The Result in Michigan.

We are ashamed of the work of the Republicans of Michigan, and we believe they are by this time ashamed of it themselves They were able to have done better than they did at the late election. They have only a majority of from 6,000 to 10,000 on the State ticket.—This majority should have been from 15,000 to 20,000. The Republicans of Michigan, had they only disregarded the storm and gone to the polls, could have made this record without doubt. No man, who calls himself a freeman, should let any cause that does not present an insuperable obstacle deter him from the performance of such an important duty as voting, especially when issues are as vital as those taken by the parties on Tuesday last.

The conduct of Republicans in the 1st Congressional District is particularly censurable. By petty dissensions they fritted away their strength, and lost to the Republican forces in Congress one of their strongest coadjutors—Wm. A. Howard—giving his seat to a man en-

The Congres

In the elections h
Tuesday last, twenty
ty-eight Republican
were chosen. The r
are as follows:

In New York, the
four members, the R
carrying the the oth
subjoined list:
Democrats in SMALL C
*denot

Dist.
1 Luther C Carter
2 James Humphrey
3 D E Sickles*(cont'
4 Thomas J Barr
5 Wm B Maclay*
6 John Cochrane*
7 George Briggs
8 Horace F Clark*
9 J B Haskin*(d'btf
10 Chas H Van Wyck
11 E P Strong
12 C L Beale
13 Abram B Olin*
14 John H Reynolds
15 James B McKean
16 G W Palmer*
17 F E Spinner*

The New York *Ti*
says that in the Thir
reported that Sickles
jority over Walbridg
Williamson, the Union
ed by Mr. Williamso
plurality of votes ove
of the latter will, the

Massachusetts retur
can delegation as foll

Dists.
1st. Thomas D. E
2d. James Buffin
3d. Charles F. A
4th. Alexander H.
5th. Anson Burlin
6th. John B. Alle

LINCOLN FOR PRESIDENT

This is probably the first public announcement of the name of Lincoln as a candidate for the presidency in 1860.

of good nature—in every quality, in short, that commends itself to the approbation of the better nature of man, on every occasion he has loomed above Mr. Douglas, immeasurably his superior. He has proved himself Mr. Douglas' superior in another respect also. He can do more work and bear it better. Strictly correct in all his habits, simple and abstemious in his manner of life, he has gone through the herculean labor of the canvass without flagging in a solitary instance, all his physical powers in full and harmonious action, his voice clear and ringing and in all respects more fresh and vigorous than when on the 9th of July he made his first speech from the balcony of the Freemont House. Mr. Lincoln's efforts in this canvass have also made for him a splendid national reputation. Identified all his life long with the old Whig party, always in a minority in Illinois, his fine abilities and attainments have necessarily been confined to a very limited sphere. He entered upon the canvass with a reputation confined to his own state. He closes it with his name a household word wherever the principles he holds are honored and with the respect of his opponents in all sections of the country. If it should turn out that, by fraud on the part of his opponents to override the will of a large majority of the bona fide citizens of Illinois, Mr. Lincoln shall fail of an election to the Senate, his fame is already secure.

[*Rochester* (N. Y.) *Democrat,* November 10, 1858]

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The Republican press of Chicago pays an appropriate tribute to the Hon. Abraham Lincoln, who has come out of the contest with Douglas with distinguished honors. Although under the finesse of Democratic legislation his antagonist succeeds, Mr. Lincoln has now a reputation as a statesman and orator, which eclipses that of Douglas as the sun does the twinklers of the sky. The speeches made during the Illinois campaign have been read with great interest throughout the country and the able, out-spoken efforts of the Republican standard-bearer have appeared in a very favorable comparison with the subtle duplicity of his plausible adversary. The Republicans of the Union will rejoice to do honor to the distinguished debater of Illinois.

[*Journal and Courier*, Lowell, Mass., October 20, 1858]

No man of this generation has grown more rapidly before the country than Lincoln in this canvass

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, November 12, 1858]

By his course in the last, most arduous canvass, Mr. Lincoln has won golden opinions for himself. Not only among his friends at home, but the fame of his prowess has gone abroad, and all over the country his praises are on the lips of all good and true men. He has proved himself to be one of the foremost men of his party. His gallant bearing during the campaign, his eloquent speeches and the national and patriotic doctrines which they inculcated, have not only brought him prominently forward before the people of the whole country, but have contributed to make him a leader among leading men. He is pointed to in other states, not only as an unrivalled orator, strong in debate, keen in his logic and wit, with admirable powers of statement, and a fertility of resources which are equal to every occasion; but his truthfulness, his candor, his honesty of purpose, his magnanimity which scorned to take mean advantages of his opponent, his unflinching moral courage which made him afraid to misrepresent the opinions of an adversary or to quibble in regard to his own; his consistency, which was dearer to him than success; and, above all, his genial good humor during the whole of the canvass—qualities which few politicians nowadays display, much less combine—have stamped him as a statesman whom the Republicans throughout the Union may be proud of. It is true that Mr. Douglas, by reason of an unjust apportionment law, has secured the Legislature, and thus, in all probability, his re-election; but the estimation in which Mr. Lincoln stands with the people of Illinois is indicated by the fact, that the popular majority is for him. Though beaten, he retires from this canvass with the proud satisfaction that the people are with him. He deserves, if he has not achieved, the victory.

[*Illinois State Journal*, Springfield, November 3, 1858]

MR. LINCOLN.—WHAT IS THOUGHT OF HIM ABROAD

In the last number of the *Concord* (N. H.) *Independent Democrat* we find a graphic and unbiased resume of the late contest in this state. We extract from its columns the following handsome compliment to the Hon. Abraham Lincoln:

> As an outsider, with many personal sympathies for Douglas, we have carefully read the reports of the speeches of these chosen champions of "Douglas Democracy" and Republicanism. And we are compelled to the conclusion that in Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas finds his equal and his superior, as a skillful debater and as an orator. If Douglas has fulfilled the expectations of his friends

and excited their enthusiasm, Lincoln has excited equal enthusiasm among the Republicans and displayed a degree of ability far exceeding the most sanguine expectations of those who expected most of him. His meetings have everywhere been thronged by immense audiences whose enthusiasm has been almost unbounded. From being regarded, as he was at the outset of the campaign, the equal of Douglas and the standard-bearer of the Republican army, he is now looked upon as the "embodiment" of the whole contest. And whatever shall be the result of the election, which takes place in Illinois next Tuesday, Abraham Lincoln will emerge from the smoke of the battle covered with honors.

[*New York Tribune*, November 9, 1858]

LINCOLN'S SPEECHES

Mr. Lincoln's campaign speeches were of a very high order. They were pungent without bitterness and powerful without harshness. . . . . Throughout the weary months of almost daily discussion or canvassing which followed, Mr. Lincoln's speeches justified the confidence and admiration of his supporters. The *Chicago Times* made its worst mistake in endeavoring to disparage these speeches and representing their author as unqualified to enter lists with such an antagonist as Douglas.

[*Chicago Journal*, November 10, 1858]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Though personally defeated, Mr. Lincoln nevertheless has the consciousness of having done all in his power for the success of Freedom in Illinois, for which cause he has achieved a glorious triumph. No other man in the State could have done more than he has done—No other man was better fitted to represent the Republican party or to fight Douglas. We speak but the general sentiment of the Republican party when we say, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

"More true joy Marcellus exiled feels,
Than Caesar with the Senate at his heels."

[*Chicago Press and Tribune*, November 10, 1858]

Lincoln has fully vindicated the partialities of his friends and has richly earned, though he has not achieved, success. He has created for himself a national reputation that is both envied and deserved; and though he should hereafter fill no official station, he has done in the cause of Truth and Justice what will always entitle him to the gratitude of his party and to the admiration of all who respect the high moral qualities and sound intellectual gifts that he has. No man could have done more. His speeches will become landmarks in our political history, and we are sure that when the public mind is more fully aroused to the importance of the themes which he has so admirably discussed, the popular verdict will place him a long way in advance of the more fortunate champion by whom he has been overthrown. The Republicans owe him much for his truthfulness, his courage, his self-command, and his consistency; but the weight of their debt is chiefly in this, that under no temptation, no apprehension of defeat, in compliance with no solicitation has he let down our standard in the least. That God given and glorious principle which is the head and front of Republicanism, "all men are created equal, and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," he steadily upheld, defended, illustrated, and applied in every speech which he has made. Men of his own faith may have differed with him when measures only were discussed, but the foundation of all—the principle which comprehends all—he has fought for with a zeal and courage that never flagged or quailed. In that was the pith and the marrow of the contest. Mr. Lincoln, at Springfield at peace with himself because he has been true to his convictions, enjoying the confidence and unfeigned respect of his peers, is more to be envied than Mr. Douglas in the Senate.

[*Chicago Daily Democrat*, November 11, 1858]

During the whole course of the late campaign, Mr. Lincoln has exhibited the qualities, not only of an able statesman, but of a conscientious man and a perfect gentleman. Amid all the heat of those memorable discussions with his opponent, and through all the strife that distinguished them, he never once so far forgot himself as to lower the standard of that very rare avis in terra, the conscientious political debater, or of the man religiously sincere in his principles and convictions. Mr. Douglas, at the outset of the campaign, spoke of Mr. Lincoln somewhat disparagingly as "a very amiable gentleman." He certainly has proved himself to be such and although Mr. Douglas may not fully appreciate a character of this description, yet we have no doubt the people of the state of Illinois will accord to Mr. Lincoln in his defeat such a measure of admiration for the man and his noble qualities of head and heart as to render that defeat almost equal to the triumph of his opponent. No man can deny to Abraham Lincoln the meed of honest and heartfelt admiration. Even his opponents profess to love the man though they hate his principles and condescendingly speak of sympathy with him in his defeat. We have no doubt that Mr. Lincoln fully appreciates those professions. He values them for what they are worth, but he has the consolation—that he has done his duty, his whole duty, and nothing but his duty to his party and to his country, in upholding and defending the glorious principles of the one, which he knows and feels to be those upon which the prosperity and the perpetuity of the other are founded.

That Mr. Lincoln is sincere in his views with regard to the great political questions of the day, every one who knows the man, or has heard or read his speeches, must be persuaded. Besides being powerful specimens of logic (and they are so considered by the leading statesmen and journals of the country) these speeches are stamped with the impress of a sincerity and candor which appeals at once to the higher and nobler faculties of the mind, and wins over the better feelings and affections of our nature. They will be recognized for a long time to come as standard authorities upon those topics which overshadow all others in the political world of our day; and our children will read them and appreciate the great truths which they so forcibly inculcate with even a higher appreciation of their worth than their fathers possessed while listening to them. They, in fact, are in advance of the age in which they were delivered and thus contain those elements which give that vitality to all human productions which carries them beyond the present and makes them useful and beautiful in the future. No greater compliment can be paid to the speeches of Mr. Lincoln than to say that the leading ideas of them have been taken up and adopted by Senator Seward of New York in his speeches during the late campaign in that state, out of which the Republicans have just issued with flying colors, having achieved one of the proudest triumphs ever accorded to a party in these United States.

In this connection, we might also state that Mr. Lincoln's name has been used by newspapers and public meetings outside the state in connection with the Presidency and Vice Presidency, so that it is not only in his own state that Honest old Abe is respected and his talents and many good qualities appreciated. All through the North and in most of the border states he is looked upon as an able statesman and most worthy man, fully competent to fill any post within the gift of the people of this Union.

We, for our part, consider that it would be but a partial appreciation of his services to our noble cause that our next state Republican Convention should nominate him for Governor as unanimously and enthusiastically as it did for Senator. . . . . and this state should also present his name to the National Republican Convention, first for President, and next for Vice President. We should show to the United States at large that in our opinion, the Great Man of Illinois is Abraham Lincoln, and none other because of the services he has rendered to the glorious cause of liberty and humanity.

[*Chicago Times*, November 9, 1858]

PUBLIC OPINION UPON THE ILLINOIS ELECTION

[From the *Buffalo Courier*]

The canvass was continued with sole reference to the respective claims of Douglas and Lincoln to represent the people at Washington in that exalted position. Mr. Lincoln was the chosen standard-bearer of the opposition, in view of the possession of a combination of rare qualifications alike for the office and his achieving the success by which it was to be secured. He is a man of fine abilities, of pure character, and of vast popularity with men of all classes and politics. Although as a legislator and statesman Judge Douglas enjoys an advantage of a larger experience and greater familiarity with affairs, there is abundant evidence to prove that a choice of the people between these two competitors was decided solely in reference to the principles they respectively professed, and that the verdict was accorded to the superiority of national Democratic sentiments over sectional Republican views.

[*Illinois State Register*, December 1, 1858]

A SETTLER FOR SEWARD

. . . .

If Illinois republican journals are to be taken as an index, Mr. Lincoln is to be made a presidential candidate upon the creed which he enunciated here in his June convention speech. . . . . Whether this extreme ground will be adopted by the republicans generally, in a party platform, is matter of doubt. The resistance to it by a large number of their leading journals, in their commentary upon Seward's speech, is indicative of a warm contest over it. It will be the "rugged issue" against a hypocritical conservatism—the open advocacy of a policy which is the groundwork of their common effort, or a time-serving evasion of true republican designs, for power and the spoils thereof. If this contest does not result in their party disintegration, it will, at least, plainly develop, in its controversies, to the people of the country, the "true intent and

THE LINCOLN MAUSOLEUM, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

meaning" of republicanism, and incur for it that odium which it justly deserves.

The Democracy have only to unite their forces upon their old platform of principle, maintain the rights of the states under the constitution, and the presidential result will be "a settler to Seward," Lincoln and all their fellow aspirants for presidential honors upon a sectional, unconstitutional platform.

CHAPTER XX

EDITIONS OF THE DEBATES

The Campaign in Illinois. Last Joint Debate. Douglas and Lincoln at Alton, Illinois. (From the *Chicago Times*, October 17, 1858.) Washington: Lemuel Towers, 1858.

The Introduction to this pamphlet contains uncomplimentary references to Lincoln and the value of his arguments. It may be the "document" referred to in the following, although there is a discrepancy in the dates:

> [*Galesburg* (Ill.) *Democrat*, October 13, 1858]
>
> Douglas has put out a lying document composed of extracts from the speeches of Lincoln & Douglas at the joint debates. The extracts from Lincoln's speeches are all emasculated and perverted just as his speech here was. They have been secretly scattered by the thousands in Fulton & Tazewell co's as we know, and they are probably distributed throughout the State, excepting in such places as Chicago, where the fraud would recoil upon their heads too quickly. What language can portray the depravity of the man who will resort to means so base for the accomplishment of his end.

Lincoln's speeches in the Debates made him the spokesman of Republican principles in the West and the rival of Seward in that position among the Eastern states. They formulated the arguments used in the gubernatorial election in Ohio in 1859; and, immediately after the election, Governor-elect Dennison and various Republican officials of the state wrote to Lincoln for official copies of the Debates in order to publish them as a hand-book for the approaching presidential election. In response to this request, Lincoln forwarded copies of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, from which his speeches could be set up, and the Chicago *Times*, from which the speeches of Douglas could be taken. In an accompanying letter Lincoln said: "The copies I send you are as reported and printed by the respective friends of Senator Douglas and myself at the time—that is, by his friends and mine at the time. It would be an unwarranted liberty for us to change a word or letter in his, and the changes I have made in mine, you perceive, are verbal only, and very few in number. I wish the reprint to be precisely as the copies I send, without any comment whatever."[1] The first official edition of the debates is listed:

Political Debates between Lincoln and Douglas. 8vo, pp. 268, cloth. Columbus, Ohio: Foster, Follett & Co., 1860.

Of the many issues of this edition, a dealer[2] says: "Of the so-called first editions, there seem to be at least four different issues. I have four before me as I write. What is considered the first issue contains no advertisements. The second issue has three pages of advertisements following the title-page with the statement that 15,000 copies have already been sold. The third issue has one page of advertisements and three pages of correspondence preceding the title-page, with the announcement that 30,000 copies have been sold; and the correspondence includes a letter from Douglas complaining of alleged corrections in former issues together with the publishers' rejoinder. There are differences even in the so-called first issue. In one the copyright notice is on the page following the title, with the table of contents on the next page, while Lincoln's speech of June 17, 1858, begins on the second page following. In another issue, the table of contents and copyright notice are on the page following the title and the next two pages are taken up with the correspondence between Lincoln and the Central Executive Committee relating to the publication of the Debates.

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[1] Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln's Works*, I, 596.

[2] Daniel H. Newhall, 59 Maiden Lane, New York.

The first speech begins on the next page." The protest of Douglas mentioned above is as follows:

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1860

"Gentlemen: I have received by the express one dozen copies of your publication of the joint debates between Mr. Lincoln and myself in 1858, sent by order of Mr. Cox, who will pay you the amount of your bill. I feel it my duty to protest against the unfairness of this publication, and especially against the alterations and mutilations in the reports, as published in the *Chicago Times*, although intended to be fair and just, were necessarily imperfect, and in some respects erroneous. The speeches were all delivered in the open air, to immense crowds of people, and in some instances in stormy and boisterous weather, when it was impossible for the reporters to hear distinctly and report literally. The reports of my speeches were not submitted to me or any friend of mine for inspection or correction before publication; nor did I have the opportunity of reading more than one or two of them afterwards, until the election was over, when all interest in the subject had passed away.

In short, I regard your publication as partial and unfair, and designed to do me injustice, by placing me in a false position. I saw in the preface to the first edition of your publication which is omitted in the copy sent to me, a correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the Ohio republican committee, from which it appears that Mr. Lincoln furnished his speeches and mine for publication—his in the revised and corrected form, and mine as they came from the hand of the reporter, without revision. Being thus notified that his speeches had been revised and corrected, this fact ought to have reminded you that common fairness and justice required that I should have an opportunity of revising and correcting mine. But to deny me that privilege, and then to change and mutilate the reports as they appeared in the newspaper from which they were taken is an act of injustice against which I must be permitted to enter my protest. In order that the injustice which you have done me may be in some degree diminished, I respectfully request that this letter, together with the correspondence between Mr. Lincoln and the committee, which led to the publication may be inserted as a preface to all future editions of these debates.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully your obedient servant,

S. A. DOUGLAS

Messrs. Follett, Foster & Co., Columbus, Ohio.

To the above the publishers replied June 16, 1860;

> "The speeches of Mr. Lincoln were never 'revised, corrected, or improved' in the sense you use those words. Remarks by the crowd which were not responded to, and the reporters' insertions of 'cheers,' 'great applause,' and so forth, which received no answer or comment from the speaker, were by your direction omitted, as well from Mr. Lincoln's speeches as yours, as we thought their perpetuation in book form would be in bad taste, and were in no manner pertinent to, or a part of, the speech."

The careful comparison with the originals, which has been made in the present edition, bears out this statement. Douglas's speeches were taken from the *Chicago Times*, his official organ, and those of Lincoln from the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, the principal Republican newspaper, for the 1860 edition. The chief variations are a few unimportant verbal changes, and the omission of the numerous interruptions due to the restlessness of the crowd and the the frequent shouts of the partisans.

There is strong evidence that neither of the speakers edited his manuscript prior to being printed in the newspapers at the time the debates were held. One of the official editorial writers[1] testifies as follows:

> "The volume containing the debates, published in 1860 by Follett, Foster & Co., of Columbus, Ohio, presents Mr. Lincoln's speeches as they appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, and Mr. Douglas's as they appeared in the *Chicago Times*. Of course, the speeches of both were published simultaneously in both papers. The *Chicago Times*' reports of Mr. Lincoln's speeches were not at all satisfactory to Mr. Lincoln's friends, and this led to a charge that they were purposely mutilated in order to give his competitor a more scholarly appearance before the public—a charge indignantly denied by Sheridan and Binmore. There was really no foundation for this charge. Of course, Sheridan and Binmore took more pains with Mr. Douglas's speeches than with those of his opponent. That was their business. It was what they were

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[1] Mr. Horace White in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln*, by permission of D. Appleton & Co.

paid for, and what they were expected to do. The debates were all held in the open air, on rude platforms hastily put together, shaky, and overcrowded with people. The reporters' tables were liable to be jostled and their manuscript agitated by the wind. Some gaps were certain to occur in the reporters' notes and these, when occurring in Mr. Douglas's speeches, would certainly be straightened out by his own reporters, who would feel no such responsibility for the rough places in Mr. Lincoln's."

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